

**NEWS FRAMING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF *BERSIH 3.0* AND  
*BERSIH 4.0* IN *THE STAR* AND *MALAYSIAKINI*'S NEWS ARTICLES  
AND OPINION COLUMNS**

By

**KUNG KHAI JHUN**

A dissertation submitted to the Institute of Postgraduate Studies and Research,  
Faculty of Creative Industries,  
Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman,  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Communication  
December 2017

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DECLARATION</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>APPROVAL SHEET</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION</b>	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Problem statement	2
1.3 Research questions	4
1.4 Research objective	5
1.5 Significance of study	6
1.6 Scope of study	8
1.7 Definition of terms	10
1.8 Conclusion	11
1.9 Overview of chapters	11
<b>2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>13</b>
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Conceptual Literature Reviews	14
2.2.1 Mainstream media, alternative media and partisan coverage	14
2.2.2 Opinion pieces	16
2.3 Empirical Studies	17
2.3.1 Mainstream & alternative media coverage of protests	17
2.3.2 Studies on opinion pieces	21
2.3.3 Partisanship in Malaysian mainstream and alternative media coverage	24
2.4 Theoretical framework	27
2.4.1 Agenda setting	27
2.4.2 Framing	29
2.4.3 Framing in writing a news article	35
2.5 Conclusion	40
<b>3.0 METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>42</b>
3.1 Introduction	42
3.2 Content analysis	42
3.3 Research workflow	45
3.3.1 Deciding to use content analysis	45

3.3.2	Sampling Selection	47
3.3.3	Units of analysis	52
3.3.4	Develop coding categories	55
3.3.4.1	Operational Definitions	58
3.3.4.1.1	News articles	58
3.3.4.1.2	Opinion columns	59
3.3.4.1.3	Protests	59
3.3.4.1.4	Mainstream media	59
3.3.4.1.5	Alternative media	60
3.3.4.1.6	Frames	60
3.3.4.2	Process of analysis	60
3.3.4.3	Slant	61
3.3.5	Coding the materials	63
3.3.6	Analysing and interpreting the results	65
3.4	Reliability	66
3.5	Validity	70
3.6	Triangulation	71
3.7	Textual analysis	73
3.8	Conclusion	79
<b>4.0</b>	<b>FINDINGS</b>	<b>81</b>
4.1	Introduction	81
4.2	Analysis	82
4.2.1	Distribution of articles	83
4.2.2	Slants	86
4.2.2.1	News articles	90
4.2.2.2	Opinion columns	93
4.2.3	Themes found in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>	95
4.2.4	Summary of analysis	96
4.3	Discussion	102
4.3.1	Distribution of articles	102
4.3.2	Slants	107
4.3.3	Most identified coding categories	112
4.3.3.1	<i>The Star</i> news articles	113
4.3.3.2	<i>The Star</i> opinion columns	117
4.3.3.3	<i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles	119
4.3.3.4	<i>Malaysiakini</i> opinion columns	126
4.3.4	Similarities and differences	129
4.3.4.1	Notable similarities in frames used	129
4.3.4.2	Similarities with the frames proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000)	134
4.3.4.3	Differences in coding categories used	137
4.3.4.3.1	Absences in <i>The Star</i> 's news and opinion column coverage	137
4.3.4.3.2	Absences in <i>Malaysiakini</i> 's news and opinion column coverage	143
4.3.4.4	Summary of similarities and differences	145
4.4	Conclusion	156

<b>5.0</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>158</b>
5.1	Summary of research	158
5.2	Discussion	158
5.3	Implications of study	161
5.3.1	Implications to theory	161
5.3.2	Implications to methodology	171
5.3.3	Implications to practitioners	173
5.4	Limitations in research	177
5.5	Further research	178
5.6	Conclusion	186
<b>6.0</b>	<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>189</b>

## ABSTRACT

### NEWS FRAMING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF *BERSIH 3.0* AND *BERSIH 4.0* IN *THE STAR* AND *MALAYSIAKINI*'S NEWS ARTICLES AND OPINION COLUMNS

**Kung Khai Jhun**

This research aims to discover the frames *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, and whether there are similarities and differences between the ways they frame the incident. This is because although the news articles of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* may be biased, there could be room for dissent in their opinion columns. Besides that, there has been a lack of research on the opinion columns on both media in regards to *Bersih*. The research was conducted using content analysis on *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s news articles and opinion columns via QDA Miner. Frames were created based on sentences and paragraphs that seem to encapsulate an idea after reading the news articles and opinion columns. Frames that were identified were matched to parts of the news articles and opinion columns. The number of instances of those frames appearing in the news articles and opinion columns are calculated to determine its similarities and/or differences. The results of analysis found some similarities and significant differences in how both media covered the event, and revealed biases in both media. In *Bersih 3.0*, the opinion columns of both media were generally aimed at reinforcing the general ideology of their media, instead of offering an alternative explanation or dissent. However, in *The Star*, opinion columns offered a different perspective during *Bersih 4.0*. The research has confirmed that *The Star* is biased towards the federal government while *Malaysiakini* is not as independent or balanced as it claimed. Further research is discussed.

Key Words: social media, politics, content analysis, framing, Malaysian media, agenda setting, mass communication

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr Sharon Wilson, my dissertation supervisor, for not giving up on me on my efforts to complete this dissertation. It's been a long four years and to have this dissertation complete with her help is something I am forever grateful for.

I take this opportunity to also thank my former supervisor Dr Carmen Nge for her role in helping me decide the topic, narrowing it down, and analysing the angle that should be undertaken for this dissertation. Her help for this dissertation is very much appreciated, without which this dissertation would not have gone far.

I would also like to thank my parents who have supported me with my efforts to complete this Masters programme, as well as this dissertation, and their patience with me. I will forever be grateful.

Last but not least I thank God for His blessings, as well as everyone else who have directly and indirectly, helped me overcome the many barriers that I have encountered in completing this dissertation.

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation is based on my original work except for quotations and citations, which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted for any other degree at UTAR or other institutions.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation/thesis entitled “**NEWS FRAMING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF *BERSIH 3.0* AND *BERSIH 4.0* IN *THE STAR* AND *MALAYSIAKINI*'S NEWS ARTICLES AND OPINION COLUMNS**” was prepared by KUNG KHAI JHUN and submitted as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Communication at Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Approved by:

---

(Dr. Sharon Wilson)  
Supervisor  
Department of Mass Communication  
Faculty of Creative Industries  
Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman

Date: 8 December 2017.....



## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Comparison between mainstream and alternative media coverage on protests	21
2	Differences between the Agenda Setting and the Framing Theory	31
3	Summary of Scope of Study	51
4	Summary of methodology	77
5	Number of news articles and opinion columns for <i>Bersih 3.0</i> according to the dates.	83
6	Number of news articles and opinion columns for <i>Bersih 4.0</i> according to the dates.	85
7	Similarities & Differences in Slant Coverage of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>	112
8	Summary of analysis	157
9	<i>The Star</i> 's circulation figures between January 2012 and December 2016	166
10	Comparison of findings of research with de Vreese's Framing Model	171
11	Limitations in this study	178
12	Summary of Further Research	186

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	An integrated process model of framing (de Vreese, 2005)	36
2	Composition of <i>Malaysiakini</i> and <i>The Star</i> news articles that will be analysed for the study.	51
3	Composition of news articles and opinion columns in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> that will be analysed	52
4	Summary of triangulation in this research	78
5	The workflow of this research.	78
6	Distribution of <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles and opinion columns for <i>Bersih 3.0</i> throughout the analysis period.	84
7	Distribution of <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles and opinion columns for <i>Bersih 4.0</i> throughout the analysis period	86
8	<i>The Star</i> coverage on the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	88
9	<i>Malaysiakini</i> coverage on the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	90
10	<i>The Star</i> news coverage on the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	91
11	<i>Malaysiakini</i> news coverage on the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	92
12	<i>The Star</i> opinion column coverage on the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	94
13	<i>Malaysiakini</i> opinion column coverage on the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	95
14	A summary of peak and overall coverage in <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> found in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>	100
15	A summary of themes found for <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>	101

16	The three phases of coverage for the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	103
17	The three phases of coverage for the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	104
18	“Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in <i>The Star’s</i> news coverage of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	115
19	“Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in <i>The Star’s</i> news coverage of <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	117
20	“Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in <i>Malaysiakini’s</i> news coverage of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	120
21	“Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in <i>Malaysiakini’s</i> news coverage of <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	124
22	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames in <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	135
23	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	136
24	Coding categories found by researcher matched with Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames	136
25	The Star’s Circulation between January 2012 and December 2016	167

## LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix		Page
A	Media ownership in Malaysia (Anuar, 2007)	214
B	Pilot study of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	216
C	List of <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles and opinion columns analysed between 29 April 2012 and 12 May 2012 for <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	223
D	Themes and coding categories found for <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	233
E	Pilot study for <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	241
F	List of <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles and opinion columns analysed between 31 August 2015 to 13 September 2015 for <i>Bersih 4.0</i> .	245
G	Themes and Coding Categories found for <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	257
H	The most identified coding categories, similarities and differences in coding categories found.	262
I	Steps in content analysis	284
J	Comparison between coding categories found and Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) Frames	286
K	The entire coding category findings, broken down in figures	293

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

The word ‘activism’ refers to actions like-minded individuals coming together to subvert the status quo, promoting a cause, regardless of whether it is local or global, progressive or otherwise (Cammaerts, 2007; Kahn & Kellner, 2004). Those who partake in social movements and movements of collective action can be considered taking part in activism (Harlow, 2012).

In Malaysia, *Bersih* is one of the more prominent movements of activism. Seeking for a thorough reform of Malaysia’s electoral process, *Bersih* started as the Joint Action Committee for Electoral Reform in July 2005. (“About *Bersih* 2.0”, 2011). In 2011, *Bersih* organized a rally after it was denied observer status for the Sarawak elections, demanding eight points that the government needs to undertake to uphold democracy. In 2012, only one of *Bersih* 2.0’s eight demands at that rally was fully adopted (the use of indelible ink), while two were partially adopted (postal voting and cleaning up the electoral roll and) and five yet to be included (setting a minimum campaign period, strengthening public institutions, free and fair access of media, stop dirty politics and corruption) (“PSC must adopt all *Bersih*’s demands”, 2 December 2011). This prompted the organizers to organize *Bersih* 3.0 in 2012 to support a reform of the electoral system. During the 13<sup>th</sup> General Election (5 May 2013), while the government did not seem to

address any of its eight demands, the Election Commission (EC) invited selected domestic non-governmental organisations and observers from Asia to observe the elections (Khoo, 2013). In 2015, following the 1Malaysia Development Berhad scandal and government action against its critics, *Bersih 4.0* was held between 29 to 30 August 2015 (Cook & Singh, 2016; “What you need to know about Malaysia's *Bersih* movement”, 2015) but for the first time, a counter rally called the Red Shirt Rally was also held to counter the perceived racist nature of *Bersih 4.0* (“Malaysia racial discrimination report 2015”, 2016; “5 things about Malaysia's 'Red Shirt' rally”, 2015).

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Various studies (Yang & Ishak, 2012a; Yang & Ishak, 2012b; Wilson, Leong, Nge, Ngerng, 2011; Knirsch & Kratzenstein, 2010) have shown how both the Malaysian mainstream media and alternative media have covered various events differently. For example, Yang & Ishak (2012b) found that in framing the Hindraf rally in 2007, the three mainstream newspapers, namely *Sin Chew Daily*, *The Star* and *Utusan Malaysia*, focused on the conflict frame, and negatively portrayed Hindraf that is in contrary to a spirit of democratic inquiry. In contrast, *Malaysiakini* had various points of view to the issue, covering different cultural assumptions, political beliefs and institutional practices (Yang & Ishak, 2012b).

However, the analyses of mainstream and alternative media typically do not differentiate the frames found in the news articles and opinion pieces,

especially opinion columns. Given that opinion pieces are parts of a news media that gives more freedom for its authors to write what they want to say, it may be possible that the opinion pieces may present different frames than what is usually found in the news articles. There are a significant number of studies on framing, mainly around news articles only (McKeever, 2013; Cissel, 2012; Andsager, 2000). While there are studies regarding framing on editorials and opinion columns (Christian, Ngozi & Kenneth, 2012; Best, 2010; McElmurry, 2009; Jones, 2007; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), Malaysian studies on the issue of framing either focused only on news articles (Selamat & Rosli, 2015; Anuar, 2007), or combined together news articles, opinion columns and editorials in their studies (Yang and Ishak, 2012a; Yang and Ishak, 2012b). Little distinction was made between the frames found in editorials, news articles and opinion columns.

There is also a lack of studies on opinion columns in the Malaysian media, especially in regards to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. Studies of previous *Bersih* events and its arguments have revolved around the event itself (Ramli, Chang & Sanusi, 2015; Choong, 2012; Welsh, 2011) as well as news articles and its impact on the political scene of Malaysia (Weiss, 2012). However, there has been no study on how the opinion columns in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* have attempted to frame the issue. As *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* are both paid media, economics could play a part in influencing the news or opinion articles so that they remain inoffensive to the reader long enough to glance through the advertisements in order not to lose advertising revenue, as suggested by Grattan (1998, as quoted by Burns, 2002).

In addition to that, while there is an overwhelming amount of studies and commentaries on how the Malaysian mainstream media, such as *The Star*, is biased in Malaysia (eg: Azlan, Rahim, Basri & Hasim, 2012; Knirsch & Kratzenstein, 2010; Anuar, 2007; Brown, 2005), there is a lack of study on whether the alternative media, *Malaysiakini* in particular, lives up to its name of being an independent media or it has underlying biasness not mentioned in previous studies.

Therefore, the gaps in previous studies necessitates a study on the frames found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini's* news articles and opinion columns in regards to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. The frames found will be compared to see any if there are any similarities or differences in the way both media frame the event in their news articles and opinion columns. The similarities and differences found could also shed light on how opinion columns persuade the reader in regards to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. At the same time, it could also reveal whether *Malaysiakini* has any underlying biasness.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- 1) What are the frames that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*?
- 2) What are the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media?



#### 1.4 Research Objective

- 1) To identify the frames that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*
- 2) To identify the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media

This study will be able to show how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* framed the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, and how columnists framed the rally. This study will also highlight any notable patterns in the coverage of both media, based on the similarities and differences of how both media framed the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*.

The study will also reveal if opinion columns in both media can give a more balanced view to the general news coverage of *Bersih*, given that columnists have more freedom to write what they feel, as well as whether both media are able to meet their organizations' objectives. This study will also help shed light on how opinion columns frame an issue to influence public opinion on political issues, such as *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. At the same time, it can also show how both media portray the major players involved in *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*.

### 1.5 Significance of Study

Besides addressing the aforementioned gaps in study (pg. 2-4), this study is also an important snapshot of how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* portrayed a major and historic event for democracy in Malaysia, given that *Bersih 3.0* was held so close to the 13<sup>th</sup> General Election, while *Bersih 4.0* was an opportunity for the federal government and Royal Malaysian Police (PDRM) to show improvements in handling *Bersih* rally goers.

Results of this study are important for mass media practitioners and decision-makers as it may give them an indication of how such rallies should be handled, if they have already been handled, to promote consensus, integration and democracy in Malaysia. This is important for policy-makers to note as media framing of issues “influence belief importance, which in turn influence opinion” (Nelson & Oxley, 1999). By studying how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* frame the rally in their opinion columns, it allows people to understand those forces that shape public opinion in regards to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. It is hoped that should this study reveal any inconsistencies in its coverage, the media would then evaluate, revise and make appropriate changes to its role in promoting democracy in Malaysia.

Full-time employees of a media organization such as *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* could be bound by their company and may find it awkward to write against the general tone of their company in news articles and/or opinion columns. Freelance columnists not tied by either one of the media companies mentioned could offer different viewpoints. Given that columnists

could be given more freedom to offer dissenting views, the study will also see if opinion columns can give a more balanced view to the general news coverage of *Bersih*. Their framing of issues in opinion columns is relevant to how policy actions will be taken on such issues.

This study also tries to determine how *The Star* attempts to meet its company mission in its coverage of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, which is to "provide relevant, accurate and reliable information fairly and objectively" and to "be the voice and conscience of the people", while at the same time, skirt around the tight rules and regulations imposed by the federal government on all printed press. At the same time, this study aims to see if *Malaysiakini* attempts to live up to its name of providing independent reporting. This can be done by providing insights into how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* highlights the concerns and attitudes of the various parties involved in the rally based on their own perspectives and agendas.

This study can also help the major players involved in *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, be it the *Bersih* movement itself, *Pakatan Rakyat*, the federal government, *Barisan Nasional* (BN), Kuala Lumpur City Hall (DBKL), the Election Commission (EC), Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Royal Malaysia Police (PDRM) to understand people's perception towards them after *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. For example, the framing of how police handled the rally goers could have contributed to the perception that the police were brutal in tackling rallies, as suggested by Nair, Luqman, Vadeveloo, Marimuthu & Shanmuggam (2012).

## 1.6 Scope of Study

*The Star* was chosen for this analysis as *The Star* has the highest daily sales with a daily circulation of 248,559 as of 2016, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, while *Malaysiakini* was chosen for the analysis because it is ranked 38<sup>th</sup> on Alexa most visited site in Malaysia, and is the most visited Malaysian news site (<http://www.alex.com/siteinfo/Malaysiakini.com#>).

News articles and opinion columns from *The Star* were obtained through archived articles stored in *The Star* website (<http://www.thestar.com.my/>), while news articles and opinion columns from *Malaysiakini* were obtained through archived articles stored in its website (<http://www.Malaysiakini.com/>) via a paid account, as *Malaysiakini* only allows its non-paying readers access to the first paragraph of its news articles and opinion columns. Although *Malaysiakini* offers sections in English, Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese and Tamil, this study only focuses on the English section because the other sections contain mainly translations of major English language stories. Their articles were pulled from the newspaper's online archives by using "*Bersih 3.0*" and "*Bersih 4.0*" as the keyword.

The obtained news items and opinion pieces were then narrowed down. To determine which hard news articles and opinion pieces will be used for this research, the researcher has decided to only accept those that has comments on various activities affiliated to the rally on 28 April 2012, a general view on *Bersih 3.0*, *Bersih 3.0's* eight points of demands, the actions

of *Bersih* supporters, the actions of *Pakatan Rakyat* supporters during the *Bersih* rally and its leaders' view on *Bersih*, its chairman Ambiga Sreenevasan and *Bersih*'s committee members, the *Bersih 3.0* event itself, its impact on businesses, residents and others, as well as issues that arose after the rally was held such as police detention, supposed PDRM brutality and federal government interference, and any references of *Bersih 3.0* with previous *Bersih* rallies.

Similarly, for *Bersih 4.0*, the scope of the study will revolve around various activities affiliated to the rally on 29 August 2015, which was held over three days in Dataran Merdeka and various other venues around the world. The researcher will reject any hard news articles and opinion pieces that mention the word *Bersih* but exclusively refer to any *Bersih* activities prior to *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0*.

Letters to the editor were excluded because of the study's focus on the frames found on news articles and opinion columns, which generally functions to report events rather than report public responses. Editorials are also excluded from this study because there is no editorial column in *Malaysiakini*, Therefore only hard news articles and opinion columns that predominantly deal with *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* will be selected for this study.

The researcher has also decided to narrow the topic to the two weeks after *Bersih 3.0* that is between 29 April 2012 and 12 May 2012. This period

of analysis was when the federal government responded to *Bersih 3.0* in a way that some have described as excessive and when the Malaysian PDRM launched a probe into the excessive treatment of protestors and journalists. Meanwhile, for *Bersih 4.0*, the period of analysis was between 31 August 2015 and 13 September 2015. This was the period when threats were made against *Bersih 4.0* organisers in the form of the Red Shirt Rally, which threatened bloodshed against the perceived racist nature of *Bersih 4.0*. A total of 458 news articles and opinion columns will be analysed for this research (see Chapter 3 page 50).

### **1.7 Definition of Terms**

The operational definition of terms can be found on Chapter 3 page 58. In this study the researcher will define news articles as published pieces in the news section of the newspaper that does not contain the opinion of the journalist or written from a first or second person point of view. Opinion columns are defined in this research as opinion pieces found in a newspaper that are written as a commentary, and convey someone's opinion about an incident or an issue on regular intervals. Protests are defined in this research as a gathering of people with a common message aimed at a certain group and can come in different forms such as rallies, marches, demonstrations, boycotts, pickets, vigils, blockades, strikes, sit-ins, and petitions among others. Mainstream media is defined here as media that is commonly found and easily available for the public to obtain and consume, while alternative media is defined here as media that conveys an alternative message to the official narrative offered by the mainstream media, and may not necessarily

be well known or easily available to the public. Frames are defined here as the common message found in the various absence or presence of specific words, phrases, stereotypes, sentences and sources of information that reinforces judgments or facts.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

*Bersih* is one of the more prominent activist movements in Malaysia that has been investigated by many researchers. This chapter has highlighted the need for research on how news articles and opinion columns have framed *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, given the dearth of research on this topic, especially when most research on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* have focused only on news articles or lump together coverage of news articles and opinion pieces without differentiating their coverage. This chapter has also highlighted the significance of this research, in which the results of this research would be further investigated and analysed. This can contribute to the existing body of knowledge of framing and media studies in Malaysia, as well as how the various major players in the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* story can understand better how the media portrays them. The following overview of chapters will further elaborate on how this can be done.

## **1.9 Overview of Chapters**

In Chapter One, the researcher has highlighted why is there a need to conduct this study on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* as well as the potential theories that could be used to support this study.

In Chapter Two, the previous as well as current related studies of how protests are covered in mainstream and alternative media are reviewed. In addition to that, the relevant theory to support this study is also used.

In Chapter Three, the methodologies used to conduct the study, which is a triangulation of content analysis and textual analysis, is presented. This chapter explained the research methods, characteristics of the research method, reasons for choosing the two research methods, and also validating some of the frames found.

In Chapter Four, the findings of the content analysis are displayed. A discussion and analysis segment also describes the findings of the content analysis and textual analysis, while the researcher's interpretations, comparisons, and analysis of the results are presented.

In Chapter Five, the conclusion of the findings with relation to the objectives and research questions, implications and limitations of the study, and recommendations for further study are presented.



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

The public generally use newspapers as a source of information. Oftentimes, the mass media deemed to have a powerful influence on public opinion based upon anecdotal evidence (Ottati, Renstrom & Price, 2012).

Studies on the impact of mass media on public opinion were marked by studies in the hypodermic needle and magic-bullet models in the 1920s and 1930s (Scheufele, 1999), followed by a lull. During this period, political opinions were deemed to be largely determined by long-standing political predispositions, while political campaigns and the media were seen to be short-term forces that failed to change deeply entrenched, long-standing political predispositions. This lull was epitomized by the studies done by Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet (1944) and Berelson, Lazarfeld and McPhee (1954) which showed that political campaigns merely reinforced prior decisions rather than initiating new ones (Finkel, 1993). Studies in media effect were revitalized with the assumptions made by Noelle-Neumann (1973) and Gerbner & Gross (1974) that based on the stream of messages presented to audiences, the mass media has long-term and strong effects on audiences. (Scheufele, 1999).

The 1970s also saw agenda-setting research in political communication, sparked by McCombs and Shaw (1972). The study's effect attracted considerable attention due to frustrations from the minimal-effects perspective common at the time (Scheufele, 1999). The minimal-effects assumption was also challenged by research documenting media “framing” effects (Ottati, Renstrom & Price, 2012), which will be further elaborated later in this chapter.

This chapter will elaborate on how the news media (*The Star* and *Malaysiakini*) set the frame in which citizens can discuss public events (*Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*). These can be done through an examination of media coverage of protests as well as its possible theoretical frameworks.

## **2.2 Conceptual Literature Reviews**

### **2.2.1 Mainstream media, alternative media and partisan coverage**

The mass media is media that aims to not just *influence* public opinion, but also to *reflect* opinion and perceptions by reporting what other companies, organizations, and people are saying and doing (Macnamara, 2005). Ideally, news articles should be impartial to brief the individual citizen, while view-based features provide a forum of debate shaping public opinion, and in some versions, the editorial represents public opinion to the government (Curran, 2011). Generally, the most accessible form of media that can be accessed by the public is the mainstream media, which can be

defined by its wide-reaching circulation and varied communication channels that aims for the largest possible share of the public (Cissel, 2012; Tsfatı & Peri, 2006). Unfortunately, the various advertisers, funders and special interest groups that help media conglomerates survive and thrive may influence the partiality of the mainstream media (Cissel, 2012). Major corporations and politicians, through the mainstream media, attempt to narrate a news event as if they are majority-held ideas, while at the same time marginalizing dissent and retarding political and cultural discourse (Christian, Ngozi & Kenneth, 2012). When it comes to protests, the theory goes that the mainstream media often heavily rely on official definitions when it comes to protests, which often suggest that the “others”, who challenge the values of the mainstream society, is a threat to the well-being and security of the society, and only by the elimination of the protest group will society then achieve a sense of normalcy (Yang & Ishak, 2012b; Jha, 2008; Song, 2007).

Meanwhile, alternative media are mass media that defy the prevailing capitalist forms of media structures, content, media production, distribution, and reception. Their target audience are specific small-scale ethnic, religious, or political niches, with messages often reflecting radical views that are rarely seen on the mainstream media (Fuchs, 2010; Tsfatı & Peri, 2006). The alternative media’s coverage also attempts to create an environment where everyone can be treated equally and fairly, rejecting oppressive visions in the hopes of creating a richer, more fulfilling life and that the community ends up being stronger and safer (Atkinson, 2006). At its core, alternative media

have at least attempted to be the catalyst of democratic participation and cultural disruption, while the mainstream press avoids such social critique (Makagon, 2000). Alternative media are also free from corporate hegemony and have little to no profit motive, allowing for a more transparent news than mainstream media (Cissel, 2012).

Given the contrast on what generally constitutes mainstream media and alternative media, Cammaerts (2007) argues that both the mainstream media and alternative media end up being partisan because they adopt consensus and conflict-oriented models to stress the need for citizens to participate in these processes of dialogue, debate, and deliberation. Indeed, Groshek & Han's study (2011) found both mainstream media and alternative media are ideologically constrained and thus fail to (re)construct any form of interactive discourse on competing claims. In addition, internet news sites are far more popular with readers than print media (Wilson et al, 2011). A comparison to see if this ideological constrain is seen in how the mainstream media and alternative media cover protests will be elaborated further in this chapter (pg.17).

### **2.2.2 Opinion pieces**

Some news media include articles that are not written for timeliness, but instead attempt to bring forth views that may or may not support the main narrative of a certain news event, or to encourage the reader's participation in a debate. These are opinion pieces, which include editorials, columns, and letters to the editor (McElmurry, 2009). They act as an open forum for the

expression and defence of personal views (Best, 2010). The frames in opinion pieces may be more prominent or clearly evident, and may be echoed and amplified from reported news stories (Best, 2010).

Unlike news articles where there seems to be a need to be as objective as possible (Best, 2010), objectivity is relinquished in opinion pieces. Opinion columns are likely to have more influence than news articles as they are meant to be persuasive and generally argue a position, can influence public opinion on political issues, and persuade its readers on a certain point of view; therefore, it is better for them to present their views and persuade their readers via opinion columns rather than through news articles (Smith, 2007).

To investigate the possible similarity and difference in the way Malaysian mainstream media and alternative media covered *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, the researcher will now investigate empirical studies on media coverage of protests.

## **2.3 Empirical studies**

### **2.3.1 Mainstream and alternative media coverage of protests**

There were various studies done on how the news media sets the frame for the public to decide on certain issues. Many of these studies have studied how mainstream media and alternative media have covered protests that are directly or indirectly against major corporations and/or governments.

Cissel (2012) studied how mainstream mass media and alternative media portray the events of Occupy Wall Street by exploring the relationship between media framing and its effects on the portrayal of events in the news. Using content analysis, Cissel (2012) analysed seven articles from both mass and alternative media between September 17th and October 8<sup>th</sup> 2011, which was the first three weeks the Occupy demonstrations took place on Wall Street. Her study found that most mainstream media had a dismissive tone of the Occupy Wall Street demonstration, with short news coverage of the demonstration and highlighted the conflict between the police and the protestors. Meanwhile, the alternative media had a more positive tone to their coverage, with longer news coverage of the demonstration and not only highlighted the conflict between the police and the protestors, but also portrayed wide-breadth views and perspectives of the demonstration.

In another study, Groshek & Han (2011) analysed how the mainstream media and alternative media covered the “World Economic Forum” and “World Social Forum” events of 2001, 2002 and 2003. Groshek & Han (2011) found that the alternative media samples contained more themes related to activist issues than the mainstream media, represented by the *New York Times*. It was also found that there was more coverage on protestors in alternative media coverage as compared to *The New York Times*. It was suggested that the alternative media’s coverage aims to encourage activist activities. However, Groshek & Han (2011) found that the discursive space of alternative media was fragmented, nonresponsive and even more exclusionary than mainstream media.

Closer to Malaysia, Song (2007) compared how progressive South Korean online news services and mainstream newspapers played a role in shaping the reader's reactions to the deaths of two schoolgirls by a US military vehicle in 2002. Basing his study on the Agenda Setting Theory and framing, Song (2007) analysed the news stories of two online news services and three national newspapers of which two newspapers have a conservative editorial leaning, one newspaper with a progressive leaning and both online news services have a progressive leaning.

Song (2007) found that the progressive national daily and the two online news services had much more extensive coverage and had bigger proportions of commentary articles on the incident and associated protests compared to the two conservative mainstream newspapers, implying the progressive media is pushing for the incident to be a political issue, while conservative newspapers had relatively little coverage to the incident and ensuing protests. Song (2007) also found that the progressive media framed the protest as a "people power", while the more conservative media covered the protest through the "law and order" frame among other notable findings.

The three studies aforementioned had several similarities. Firstly, the three studies found that the mainstream media attempt to minimise coverage of protests against hegemonic forces such as big corporations or governments by not giving more news coverage of the protests, not identifying the protestors and having more official sources. Secondly, the three studies found that the alternative media had a more positive tone to the protests, with a

more thorough and larger coverage of the protests and gave an identity to the protestors. The alternative media's coverage on protests also had longer articles and more news articles and commentaries of the protests than the mainstream media. However, the alternative media was also found to have far lower official sources for their coverage of the protests.

Other studies (Yang & Ishak, 2012b; Jha, 2008) found that the mainstream media tend to portray the protestors as trouble makers, while the alternative media tend to portray the protestors more positively, trying to prove a point (e.g. Yang & Ishak, 2012b). A summary of the findings can be found in Table 1.

These studies comparing how the mainstream media and alternative media cover street protests are relevant to this study in that the researcher is interested in looking at whether there are differences between the way *The Star*, which is a mainstream media, and *Malaysiakini*, an alternative media, cover a protest or rally such as *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. The findings of these previous studies, which suggest that the mainstream media would be antagonising the protests and the alternative media would be supportive of the protests, may be an indicator of what the researcher could expect from his research, unless proven otherwise.



**Table 1**

*Comparison between mainstream and alternative media coverage on protests*

<u>Mainstream Media</u>	<u>Alternative Media</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mainstream media journalists tend to quote more sources from official sources than from protestors and activists</li><li>• Mainstream media tend to portray the protestors as trouble makers</li><li>• Shorter news and commentaries, as well as a lack of coverage on protests.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Alternative media tend to quote more sources from protestors and activists than official sources.</li><li>• Alternative media tend to portray the protestors in a more positive light, trying to prove a point or encourage activist activities</li><li>• Longer articles, more news articles and commentaries on protests.</li></ul>

### **2.3.2 Studies on opinion pieces**

Best (2010) conducted a study to find the frames in the hate speech debate between the US and Canada, given that their legal approaches to hate speech are different. Best (2010) first reviewed landmark legal cases regarding hate speech as a form of expression from both the United States and Canada, and identified two frames that were dominant, namely the regulation and freedom frame. The analysis found U.S. news articles contain more of the freedom frame than Canadian news articles, and Canadian news articles were found to contain more of the regulation frame than the U.S. news articles. Best (2010) also found that the freedom frame was prominent in US news articles, while the regulation frame was found to be more prominent in US opinion articles. The regulation frame was also prominent in Canadian opinion articles than in news articles. In other words, opinion columns framed the hate speech debate differently compared to news articles.

In another research, Smith (2007) tested whether opinion columns can influence public opinions on political issues and policy options, and whether the salience of the issues will influence the persuasive power of opinion columns or news articles. Smith (2007) found that opinion columns can have a persuasive influence over readers, and that this influence is generalizable to readers' opinions on political issues. The salience of the issue makes little difference in the persuasive power of editorials and opinion columns. Opinion columns therefore seem to make readers more ideologically consistent in their issue opinions.

Smith (2007) argues that the persuasive power of the opinion columns comes from its clear partisan and ideological cues to the readers, which the news articles often lack. That opinion columns increase the readers' ideological consistency with their issue opinions appears to add further evidence that opinion columns persuade rather than manipulate public opinion. This view is supported by Best (2010) who suggested that having equal prominence of certain frames on a certain issue may ultimately reduce the likelihood the public will hold any consistent opinion at all if both frames are present within an article.

Closer to home, Yang & Ishak (2013) conducted a study between two Malaysian Chinese newspapers, *Sin Chew Daily* and *Nanyang Siang Pau*, for their coverage of the Galas and Batu Sapi by-elections in 2010. Yang & Ishak (2013) analysed the newspapers based on the pattern of coverage, the predominant news sources used by the newspapers, the news frame used by

the newspapers and the slant of the news articles. Yang & Ishak (2013) found that both *Sin Chew* (53.91%) and *Nanyang* (41.11%) relied on BN leaders the most as their news sources, followed by opposition leaders (32.81% for *Sin Chew* and 37.78% for *Nanyang Siang Pau*), and the others. The episodic frame made the strongest showing on the pages of the papers, with both newspapers focusing on event-centred news stories that reported facts or actors' statements. They also adopted a more descriptive mode of coverage, while they were also found to have been neutral towards the parties and candidates contesting in the by-elections.

Of interest to this research is that the two Chinese newspapers devoted most of their coverage to straight news. There appeared to be very little political opinions or analysis on the by-elections, and there was also a clear absence of readers' comment. The review of these studies shows the importance of opinion pieces in shaping the influence of the public. Firstly, opinion pieces can be written in a way that can differ from the main ideology or frames found in the news articles. Secondly, opinion pieces have a stronger persuasion power than straight news articles, even though the news articles are strongly biased to either side of the argument. Thirdly, newspapers may choose not to publish or minimise the publication of any opinion pieces on a certain issue due to the power of opinion pieces or the less filtered nature of opinion pieces, as can be implied by the study done by Yang & Ishak (2013).

### **2.3.3 Partisanship in Malaysian mainstream and alternative media coverage**

The studies highlighted here have been chosen due to their similarity with the researcher's objectives.

Yang & Leong (2017) conducted a research on how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* framed an incident in 2009 whereby 50 residents from Section 23 in Shah Alam marched from the state mosque after their Friday prayers to the secretariat building with a severed cow's head. Using content analysis, the researchers looked for frames in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s straight news, editorials, columns, opinions and letters. Using Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) news frames. The research found there are differences in the number and size of articles published by *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, which suggested unequal weight by the two news media in the Cow-Head dispute. The findings also suggested some gatekeeping, agenda-setting and framing practices in *The Star* in order to construct a certain "reality" for the readers, or even shaping their opinions and attitudes towards the Cow-Head dispute.

Ramli, Chang & Sanusi (2015) conducted a research on how three Indonesian newspapers (*Fajar*, *Tribun Timur* and *Sindo*) covered the aftermath of the *Bersih 4.0* rally. Using content analysis, they found that *Tribun Timur* had the most coverage on *Bersih 4.0*, followed by *Fajar* and *Sindo*. It was also noted that *Tribun Timur* had photos accompanying its coverage on *Bersih 4.0*, whereas *Fajar* and *Sindo* didn't. All three newspapers framed the aftermath of *Bersih 4.0* based on war journalism, with

only one news article framing the rally based on peace journalism. In other words, the three newspapers framed the rally as the *rakyat* (citizens) facing head-to-head with the government, the former in attack mode, the other in defence mode.

Another study closer to this research was done by Rajaratnam (2009), who compared the news articles of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* for their coverage of the 12<sup>th</sup> general election. The study found that *The Star's* coverage portrayed a wholesome squeaky clean image of BN's contestants, their candidates having a great track record at ground level and can cater to all the needs of everyone irrespective of race, gender and consistency woes. Meanwhile, the opposition parties were given little coverage, with only a small section of the articles painting them in a positive light while a large number of articles reported them in a negative light, having a fair number of internal problems.

For *Malaysiakini*, a majority of the issues voices raised was pro-opposition. The opposition was depicted as extremely concerned about bread and butter issues and lead the readers into believing that the opposition is far more credible, accountable and reliable, while BN has failed to address those issues. The opposition was also depicted as performing well, while there was minimal negative coverage of the opposition in *Malaysiakini*. Positive coverage for federal government was done on the surface level and was also portrayed as arrogant in treating the opposition and spending money flamboyantly. In other words, neither *The Star* nor *Malaysiakini* were

objective on election issues. While *The Star* appeared to have taken a pro-federal government stance, *Malaysiakini* appears to have taken on the federal opposition view.

The review of these studies show that the mainstream newspapers tend to quote sources from the federal government, were mainly supportive of the federal government and tend to suppress criticism against the federal government's decisions towards a certain issue by either reporting it minimally or omit them entirely from their coverage. The findings also show that the federal opposition is often portrayed in a negative manner. Even if there are positive coverage on the federal opposition in the mainstream media, they are often superficial or aimed at supporting the negative coverage of the federal opposition.

Meanwhile, the alternative media has been portrayed as a medium that allows more of the public's voices to be heard, if not to participate in debating the various issues out there. There is also more variety in its sources, and there is more coverage of criticisms towards the government that are often not present in the mainstream media. *Malaysiakini* in particular, has been shown to offer more voices from the federal opposition that is not covered in the mainstream media. As a result, people, especially the youths, seem to trust the alternative media more than the mainstream media. This view is supported by Lim (2013) who found that the internet is a primary channel to post information that would otherwise be censored in Malaysia's mainstream media. Lim (2013) also found that youth activists are somewhat

optimistic that internet users actively seek information and are constantly forwarded links to 'important' news, especially news involving government policies, general/by elections, etc. therefore helping to spread news, views and events that are not found on the mainstream media.

To understand how the mainstream and alternative media help the readers understand what is important and what is not on a certain issue, the researcher will now look into the Framing theory.

## **2.4 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.4.1 Agenda Setting**

To understand the framing theory, one needs to understand what is agenda-setting. Under the Agenda Setting Theory, the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This can be done by setting the media agenda - manipulating the prominence and length of stories featured in print and broadcast media, such as featuring a certain story in the front page of a newspaper or magazine, having more pages, articles and opinion pieces on a certain news story or having more minutes allocated for a certain news story in broadcast media.

Studies on agenda setting are immense (Selamat & Rosli, 2015; Rajaratnam, 2009; Song, 2007 among others), and usually deal with the importance or salience of public issues, focusing on both media content and

audience perception. The study by McCombs & Shaw (1972) was one of the most cited in the field of agenda setting. The study, which looked into agenda-setting capacity of the mass media in the 1968 presidential campaign, found that the media may have exerted a considerable impact on voters' judgments of what they considered the major issues of the campaign. The result of this study seems to be replicated in the study conducted by McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar & Rey (1997). McCombs et al (1997) in their study of the 1995 regional and municipal elections in Spain found that the style of the voters' descriptions of the parliamentary candidates very closely resembles the style of the newspaper stories. There was also significant correspondence between various news and political advertising agendas and the pictures of the parliamentary and mayoral candidates in the Spanish voters' minds (McCombs et al, 1997).

However, McCombs et al (1997) suggests that there are two levels of agenda setting - agenda setting's first level is the transmission of object salience, while the second is the transmission of attribute salience. This second level agenda setting was more focused on not the coverage of objects, but on how the media cover attributes of those objects (Brunken, 2006). McCombs et al (1997) suggest both agenda setting and framing are based on essentially identical processes - agenda setting is concerned with the salience of issues, while frame setting, or second-level agenda setting, is concerned with the salience of issue attributes. McCombs et al (1997) adds that this expanded aspect of agenda setting gives an even more powerful role to media in the political process. While Brunken (2006) noted that researchers are split



over whether framing is part of agenda setting or they are separate processes, the researcher believes that the description of second level agenda setting made by McCombs et al (1997) is similar to the concept of framing.

#### **2.4.2 Framing**

Erving Goffman in 1974 introduced the framing theory, explaining how journalists frame the mass media to provide context to understand information and helps people identify, perceive, locate and label.

Goffman's view on framing is dominated by social constructivism, which attempts to explain the relationship between media and audiences by combining elements of both strong and limited effects of mass media (Brunken, 2006). Baysha & Hallahan (2004) describes Goffman's view as the fourth stage in the evolution of framing. According to Baysha & Hallahan (2004), framing has its origins in public opinion; Walter Lippmann (1922) implied public opinion is formed from the images formed inside people's heads through the media's framing of reality of world events.

Robert Entman in 1993 revamped Goffman's (1974) definition, saying:

*"to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described".*

This can be also done by drawing attention to certain attributes and away from others (McCombs et al, 1997). Entman (1993) believes that Goffman's (1974) frames are established through the existence or lack of

certain sources of information, key words, stereotyped images, stock phrases and sentences that thematically reinforces clusters of judgments or information. The frames also showcase links among them to endorse a certain interpretation (Entman, 2007). Brunken (2006), in tandem with Entman (1993), suggests that frames could also define problems, identify causes to the problems, make judgments by evaluating agents and their effects, and suggest remedies by offering treatments for those problems and predicting possible effects.

This helps frame shapers to determine how readers of the article should recognize and use framed information (D'Angelo, 2002) and help organize the reader's individual's world experiences (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), reduce the complexity of issues and help people understand the issue easily, efficiently and sensibly (Kalvas et al, 2012; Lecheler, Vreese and Slothuus, 2009; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) and perhaps, changing their judgements over an issue (Iyengar, 1987). In other words, frames are the reality that the media created so their target audience would understand, feel, think and make decisions in a certain way over an issue. The act of framing in the media itself is aimed at deploying these frames in the media to ensure people will follow whatever frames they push forward.

The power of framing is thus taken advantage by interest groups, elected officials and lobbyists to create and promote frames that could potentially end up in the mass media (Nelson & Oxley, 1999) and limiting the scope of debate (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Framing also helps policy

makers or politicians sway public opinion support in their favour (Andsager, 2000; Entman, 1993). Chong and Druckman (2007) observed politicians often use other media, politicians, or citizens' frames through the media they control, where they can shape the agenda for society and build boundaries for any debate on an issue (Andsager, 2000). Therefore, it may be possible that media sources with political, economic support and influence could impact the opinions of their readers (Cissel, 2012).

**Table 2**

*Differences between the Agenda Setting and the Framing Theory.*

<u>Agenda Setting</u>	<u>Framing</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda</li> <li>• Manipulating the prominence and length of stories featured in print and broadcast media</li> <li>• Studies usually deal with the importance or salience of public issues, focusing on both media content and audience perception; some studies found that the media may have exerted a considerable influence on people's views.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Journalists frame the mass media to provide a context for understanding information and helps people perceive, identify, label and locate.</li> <li>• Usually done through the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments</li> </ul>

On the other hand, the media use frames to help their readers understand a certain issue (Cissel, 2012) by occasionally mimicking frames made by social activists, politicians, citizens, or other media outlets (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Journalists can frame an issue in various ways to

simplify and give meaning to events and to sustain audience interest, given their limited time or space to tell a story (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). A summary of comparison between Agenda Setting and the Framing Theory can be found in Table 2.

A similar predicament could face those who write opinion pieces. In contrast with “hard” news, which are day-to-day news articles that aims to be balanced and fair (McElmurry, 2009), “opinion” pieces, which include editorials, columns, and letters to the editor, often relinquish objectivity in opinion pieces because they act as an open forum for the expression and defence of personal views (Best, 2010). Sometimes, they may reveal a newspaper’s aspirations to please its current and desired audience by "pitting the perceived Us against Them" (McElmurry, 2009).

Journalists and columnists can frame an issue by developing rhetoric through catchwords or phrases that convey public values (Andsager, 2000), moral appeals, visual images, metaphors, and others that can help them relate to their audience (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Some journalists and columnists frame their writing based on their preferred ideology (Kothari, 2010; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Pan & Kosicki, 1993) or the most popular, powerful and unified ideology (Entman, 2007), while others see readers as customers, framing their writing to appeal to as many people as possible so their employers can sell space to prospective advertisers (McElmurry, 2009).

Framing research implies the media not only tells the public what is important and newsworthy, but also to a certain extent tell the public the most important interpretations, definitions and opinions of a controversial issue (Andsager, 2000). This is because people are confined to only the information that is made available to them through mass media and other sources, therefore showcasing the importance of news framing in shaping public opinion (Andsager, 2000). Similarly, Christian, Ngozi and Kenneth (2012) believed that due to the public's lack of awareness of other viewpoints, and their reliance on media for information and decision-making, the public is therefore more susceptible to the influence of framing. In addition, Chong and Druckman (2007) argues that the public take on frames they learn in discussions with other citizens, who in turn, understood an issue based on frames found in news articles and opinion columns. Misener (2013) also shares this view, saying the way the media choose, screen, and share the “news” with the public effects our understanding and beliefs on the said issue.

The effects of framing occur when often small changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce sometimes large changes of opinion (Kuklinski et. al., 1991). Often, frames can be easily overturned by the presentation of an opposing frame (Best, 2010; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). The public have been found to have low-quality opinions, if they have opinions at all (Chong & Druckman, 2007), while Lecheler, Vreese and Slothuus (2009) noted that less knowledgeable individuals tend to be more susceptible to framing effects.

A study done by Sniderman & Theriault (2004) found that respondents, when asked whether they would favour or oppose allowing a hate group to hold a political rally, 85% of respondents answered in favour if the question was prefaced with the suggestion, “Given the importance of free speech,” whereas only 45% were in favour when the question was prefaced with the phrase, “Given the risk of violence”.

This means the alternative phrasings of the same basic issue could significantly change its meaning to respondents. Public opinion, then, is constantly in flux depending on the representation of frames within the news media (Best, 2010). One reason that could be the case, as Kuklinski et. al., (1991) suggested, is that audiences tend to react to discussion of key issues emotionally rather than rationally. Chong & Druckman (2007) argues that that could be the case as well because frames can be built around exaggerations and outright lies, playing on the fears and prejudices of the public only because they are known to resonate with the public and not because they address central features of the issue. In other words, the way the media frames the issue could lead to people taking action because they tap into the emotions and values of the readers.

Meanwhile, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) suggested that there are five types of frames, namely Conflict, Economic consequence, Moral, Human interest and the Responsibility frames. More specifically, each news story was analysed through a series of 20 questions to which the coder had to answer “yes” or “no.” These frame categories have been used in a number

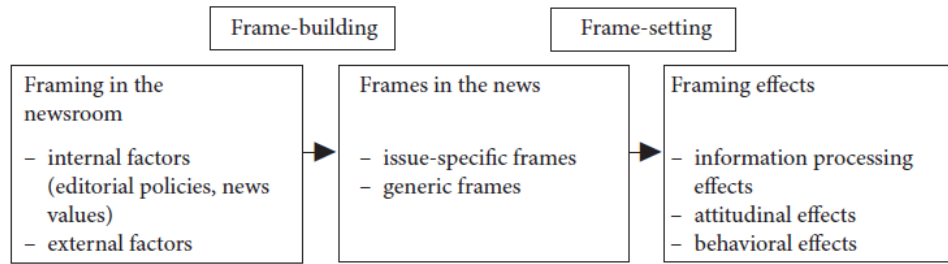
of studies (Christian, Ngozi and Kenneth, 2012; Brunken, 2006). Nonetheless, by using framing analysis to research opinion columns, it would allow the researcher to identify the central arguments presented by the opinion writer.

In this research, the researcher is looking for the frames found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini's* news articles and opinion columns in the hopes of understanding how they contextualise the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* for the reader. The researcher is also aiming to find the presence or absence of certain sentences, phrases, stereotypes and even whole news events altogether to understand how the frames are used together with them. This is unlike the agenda setting theory that aims to look at the prominence and length of stories featured in print and broadcast media, which is not the aim of this research.

The next part of this research will look into how framing is contextualised in the process of writing a news article or opinion column.

### **2.4.3 Framing in writing a news article**

A summary of the literature discussed in this chapter can be seen in the model of framing proposed by de Vreese (2005). de Vreese (2005) suggested that the potential of the framing concept lies in the focus on communicative processes, involving frame-building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (the relationship between media frames and audience inclinations). This can be seen in Figure 1.



*Figure 1: An integrated process model of framing (de Vreese, 2005)*

de Vreese (2005) summarised the stages of framing into three stages: frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing, shown in Figure 1 as “framing effects”. (d’Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000).

de Vreese (2005) argues that the “frame building” component of this model consists of framing in the newsroom and frames in the news, and influences the structural qualities of news frames. Framing in the newsrooms consist of two factors, namely the internal factors and external factors. Internal factors can consist of editorial policies and news values and can determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues to give meaning and simplify events to maintain audience interest, affecting the amount, type and quality of information available in the news article to the reader (Semetko & Scammell, 2012; de Vreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Andsager, 2000). External factors can include an economic slowdown, socio-political environment and increasing competition from old and new media (Cissell, 2012; Dave, 2011; de Vreese, 2005;).



The outcomes of the frame building process are the frames manifest in the text (de Vreese, 2005), aimed to help readers understand a certain issue better (Cissel, 2012). These frames that result in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites and social movements can be categorised into issue-specific frames, or generic frames, which will be further discussed in Chapter 3 (pg. 56). Frame-setting is the interaction between media frames and individuals' previous knowledge and inclinations. The frames set by the media may result in information processing, attitudinal and behavioural effects that affects learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events.

The consequences of framing can be seen on the individual and the societal level (de Vreese, 2005). On an individual level, attitudes about an issue could be changed based on exposure to certain frames (de Vreese, 2005). At the societal level, frames may shape social level processes such as collective actions, political socialisation and decision-making (de Vreese, 2005). The results of these framing measures can be seen in the research done by Best (2010), Lecheler, Vreese and Slothuus (2009), Sniderman & Theriault (2004), because audiences tend to react to discussion of key issues emotionally rather than rationally (Kuklinski et.al., 1991)

For this research, the framing model is when the journalists write their news in a way that may be acceptable to their superiors. This can include writing news that relies on those in power such as ministers, officials and spokespersons among others. Editors then decide if the news is acceptable

for publishing based on whether they are views acceptable to the owners of the media, their advertisers, the laws of the country and the dominant ideology of controlling elite. If they were unacceptable, the editors would spike the news. Framing works on the editorial level when editors decide what gets published and what does not get published, because even absences of certain frames can tell how the news media is trying to frame that news event, Therefore, the framing process takes place from when the journalist writes the news to the point when the news gets published.

For example, the *Bersih 3.0* demonstration takes place. The mainstream media journalist quotes official sources for his or her news article, framing the news through the Minister in the Prime Minister's view on *Bersih 3.0*. The written news is then passed to their editor and/or their immediate superior who then checks whether the news would be suitable for the owners of the media, advertisers, the laws of the country, and the dominant ideology of the controlling elite.

The process of news framing can be confirmed in a study conducted by Gerard (2012), whereby although two of the journalists interviewed said that they should report the truth to the public as much as possible, by providing an account of facts, based on reports, interviews and figures, another interviewee said that the journalist's role is to write based on what the government highlights that is not against Malaysian law and government. In fact, one of Gerard's (2012) interviewee was given strict instructions by the editors to obtain emotional responses from sources to make the papers

more saleable and sensational. The said respondent said that it was mind-boggling and she felt sorry for the person but it is unavoidable as they are directed to do what the editors tell them to do (Gerard, 2012). This shows that the framing model can be seen in the Malaysian mainstream media.

However, the mainstream media needs to have some form of appeal to the audiences so that it can advertise to the audiences. This could mean putting out news articles and opinion pieces that are not only inoffensive enough for the reader to glance through the advertisements (Grattan, 1998, as quoted by Burns, 2002), but also ensuring that their content is appealing to as many people as possible so news companies can sell advertising spaces (McElmurry, 2009).

In fact, Brown (2005) and Wang (2001) noted that in the early eighties, *The Star* had a reputation of having a more liberal attitude, was once able to exert some autonomy in raising issues through some critical veteran columnists and editors, and was more willing to give column spaces to independent social groups. Yang & Ishak (2012a) have also noted that in their study of how major Malaysian newspapers covered the reversal of the teaching of mathematics and science in English to Malay, *The Star* appeared to be the most neutral (34.1%), followed by *Sin Chew Daily* (16%), *Malaysiakini* (4.6%) and *Utusan Malaysia* (4%). Perhaps *The Star* had their coverage in that manner so that its content could appeal to as many people as possible, therefore command a better price for its prospective advertisers. As part of the objectives of the research, the researcher will therefore attempt to

see if indeed *The Star* will employ a less hostile attitude towards *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* in order to attract its readers.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

Based on previous studies, the mainstream and alternative media have covered protests differently, be it from their news sources, length of articles, or the extensiveness of their coverage. For anyone with the belief that their message is an important for the public to take note, the way the media covers their message - or setting the agenda - is an important way in influencing the way people think about their message which could come in the form of protests or objections towards the protests. Previous studies on agenda setting have found that the media has some influence on how people perceive a certain issue. In fact, influential news media may also have the ability to pressure other media outlets into covering a certain issue in order to avoid being left out of the race to be the first to break the story. Framing goes in further than the agenda setting, elaborating how prominent 'frames', or clusters of views with a common theme, can help shape the way people think about a certain issue.

In Malaysia, the frames used in the mainstream media, such as *The Star*, could possibly be clustered as such to reflect on its owners, who are linked to the government. The frames used in the alternative media, meanwhile, would also reflect on its owners or its owners' ideology, such as the case with *Malaysiakini*, whereby its editor Steven Gan claimed that *Malaysiakini* is pro-opposition by default (Brown, 2005). However, its

coverage could also be more balanced so that it can attract readers and gain advertising revenue.

As mentioned in Chapter One, news articles would more likely follow the general stand taken by either the mainstream or alternative media, while opinion columns would appear to do the opposite, possibly persuading the readers to support a view that could be in contrast to the general stand of the media. However, most of these studies have clumped together news articles, opinion columns and occasionally letters to the editors into one study, with no distinction among them, despite opinion columns having a slight influence over than news articles because they are meant to be persuasive and generally argue a position (Smith, 2007). On top of that, opinion columns allow a degree of freedom for the columnist to write their views in a way journalists may not be able to do so. This could result in opinion pieces that differ from the overall tone of the media it was published in. This possible difference is what the researcher is interested in.

Malaysian studies on the issue of framing also either focus only on news articles (Anuar, 2007), or lump together news articles, editorials and opinion columns in their studies (Yang & Ishak, 2012a; Yang and Ishak, 2012b). Little distinction was made between the frames found in news articles, editorials and opinion columns. Differentiating the frames used in the news articles and opinion columns could reveal the framing of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. In the next chapter, the researcher will explain how this study is intended to be carried out.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology that was deployed in this research.

#### 3.2 Content Analysis

Typically, a framing study would deploy a content analysis approach. Used during the 1940s to study wartime communications (Franzosi, 2007), content analysis is a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Conventional content analysis is generally used with a study design to describe a phenomenon, and is appropriate when an existing theory or research literature on a phenomenon is limited (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). A content analysis can not only help present a more objective and specific argument about the phenomenon through numbers and in percentages, but is also context-sensitive and therefore can process symbolic meanings of data (Prasad, 2008). It can help find patterns that scholars and researchers use to methodically evaluate news media and its use of frames (Cissel, 2012). In turn, this allows for the comparison of possible agenda setters' bias of the

event (Cissel, 2012) or whether the direction of coverage of news items as favourable or unfavourable (Prasad, 2008) among others. In other words, it is typically used to interpret texts and describe them based on a theory in the hopes of explaining a certain incident or a period in time that is of interest to the researcher. Content analysis can be used to study any recorded material as long as the information is available to be reanalysed for reliability checks (Krippendorff, 1989).

According to Krippendorff (1989), content analysis typically involves several steps, namely:

1. Deciding to use content analysis - determine what needs to be analysed, the research's objective, data availability and the kinds of analyses that are required
2. Determining what materials should be included in content analysis – the materials can either involve taking the entire group of raw data obtained, sampling or selecting a few data-rich samples for analysis.
3. Select units of analysis - the parameters for what has to be analysed from the samples of analysis. The researcher will first have to design the units of analysis, called “recording units” and “context units”. Context units set the limit on which part of the written material that is to be examined for categories of words or statements. Context units can be the same as the units sampled and the recording unit, although they are not always the same. A recording unit is the specific segment of the context unit in the written material that is placed in a category.

It may be a word, a group of words (such as those that identify a theme), a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire document.

4. Develop coding categories. – The categories should be exhaustive so that all relevant items in the material being studied can be placed within a category. Categories should also be mutually exclusive so that no item can be coded in more than one category. Categories should be independent as well so that a recording unit's category assignment is not affected by the category assignment of other recording units.
5. Coding the materials. - Coding the recording units requires a definition of recording units, including procedures for identifying them. It would also need descriptions of the variables and categories, outline of the cognitive procedures used in placing data in categories and instructions for using and administering data sheets.
6. Analysing and interpreting the results. – The way data can be summarized into something meaningful is by looking at frequencies among them. They can come in the form of absolute frequencies, where data is analysed based on the number of times statements or issues are found in the sample. Alternatively, they can also come in the form of a percentage of the sample size. By interpreting the data in such manner, analysts can compare one category's frequency to the average frequency for all categories, or they can note changes in frequencies over time.



This research adopted Krippendorff (1989)'s model of analysis as this model best suits the research objectives.

### **3.3 Research Workflow**

This part of the chapter outlined how the research was carried out. The research was conducted mainly based on Krippendorff's (1989), steps to conduct content analysis, namely:

1. Deciding to use content analysis
2. Determining what materials should be included in content analysis.
3. Select units of analysis.
4. Develop coding categories
5. Coding the materials.
6. Analysing and interpreting the results.

#### **3.3.1 Deciding to use content analysis**

To determine what needs to be analysed, the research's objective, data availability and the kinds of analyses used are required. In this study, the researcher intends to determine the frames that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, and the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media. The available data for the researcher to analyse lies within the news articles and opinion columns of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* that were related to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. For this research, "immediate" refers

to two weeks after *Bersih 3.0* (April 28, 2012) and *Bersih 4.0* (29 - 30 August 2015) was held, which means the timeframe of analysis would cover news articles and opinion columns between 29 April 2012 to 12 May 2012 for *Bersih 3.0*, and 31 August 2015 to 13 September 2015 for *Bersih 4.0*. This dimension was kept constant to make a meaningful comparison.

To obtain that data, the researcher gathered the articles through the *Malaysiakini* and *The Star* website. The kinds of analyses that are required to answer the questions would involve coding texts found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles and opinion columns into coding categories, determining the frequency of those coding categories, as well as determining the frequency of news articles and opinion columns. The first two was aimed at answering both research questions, while the latter was aimed at strengthening the similarities and differences in how the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* was covered by both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*.

The researcher first counted the number of news articles and opinion columns that was analysed in regards to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. This is followed by determining the slant of the news articles and opinion columns, the types of coding categories found, determining the percentages of each theme to the entire analysis and then a breakdown of the most dominant coding categories, similarities and differences. This is where the second step of the analysis comes in, whereby the content of analysis itself has to be determined.

### 3.3.2 Sampling Selection

The researcher took in all the news articles and opinion columns from *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in regards to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* based on a criteria.

*The Star* was chosen for this analysis because of the four main English print dailies in Malaysia - *The Star*, the *New Straits Times*, the *Sun* and the *Malay Mail*, *The Star* has the highest daily sales with a daily circulation of 248,559 as of 2016, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, while *Malaysiakini* is chosen for the analysis because it is ranked 38<sup>th</sup> on Alexa most visited site in Malaysia, and is the most visited Malaysian news site (<http://www.alex.com/siteinfo/Malaysiakini.com#>).

News articles and opinion columns from *The Star* were obtained through archived articles stored in *The Star* website (<http://www.thestar.com.my/>), while news articles and opinion columns from *Malaysiakini* were obtained through archived articles stored in its website (<http://www.Malaysiakini.com/>) via a paid account, as *Malaysiakini* only allows its non-paying readers access to the first paragraph of its news articles and opinion columns. Although *Malaysiakini* offers sections in English, Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese and Tamil, this study only focuses on the English section because the other sections contain mainly translations of major English language stories. Their articles were pulled from the newspaper's online archives by using "*Bersih 3.0*" and "*Bersih 4.0*" as the keyword.

The obtained news items and opinion pieces were then narrowed down. To determine which hard news articles and opinion pieces will be used for this research, the researcher has decided to only accept those that has comments on various activities affiliated to the rally on 28 April 2012, a general view on *Bersih 3.0*, *Bersih 3.0*'s eight points of demands, the actions of *Bersih* supporters, the actions of *Pakatan Rakyat* supporters during the *Bersih* rally and its leaders' view on *Bersih*, its chairman Ambiga Sreenevasan and *Bersih*'s committee members, the *Bersih 3.0* event itself, its impact on businesses, residents and others, as well as issues that arose after the rally was held such as police detention, supposed PDRM brutality and federal government interference, and any references of *Bersih 3.0* with previous *Bersih* rallies.

Similarly, for *Bersih 4.0*, the scope of the study revolved around various activities affiliated to the rally on 29 August 2015, which was held over three days in Dataran Merdeka and various other venues around the world, the threats of the Red Shirt Rally and how it can jeopardize race relations, as well as issues that arose after the rally was held such as police detention, supposed PDRM brutality and federal government interference, and any references of *Bersih 4.0* with previous *Bersih* rallies. The researcher rejected any hard news articles and opinion pieces that mention the word *Bersih* but exclusively refer to any *Bersih* activities prior to *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0*.

Letters to the editor were excluded because of the study's focus on the frames found on news articles and opinion columns, which generally functions to report events rather than report public responses. In addition to that, Morrison & Love (1996: 45–46) noted that typically, editors select well-written and cogently argued letter contributions rather than openly offensive pieces, and that and these are generally in keeping with the established ideological direction of the publication.

Editorials were also excluded from this study because there is no editorial column in *Malaysiakini*, while the presence of editorials in *The Star* would mean that it is not possible to compare the frames found in *The Star*'s editorials and *Malaysiakini*'s. This means only hard news articles and opinion columns that predominantly deal with *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* were selected for this study.

In the case of *Malaysiakini*, some opinion pieces were categorized as “columns”, but they were not included in this study as they were non-regular contributors. They include opinion pieces made by politicians but are one-off articles, one-off commentaries by journalists and activists and pieces by irregular columnists. For this study, an opinion column is defined as a piece that is a regular feature in a publication, is personality-driven by the author and explicitly contains an opinion or point of view.

These set of guidelines allowed for a narrowing in on the relevant articles and the ability to justifiably include or exclude articles in the analysis.

Initially, the study intended to conduct a longitudinal study, whereby opinion columns and news articles from two weeks before and two weeks after the rally are analysed. However, after determining that the number of articles that would be analysed was impossible to manage and the topics to be analysed too broad, the researcher has decided to narrow the topic to the two weeks after *Bersih 3.0* that is between 29 April 2012 and 12 May 2012. This period of analysis was when the federal government responded to *Bersih 3.0* in a way that some have described as excessive and when a probe was launched into the excessive treatment of protestors and journalists by the Malaysian PDRM. Meanwhile, for *Bersih 4.0*, the period of analysis was between 31 August 2015 and 13 September 2015. This was the period when threats were made against *Bersih 4.0* organisers in the form of the Red Shirt Rally, which threatened bloodshed against the perceived racist nature of *Bersih 4.0*.

A total of 458 articles were analysed for this research. A total of 210 articles comprising 50 available articles from *The Star* and 160 articles from *Malaysiakini* were used to study *Bersih 3.0*, while 248 articles, comprising 61 available articles from *The Star* and 187 articles from *Malaysiakini* were studied for *Bersih 4.0*. As seen on Figure 2 and Figure 3, there were 96 news articles and 15 column pieces from *The Star* (24.2% of total articles analysed) and 334 news articles and 13 opinion columns from *Malaysiakini* that were analysed (75.8% of total articles analysed).

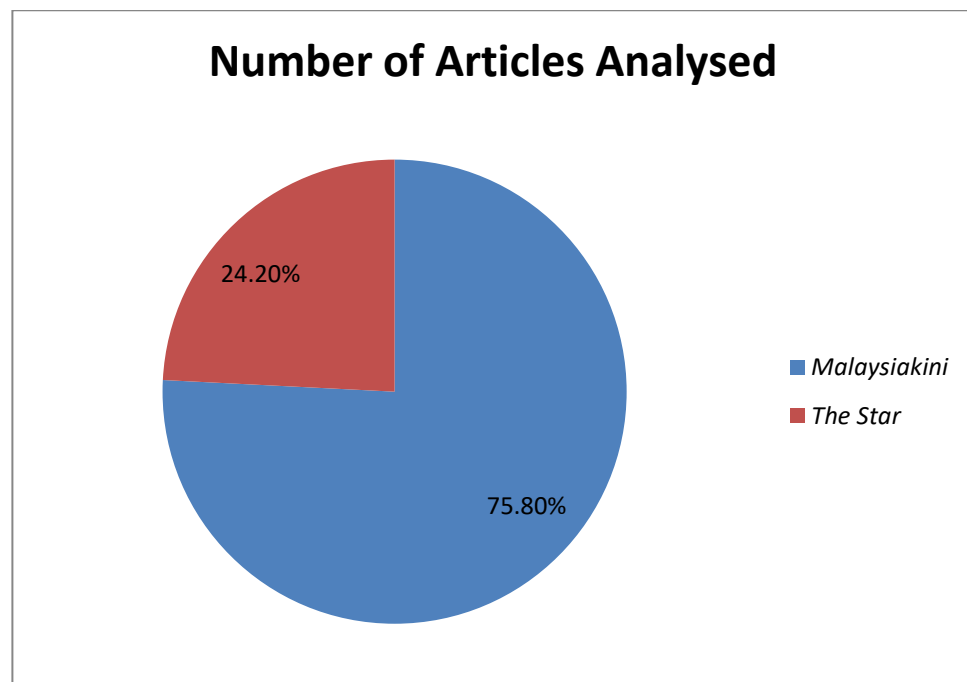
Song (2007) suggests that journalists are more likely to make particular events and issues the topic of commentary, including news analysis

and columns if they deem them important. Therefore, by exploring the proportion of news articles and opinion pieces, it would show how important the issue is in the view of the news outlets. A summary of the scope of study can be seen in Table 3, Figure 2 and Figure 3.

**Table 3**

*Summary of Scope of Study*

Scope of study	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>News articles and opinion columns of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> (29 April – 12 May 2012) and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> (31 August – 13 September 2015)</li> </ul>	
Accepted	Rejected
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>News articles</li> <li>Opinion columns that are published on a regular basis</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>News articles and opinion columns that refer to <i>Bersih</i> but not <i>Bersih 3.0</i> or <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>Letters to the editor</li> <li>Editorials</li> <li>Non-regular contributors eg. politicians &amp; irregular columnists</li> </ul>



*Figure 2: Composition of Malaysiakini and The Star news articles that will be analysed for the study*

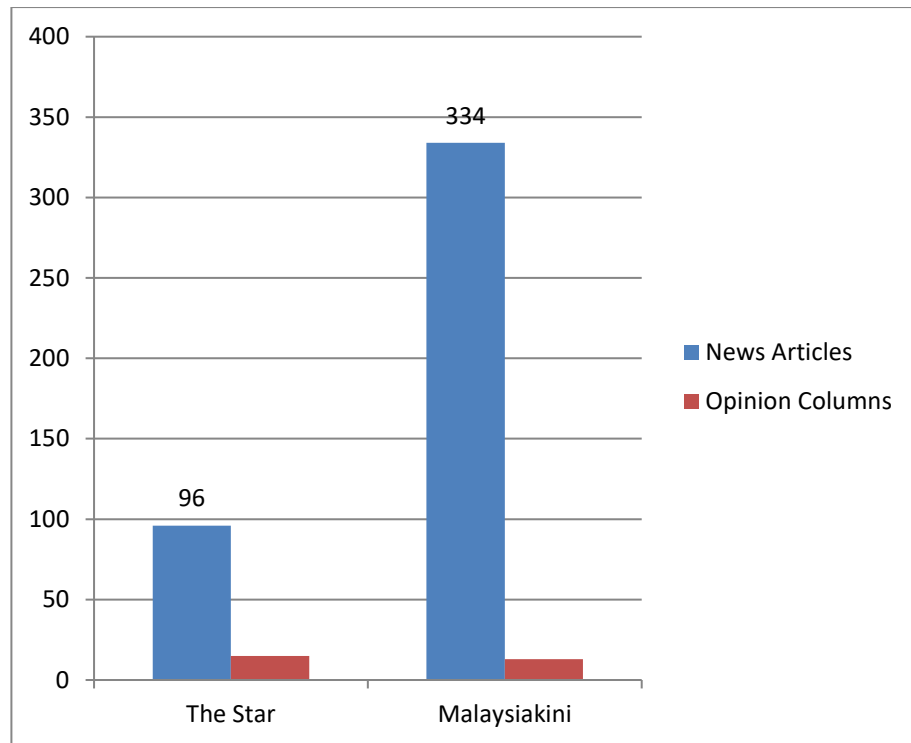


Figure 3: Composition of news articles and opinion columns in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* that will be analysed

### 3.3.3. Units of analysis

In this research, the context units and the recording units were in the news articles and opinion columns of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* that are related to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* based on the scope of study. In the researcher's case, the context units are parts of the news article or opinion column that is related to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. For example, in *The Star's* news article "Chua: Umno proves rallies can be peaceful" on 12 May 2012, the context unit would be the sentences and paragraphs that are only related to the *Bersih 3.0* rally. The rest of the paragraphs, which talks about the federal government and are unrelated to *Bersih 3.0*, were not analysed. To illustrate this, the researcher will extract three paragraphs from the said news article to demonstrate how this works.



The huge Umno anniversary celebrations is proof that rallies can be held without creating problems for authorities or the rest of the public, said MCA president Datuk Seri Dr Chua Soi Lek.

“They (*Bersih 3.0* organisers) wanted to portray the Government and police as cruel. This gathering shows that we can hold big rallies in peace,” he said.

Dr Chua said Umno had gone through trials and tribulations, including during the 2008 political tsunami.

In these three paragraphs, only the first two was analysed because they were relevant to *Bersih 3.0*. The frame implied that the federal government is able to hold peaceful rallies, unlike *Bersih 3.0* who caused chaos in their Kuala Lumpur rally. The last paragraph, which talks about how UMNO has changed, was not analysed, as it is not the context of analysis.

Another point that Krippendorff (1989) made is also relevant:

Since it is not always practical to use long documents as context units, chapters, sections, paragraphs, or even sentences may be better choices. This is especially true when attempts are made to identify subtle differences in content.

This is relevant to this research, as one sampling unit and context unit may have more than one frame embedded. The recording unit for this research, therefore, would be the sentences, paragraphs, or the entire context of analysis. They can contain one or more frames that will be analysed for this research.

Various content analysis and agenda setting research have discussed about the role of headlines in the framing of a news event (Christian, Ngozi & Kenneth, 2012; Anuar, 2007; Macnamara, 2005; van Dijk, 1988; Hall, 1975). In some content analysis research (eg: Wiest, 2003; Lester-

Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999; Nelson & Oxley, 1999), headlines are analysed as they attract attention and they are considered one of the more crucial framing elements than paragraphs near the end of the article, given how stories are generally constructed inverted-pyramid style. However, this research did not analyse the headlines of the news articles and opinion columns. This is because the headline does very little to frame the story other than to summarize the main components of the story (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

In addition, while it is possible that the dominant frame of the unit of analysis can be found in the headline itself, it is necessary to read the article to the end in order to determine the primary focus of the article (McKeever, 2013). For example, *The Star*'s opinion column "*A riot at peaceful rally*" by Shahanaaz Habib may suggest a negative coverage of *Bersih 3.0*, given the negative connotations associated with the word "riot". However, the opinion piece with this headline was of a neutral reporting of events during *Bersih 3.0*, with interviews from various people who participated in the rally and the person who broke through the barricade at Dataran Merdeka. The article also features criticism of *Bersih 3.0* from UMNO Youth chief and Rembau MP Khairy Jamaludin, who opines that while he has no issues with a peaceful assembly, an assembly becomes a problem when it becomes politically charged. In addition, the word "riot" can also mean an "impressively large or varied display of something" (English Oxford Living Dictionaries, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/riot>). This means that the headline of the article itself cannot be an accurate summary of what is the slant of the article.

Another example worth noting about the unreliability of headlines to determine the slant of the article is The Star's "*The true colours of Malaysia*" opinion piece written by the late Soo Ewe Jin. The headline paints a positive picture about how Malaysia is a multicultural and peace-loving country. However, one sentence stands out as an implicit opposition to any form of rallies, be it the *Bersih 4.0* and the Red Shirt Rally:

Street demonstrations may have their place in expression of public opinions, but I believe there is a better way. It is the way of embracing our differences.

On top of that, headlines are generally analysed under the Agenda Setting Theory (eg: Sajahan, Zawawi, Syafena, Kamarunzaman, Yusof, Hussin & Jusoff, 2010; McCombs & Shaw, 1972), where news headlines inform the readers about which issues deserve attention on the policy agenda (Caramani, 2010). Framing theories, meanwhile, put forth the argument that reporting shapes the context and background used to comprehend and interpret the workings of government authorities, political institutions and the policy process, which is the focus of this study (Caramani, 2010).

The next section explains how the frames are developed, how it is linked to the coding of the context units and how it answers the research questions.

#### **3.3.4 Develop coding categories**

As mentioned earlier, the units of analysis may contain one or more frames, and each of those frames will have a meaning attached to it. However,

the meaningfulness of those frames identified can be lost if focus is only given to the individual frames but not to how the other frames are connected to each other. The interconnectedness of those frames can be explained by categorizing those frames.

There are several ways frames can be categorized. One way is through self-categorization, whereby the researcher himself or herself derive the frames based on the researcher's interpretation. Studies that have derived frames based on the researcher's own interpretation include studies done by McKeever (2013), Cissel (2012), Misener (2013), Groshek & Han (2011), McElmurry (2009), Matthes & Kohring (2008), Xie, Lowry & Witte (2008) and Song (2007). This kind of study is called constant comparison, or issue-specific frames (de Vreese, 2005). Song (2007) used this qualitative approach to uncover a wide range of meanings in texts while also obtain a more objective procedure for analysis. It is noted that one sentence in a news text can have more than one frame, while multiple sentences may contain no frame.

In other instances, the researcher based his or her content analysis based on a pre-fixed set of frames, with pre-fixed categories. Studies that used a pre-fixed set of frames and categories include Yang & Ishak (2012b), Christian, Ngozi & Kenneth (2012) and Brunken (2006), using frames like the ones set by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) which contained a series of 20 dichotomous orientated response questions in order to create a frame factor score for each item. These pre-fixed set of frames are generic news frames

and categories that are applicable to a wide range of topics (Lecheler, Vreese and Slothuus, 2009). In their study of how framing effects differ in magnitude and process when it comes to how important an issue is, Lecheler, Vreese and Slothuus (2009) picked topics with generic frames to analyse framing because it is easier to compare framing effects across issues. Kozman (2016) argues that while “issue-specific frames reveal what aspects of an issue were selected and what were left out, generic frames tell us more about the way the media package any issue”.

However, it should be noted that while some generic frames may apply in the analysis of frames used by the media in a specific event, some frames that are only found in the media’s coverage of that specific event may not be found in generic frames. Trying to impose a generic frame on an issue-specific analysis would result in the researcher finding frames they are consciously or unconsciously looking for, and could potentially skew results.

It is important to note that while some researchers have attempted to address concerns about the researcher’s position in frames analysis by utilizing computer-aided and deductive approaches to media framing, using these methods on its own can result in problems with syntactic rules errors and misalignment between textual frames and coding processes (Misener, 2013). In addition to that, when a human coder analyses frame elements, he or she is able to analyse language with all its nuances and ambiguities, as compared to a computer assisted approach that derive the frames merely from the number of words that occur but does not contribute to the meaning of the

text.

The concerns raised suggest that this study should not undertake a deductive approach and categorize the frames found based on generic frames. The concerns also suggest that this study should preferably take an inductive approach, which would involve analysing a news story with an open view to reveal the array of possible frames on this specific issue of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. The operational definitions that were used in determining the analysis are as explained in page 58.

### ***3.3.4.1 Operational Definitions***

#### *3.3.4.1.1 News articles*

News articles are published news stories in the newspaper that may contain the following elements: 1) The power elite: Stories regarding powerful institutions, individuals or organisations or, 2) Celebrity: stories about famous people, 3) Entertainment: Stories on show business, sex, animals, human interest, an unfolding drama, or offering humour, witty headlines or entertaining photographs, 4) Surprise: Stories with an element of surprise and/or contrast, 5) Bad news: Stories that have a particularly critical overtone, such as tragedy or conflict, 6) Good news: Stories that have a particularly positive overtone, such as rescues and cures, 7) Magnitude: Stories that are deemed significant either in the numbers of people involved or in potential impact, 8) Relevance: Stories on groups, issues and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience, 9) Follow-up: Stories on subjects already in the news and 10) Newspaper agenda: Stories setting or fitting the news organisation's own agenda (Harcup and O'Neill, 2016).

#### *3.3.4.1.2 Opinion columns*

Opinion columns are part of opinion pieces found in a newspaper, alongside editorials, reviews, letters to the editors and op eds. They are short, punchy, an original commentary, and convey someone's opinion about an incident or an issue that is both timely and controversial, some of which are supported by research (Johnson, 2005). They are also meant to illicit a reaction from the reader, whether it is agreement, disagreement, amusement, enlightenment. Opinion columns, which can appear at regular intervals in the publication inform the opinions of the readers and carries the writer's by-line and occasionally, the writer's photograph (Naveed, 2011; Cole & White, 2008).

#### *3.3.4.1.3 Protests*

Protests carry messages, or symbolic content to make a claim or express a grievance, and typically involves three elements: (1) a protest issue or message, (2) a protest actor, and (3) a protest action form. The protest action can come in various forms, including rallies, marches, demonstrations, boycotts, pickets, vigils, blockades, strikes, sit-ins, and petitions among others. (Oliver, 2016).

#### *3.3.4.1.4 Mainstream media*

Mainstream media are media outlets with communication mediums targeting the largest possible share of the public (Tsfati & Peri, 2006). They can be major, very profitable, corporations (Chomsky, 1997).

#### *3.3.4.1.5 Alternative media*

Alternative media are mass media challenging the dominant capitalist forms of media structures, media production, distribution, content and reception. Their target audience are particular religious, small-scale ethnic or political niches, with messages often reflecting radical views rarely seen on mainstream media (Fuchs, 2010; Tsfati & Peri, 2006).

#### *3.3.4.1.6 Frames*

Frames are the absence or presence of specific words, phrases, stereotypes, sentences and sources of information that reinforces judgments or facts. Frames bring forth connections amongst them too to encourage a particular interpretation (Entman, 2007; Entman, 1993).

#### *3.3.4.2 Process of analysis*

After reading an article, the analysis begins by coming up with a very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames. This approach can detect the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed in a certain article. The frames were derived from the news articles and opinion columns by first highlighting the exact words from the text that seem to capture key thoughts or concepts. These highlighted words were then made into coding categories and simultaneously sorted into themes based on how they are related and linked using the software QDA Miner, which would be explained later in this chapter.



The sentence of interest to the research were then placed into the various coding categories. If they do not fit in any existing coding categories, new coding categories were created and if necessary, grouped together in different themes. This is to make it easier for the researcher to compare and identify the similarities and differences in the way *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* reported the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. This approach is usually appropriate when existing theory or research literature on a phenomenon is limited (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This approach is also appropriate by allowing the themes and names for categories to flow from the data, allowing the researcher to immerse in the data to allow new insights to emerge (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The coding categories were checked and re-checked to ensure they were exhaustive, mutually exclusive and independent, as outlined by Krippendorff (1989).

#### ***3.3.4.3 Slant***

At the same time, the slant of the news items and opinion columns were also determined whether they had:

- 1) positive views about *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*,
- 2) neutral coverage of *Bersih*, and
- 3) negative views of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*.

Coverage that is positive to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* includes those where *Bersih* committee members and others that have expressed their support for the rally, or news articles or opinion columns that has a positive

view on *Bersih*. Coverage that is neutral in regards to *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0* include news articles and opinion columns that have covered both sides of the rally in one article, police brutality coverage (*Bersih 3.0*), reaffirmations from any one that the rally goers are innocent, probe panel coverage (*Bersih 3.0*), the coverage on the September 16 counter-*Bersih* rally (*Bersih 4.0*) and other similar coverage that is directly related to *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0* but does not express any positive or negative views on *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0*. Coverage that is negative towards *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0* includes attacks on the rally organizers, its supporters, how inferior they are to a certain political party and/or the federal government, how the rally is organised (*Bersih 3.0*) and how undemocratic and/or racist the rally is (*Bersih 4.0*) among others. The full list of the frames and themes can be found in Appendix B and E.

The researcher decided to limit the slants to positive, neutral and negative coverage because scholars have struggled to determine whether the slant of frames are positive, negative, balanced or neutral (Xie, Lowry & Witte, 2008). While some studies have categorised slants into positive, balanced or negative coverage (eg: McKeever, 2013; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Jha, 2008; Song, 2007; Smith, 2007; Macnamara, 2005), most studies (Cissel, 2012; Prasad, 2008; Beder, 2004; McCombs et al, 1997; van Dijk, 1988; ) adopt a variation of a positive-neutral-negative categorisation of slants. In fact, most Malaysian framing studies (eg: Yang & Ishak, 2013; Yang & Ishak, 2012a; Sajahan et. al., 2009; Anuar, 2007; also adopt the positive-neutral-negative categorisation of slants. The researcher thus decided that

this study would adopt the positive-neutral-negative categorisation of slants. The next step is to code the materials in order for the analysis to be conducted.

### **3.3.5 Coding the materials.**

In this research, the coding categories were used to code the recording units. To recap on how the coding categories are derived, the content is first read word-by-word to get the codes by first highlighting the exact words from the text that seem to capture key thoughts or concepts (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Next, the researcher would make notes of his or her first impressions, thoughts, and initial analysis from reading the text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Labels for codes that reflect more than one key thought will emerge as this process goes on (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

This is where the descriptions of the variables and categories come in. The codes from the text often become the initial coding scheme. These codes are simultaneously clustered into themes based on how they are related and linked given the specific research needs of the investigator (Franzosi, 2007). The definitions of the themes and codes are developed, with some examples identified from the data for the purpose of reporting (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

In framing studies, the coding categories are the frames. In placing data in categories, some of the initial coding categories identified were created, merged or removed as the researcher continues to analyse and identify possible frames. The coding categories were assigned to the

recording units using QDA Miner. Once all the news articles and opinion columns have been coded with the initial coding categories identified using QDA Miner, they were then re-checked with the newly-identified coding categories and then coded if it was not identified the first time round. A preliminary analysis of the coding categories was also conducted to ensure the reliability of the coding categories identified.

Given that the researcher has already developed an initial list of coding categories, the researcher then re-analyses all the news articles and opinion columns to ensure there are no further overlapping of coding categories and that all of them are as exhaustive as possible. If they are overlapping, the coding categories are either merged or removed from the recording unit. These coding categories can represent either explicit communication or inferred communication (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The fourth step in coding the material, according to Krippendorff (1989), involves instructions for using and administering data sheets. This research used QDA Miner, an application that can be used to code parts of the recording unit with coding categories. With QDA Miner, the researcher was able to merge, delete, edit and move the coding categories that have been developed from the content analysis. The people who were involved in the reliability tests were also required to code the frames using QDA Miner, with supervision from the researcher. The full instruction and the coding sheet can be found in Appendix B and E.

### 3.3.6 Analysing and interpreting the results

Once the data has been collected, analysis of the data can be done. For this research, data is collected from a large number of news items and opinion columns from *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* based on the criteria and timeframe aforementioned using quantitative methods. A more qualitative analysis of the data is then made based on the data collected.

Quantitative data were established for the size of the total coverage; the number of articles sorted according to tones; and the use of frames. They are presented first. The coding categories used in the news articles are first analysed to create a baseline for the coding categories most commonly used by *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*. The frequency of the coding categories that appeared in the news articles are then compared against the coding categories found in the opinion columns in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* to see if there are differences or similarities between the coding categories used in news articles and opinion columns.

Then, the qualitative textual analysis dealt with the coding categories that were identified the most, the similarities and the differences in coverage between *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*. The quantitative data of the slant and the distribution of the news articles and opinion columns are used to support or dispel the findings found. Conclusions are based both on the quantitative and qualitative results, but the focus of analysis is mainly qualitative. A summary of the workflow can be found in Appendix I.

### 3.4 Reliability

In content analysis, the reliability of the research depends on how a procedure can be produced with the same results on repeated trials (Golafshani, 2003; Krippendorff, 1989). This means determining the similarity with which two or more people categorize the same material, using the coding categories and instructions throughout the coding process (Krippendorff, 1989). Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated: "since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former (validity) is sufficient to establish the latter (reliability).

For this research, reliability is required to test the frames and its themes (Appendix B and E). This is because to ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is crucial (Golafshani, 2003). Although the question of replicability in the results does not concern the researcher, the precision and truthfulness of the frames obtained from the initial reading will hopefully help improve the reliability of the research.

The reliability of this research will adopt Yang & Ishak's (2012b) method on ensuring reliability. In their research on how the Malaysian mainstream media and *Malaysiakini* covered the 2007 Hindraf demonstrations, their findings were based on the categories developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and also the slant of the news items, whether they were: 1) supportive toward Hindraf, 2) neutral, and (3) critical of Hindraf.

To ensure its reliability, Yang & Ishak (2012b) roped in a communications graduate as their second coder. Intercoder reliability for this study was established by randomly selecting 10% of the news items, and found intercoder reliability for news frames was 0.92 and 0.97 for slants using Holsti's formula.

In this research, to check the inter-coder reliability of the coding categories identified via content analysis, the researcher conducted a pilot study or pre-test. The purpose of the pilot study was to avoid poorly defined units of analysis, to detect any mistakes, and to allow the researcher to make changes in the coding scheme.

All themes, coding categories and slant variables used in this study were determined prior after reading and analysing each story. Each article was read repeatedly and critically to identify the themes, coding categories and slants.

Two coders were then tasked to match the coding categories that the researcher had initially discovered to a list of news articles from *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* that has been systematically selected using QDA Miner. The list of news articles for each coder to analyse were derived using a systematic sampling of every five news articles, resulting in 8 news articles from *The Star* and 28 news articles from *Malaysiakini* for the *Bersih 3.0* set, while for *Bersih 4.0*, 12 articles from *The Star* and 37 from *Malaysiakini* were sampled.

The coders that were used to check the inter-reliability of the frames were all familiar with the current political environment in Malaysia, but none of them is a member, activist or supporter of a political party or political position. To ensure that the level of agreement between the coders did not occur by chance, the entries coded were subjected to an inter-coder reliability test, using Holsti's formula. It is straightforward, requiring only information about the number of coding decisions the coders must make, and the total number of decisions made by each coder.

The researcher first demonstrates how the coders were supposed to match the coding categories to the sentence or paragraph on QDA Miner once. The researcher then leaves the coders to match the frames to the sentences or paragraphs. If the coder does not understand how a sentence should be coded, the coder can introduce a new frame or discuss with the researcher on how it could be coded.

The researcher identifies the number of disagreements or suggestions with the frames identified so that inter-coder reliability can be calculated into Holsti's formula (1969), and the frames merged, added or removed.

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

**M = total items agreed upon**

**N1 = total items coder 1 selected**

**N2 = total items coder 2 selected**



In this study, two coders have been tasked to match the frames that the researcher has initially discovered to a list of news articles from *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* that has been systematically selected using QDA Miner. The list of news articles for each coder to analyse were derived using a systematic sampling of every five news articles, resulting in 8 news articles from *The Star* and 28 news articles from *Malaysiakini*, each from the *Bersih 3.0*. For *Bersih 4.0*, 12 articles from *The Star* and 35 from *Malaysiakini* were sampled. The coders that were used to check the inter-reliability of the coding categories were all familiar with the current political environment in Malaysia, but none of them is a member, activist or supporter of a political party or political position. All themes and slant variables used in this study were determined after reading and analysing each story. Each article was read repeatedly and critically to identify frames. To ensure that the level of agreement between the coders did not occur by chance, the entries coded were subjected to an inter-coder reliability test, using Holsti's formula. It is straightforward, requiring only information about the number of coding decisions the coders must make, and the total number of decisions made by each coder.

The researcher then identifies the number of items that the coders agree or disagree, and then compute them into Holsti's formula (1969). It was found that intercoder reliability was 0.76 for *Bersih 3.0*, and 0.89 for *Bersih 4.0*, which is above the coefficient of .70 or above and therefore is generally considered reliable, whereas the ones below .70 are suspect (Frey, Botan and Kreps, 2000).

### **3.5 Validity**

Meanwhile, validity is defined as a measure of how truthful the research results are and the extent to which the instrument measures what it purports to measure (Miller, Epstein, Bishop & Keitner, 1985).

This research deployed a mixed-methods approach, whereby quantitative and qualitative approaches to theory, data collection and data analysis and interpretation are integrated (Bamberger, 2012). The idea behind mixed methods is to draw on the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative approaches and integrate them to overcome their weaknesses (Bamberger, 2012).

Quantitative methods can help address the small sample in qualitative content analysis, which has been described as unscientific and unreliable, while qualitative methods can help address the limitations brought about by quantitative content analysis as a result of superficially defined units by providing an understanding of the media text's deeper meanings and likely interpretations by audiences (Macnamara, 2005). In many cases, in-depth analysis of selected content using qualitative research methods is required to fully understand the potential meanings (manifest and latent) for audiences and likely effects of texts (Macnamara, 2005).

Mixed methods can help enhance the validity of evaluation findings by comparing information obtained from different methods of data collection (Bamberger, 2012). When the analyses from different sources converge and

agree, it increases the validity and credibility of findings or interpretation (Bamberger, 2012). When the analysis is not consistent, the researcher explores further to understand the reason for the inconsistencies (Bamberger, 2012).

Under this combination, the results of the quantitative analysis, such as data about media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, ‘messages’ determined by key words in context (KWIC) are presented first. Then, a more thorough qualitative analysis is conducted on a few notable findings from the analysis of news articles and opinion columns, and not the smaller and less significant findings.

Golafshani (2003) suggests that the while validity in quantitative research is very specific to the specific test, triangulation methods are used in qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003) to achieve validity.

### **3.6 Triangulation**

Triangulation is a research method that uses more than one research method to check and establish validity in their studies by analysing a research question from multiple perspectives (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2011). In fact, triangulation can be used to determine the credibility, dependability and confirmability of Lincoln & Guba's Evaluative Criteria (1985), which was used to determine the trustworthiness of a research study.

Triangulation is deployed in the credibility criterion by cross-checking data and interpretations for mutual confirmation of data to ensure that all aspects of a phenomenon have been investigated, minimizing distortion from a single data source or from a biased researcher, therefore increasing confidence in the 'truth' of the findings (Krefting, 1991). Triangulation is also used to enhance dependability by ensuring that the weaknesses of one method of data collection are compensated by the use of alternative data-gathering methods, therefore showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated (Krefting, 1991). The triangulation of multiple methods, data sources, and theoretical perspectives tests the strength of the researcher's ideas on whether it is neutral enough under the confirmability criterion (Krefting, 1991). The transferability in Lincoln & Guba's Evaluative Criteria (1985) was not used with triangulation because if the study's findings are expected to be descriptive in nature, this criterion may not be relevant because the findings need to be applicable in other contexts unless there is generalization of the findings (Krefting, 1991).

There are four types of triangulation, namely:

- 1) Data triangulation - using different sampling strategies to increase the validity of a study (Bryman, 2004).
- 2) Investigator triangulation - using more than one researcher in the analysis process (Bryman, 2004).
- 3) Theory triangulation - using different theoretical perspectives to interpret a single set of data (Guion, Diehl & McDonald, 2011).

- 4) Methodological triangulation - using multiple qualitative and/or quantitative methods to study the program (Guion, Diehl & McDonald, 2011; Bryman, 2004).

For this research, a methodological triangulation was used to provide a more complete set of findings than could be arrived at through the administration of one of the methods alone (Guion, Diehl & McDonald, 2011). Studies done by Hamedi & Dunan (2016) and Oleinik (2015) have used the triangulation method to determine the validity of their mixed-mode studies. The combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis in the triangulation for this research would result in two levels of analysis, whereby the first level involves a quantitative content analysis whereby the data about media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, ‘messages’ determined by key words in context (KWIC) are collected and presented first. The second level would involve a more comprehensive qualitative analysis of the text; notable findings of the text will be conducted to more intensively analyse them. This second level of analysis is called “text analysis”

### **3.7 Textual analysis**

Textual analysis is a qualitative method of analysis that attempts to go beyond the surface meanings of a text to uncover deeper social meanings and ideologies that may or may not be hidden from the reader, taking into account of all aspects of content including omissions because omissions tell what the producer of a text chooses not to tell the reader (Wiest, 2003; Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999; Curtin, 1995). The aspects of content to be

analysed include stylistic, visual, linguistic, presentational and rhetorical features (Hall, 1975). The need to analyse the underlying meanings of the text is driven by the idea that the text is a primary site of the struggles and locations of power in any given social formation (Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999). An event like *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* is appropriate for textual analysis because the text in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* depict the struggles and locations of power by the ruling federal government and supporters of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, which includes the federal opposition, *Pakatan Rakyat* (later known as *Pakatan Harapan*)

To conduct a textual analysis, Stuart Hall in his introduction in *Paper Voices* (1975) suggested requiring a subject or a theme identified, a text defined, and that text is then analysed with little reference to issues of production, author intention, or audience readings. In this case, the theme has been identified as "*Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*" and the definition of the text to be analysed are *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s news articles and opinion columns in regards to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, as per Appendix C and F.

The researcher analysed the text using Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman's (1999) interpretation of Hall's (1975) textual analysis by first defining the unit of analysis, which is the "text" to be analysed. This is followed by a close reading of the text by first re-reading the text as an entity followed by an examination for uses of devices such as metaphor, simile, allusions, tone, themes, recurring patterns, and omissions. The third step is the interpretation of the analysis.

Hall (1975) says textual analysis is important because it is more useful in penetrating the latent meanings of a text and unveils underlying meanings that are present within the texts, which can provide information about society, societal values, and ways in which texts create meaning and social understanding. In doing textual analysis, it is important to not only look at what is said (the literal words and information contained in articles), but also how what is said is presented, coded, shaped, within a set of signifying meaning-structures. Hall (1975) also says that the newspaper can emphasize or depress individual items on a scale of significance by their positioning on a page, or by employing the whole repertoire of typographical distinctions: headlining, underlining, bold use of types, strapline elaborations, attention-getting captions, with or without illustrations, and so on.

In other words, the newspaper or news media can do whatever it wants to push a certain message across, and textual analysis can be a way to explore what those messages are and how they are conveyed and help the researcher understand how they help create meaning in the news (Wiest, 2003). Textual analysis, therefore seems compatible with the framing theory, because framing tries to help readers perceive, locate, label, identify and contextualise information (Goffman, 1974). Therefore, it is important to understand how newspapers frame an event when they emphasize what is considered to be significant news, deemphasize what is considered insignificant news, and make society understand the difference among others put forth by Wiest (2003).

At this stage, it would seem that content analysis has similarities to textual analysis. Both require a close reading of the texts and both require the researcher to draw inferences from the text to investigate something. However, Hall (1975) differentiates textual analysis and content analysis based on what happens after a long "preliminary soak" in the texts. Hall (1975) argues that content analysis uses this process of soaking to define the categories and build a code, whereas textual analysis uses the preliminary reading to select representative examples, which can be more intensively analysed. Another comparison made by Curtin (1995) suggests that content analysis provide the context for the subject's perspective, while in textual analysis, they provide the ideological and mythic structure used to create a dominant reading.

However, for the purposes of improving the validity and reliability of this research, certain parts of content analysis and textual analysis are merged. The researcher has decided to first conduct a content analysis of all the units of context to uncover the underlying themes of frames (defining the categories and building the codes), the slant (neutral, positive or negative), recurring patterns (most used frames, similarities, differences) and omissions (differences) to answer the research questions. Then, a textual analysis of notable findings (representative examples) will be conducted to more intensively analyse them, with analysis of the media's background, media laws and media ownership to explain the findings. This is shown on Table 4, Figure 4 and Figure 5. The researcher will now detail how the research will be conducted.



**Table 4**

*Summary of methodology*

Research Question	Research Objective	Methodology
What were the frames that <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> ?	To identify the frames that <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	Content Analysis - Identifying and categorising the frames found
What are the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media?	To identify the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media	Textual Analysis - Analysing the tones, frequency of coding categories, most dominant coding categories, similarities and differences in coding categories found.

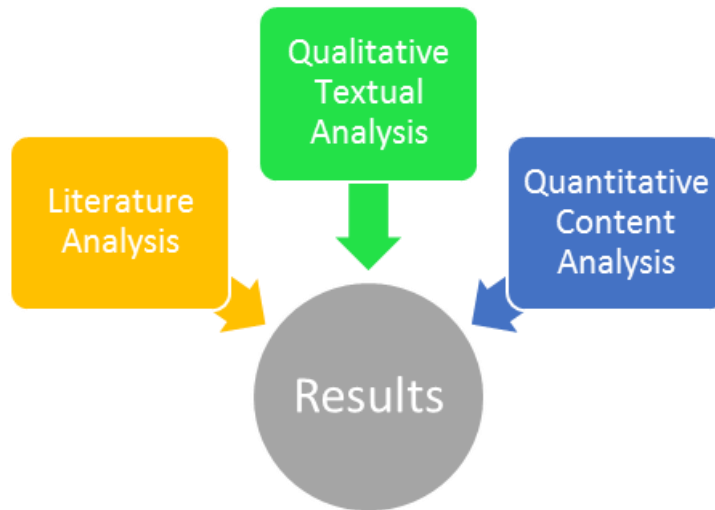


Figure 4: Summary of triangulation in this research

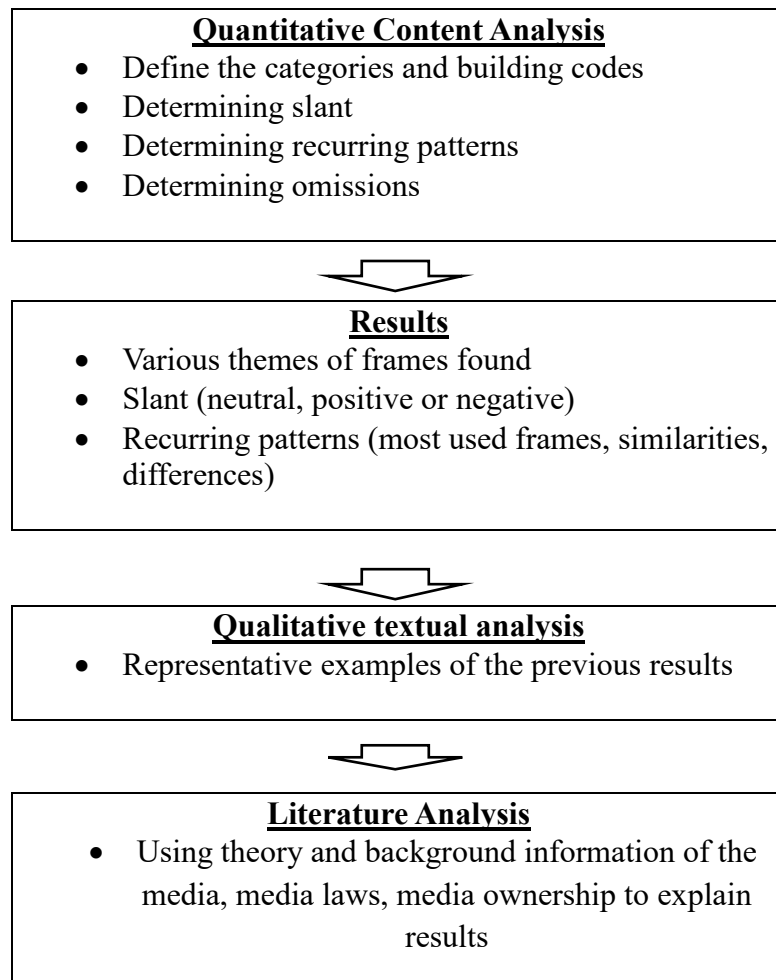


Figure 5: The workflow of this research

### 3.8 Conclusion

In trying to gather the data required and interpreting the data for this research, this study first gathered the news articles and opinion columns of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* that were related to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. This has resulted in 459 articles being collected to be analysed, comprising of 96 news articles and 15 opinion columns from *The Star* and 335 news articles and 13 opinion columns from *Malaysiakini*.

This was followed by determining the unit of analysis, context units and recording units for the research. In this research, the context units are parts of a unit of analysis, which are parts of the news articles or opinion columns that are related to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. The recording units are parts of the context units, such as sentences, paragraphs or even the entire context of analysis. Coding categories are assigned to the recording units for analysis.

To obtain the coding categories that will be assigned to the recording units, the entire article was read in its entirety first, followed by a loosely defined preconceptions of frames, which were grouped together in various categories. These coding categories were assigned to the recording units using QDA Miner and re-checked with newly-identified frames when newer recording units were analysed if it was not identified the first time round. All news articles and opinion columns were then re-checked to ensure no further overlapping of coding categories. If there were any, they were removed or merged.

Once that has been completed, the researcher conducted two kinds of analysis: a quantitative and a qualitative one. The quantitative one witnessed the tabulation for the total coverage of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, the number of articles sorted according to tones and the use of frames. The qualitative analysis witnessed the researcher interpreting the frames that are used the most, the similarities and the differences in coverage between *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*. This methodology was expected to help the researcher achieve the research objectives.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This research attempts to identify the frames found in the news articles and opinion columns of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* during the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. Analysis will cover coverage patterns, most found coding categories, its similarities and differences. The sample of analysis for *Bersih 3.0* was taken from 29 April 2012 to 12 May 2012, while the sample of analysis for *Bersih 4.0* was taken between 31 August 2015 and 13 September 2015. This chapter is dedicated to the analysis and interpretation of the data, and how the conclusions are met.

A total of 458 articles was analysed for this research. A total of 210 articles comprising 50 available articles from *The Star* and 160 articles from *Malaysiakini* was used to study *Bersih 3.0*, while 248 articles, comprising 61 available articles from *The Star* and 187 articles from *Malaysiakini* was also studied for *Bersih 4.0*.

The researcher was able to identify 122 coding categories spread across 10 themes in the framing of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*. The themes are the *Authorities*, *Bar Council*, *Bersih 3.0*, *Election Commission (EC)*, *Government*, *Mainstream Media*, *Pakatan Rakyat*, *The*

*Royal Malaysia Police (PDRM), Probe Panel and Suhakam*. The list of the 122 coding categories can be found in Appendix B.

For *Bersih 4.0*, the researcher was able to identify 83 coding categories spread across 8 themes in the framing of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 4.0*. The themes are the *Red Shirt Rally, MCA, Bersih 4.0, PDRM, DBKL, Demonstrations, Mahathir* and *Government*. The list of the 83 frames can be found in Appendix E.

#### **4.2 Analysis**

After eliminating questionable units of analysis (five from *The Star* and 60 from *Malaysiakini*) the researcher has a total of 458 units of analysis, whereby 96 news articles and 15 column pieces were from *The Star*, and 334 news articles and 13 opinion columns were from *Malaysiakini* to be analysed. Analysis began with the distribution of articles throughout the period of analysis, followed by the slant of the articles, a breakdown of the themes found and then a section discussing the results.

#### 4.2.1 Distribution of articles

**Table 5**

*Number of news articles and opinion columns for Bersih 3.0 according to the dates.*

Date	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
	<u>News articles</u>	<u>Opinion Columns</u>	<u>News articles</u>	<u>Opinion Columns</u>
29-Apr	7	1	18	1
30-Apr	5	0	14	1
1-May	0	1	10	2
2-May	2	0	5	1
3-May	1	1	17	0
4-May	3	1	9	1
5-May	2	0	10	0
6-May	2	0	9	0
7-May	4	0	10	0
8-May	3	0	9	0
9-May	2	0	7	0
10-May	2	0	9	0
11-May	7	1	19	0
12-May	4	1	7	0
Total	44	6	154	6

As in Table 5, the highest number of news articles in regards to *Bersih 3.0* in *The Star* was on 29 April 2012 (a day after the incident) and on 11 May 2012, which was around the time when *Bersih*'s Ambiga Sreenevasan was harassed by traders selling burgers outside her home and the Former IGP Hanif Omar justifying his appointment into the probe panel investigating the aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*. Both dates have seven news articles each. The opinion columns were spread out throughout the analysis period, with one each for 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of May 2012.

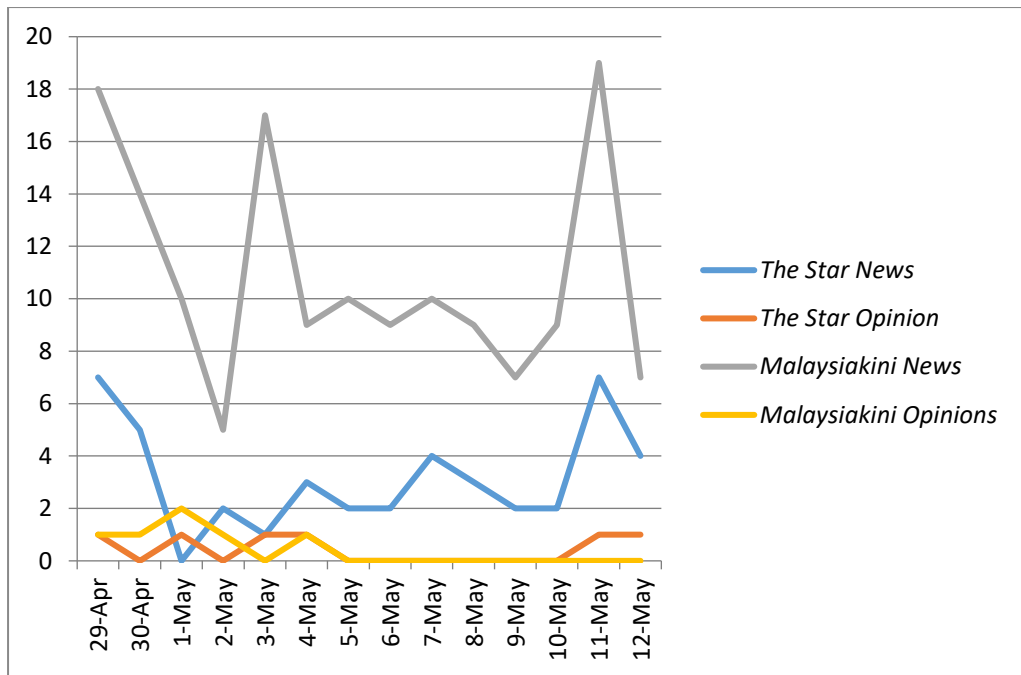


Figure 6: Distribution of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles and opinion columns for *Bersih 3.0* throughout the analysis period

In comparison, the highest number of *Malaysiakini* news articles in regards to *Bersih 3.0* was on 11 May 2012 with 19 news articles. This was followed by 29 April 2012 with 18 news articles and 3 May 2012 with 17 news articles. The highest number of opinion columns in regards to *Bersih 3.0* was reported on 1 May 2012 with two opinion columns, while there were one each on 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of April 2012, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> of May 2012. A summary of the coverage pattern can be seen in Figure 6.



**Table 6**

*Number of news articles and opinion columns for Bersih 4.0 according to the dates.*

<u>Date</u>	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
	<u>News articles</u>	<u>Opinion Columns</u>	<u>News articles</u>	<u>Opinion Columns</u>
31-Aug	9	0	15	1
1- Sept	0	0	27	1
2-Sept	6	1	27	0
3- Sept	6	0	18	0
4- Sept	4	1	9	0
5- Sept	0	0	10	1
6- Sept	4	2	7	0
7- Sept	2	0	12	1
8- Sept	5	0	17	0
9- Sept	5	1	15	1
10- Sept	1	1	9	0
11- Sept	6	0	7	1
12- Sept	3	0	4	1
13- Sept	3	3	3	0
Total	52	9	180	7

For *Bersih 4.0*, as in Table 6, the highest number of news articles in regards to *Bersih 4.0* in *The Star* was on 31 August 2015 (a day after the incident), 2nd and 3rd September 2015, when PDRM started taking action against *Bersih* rally goers and on 11 September when there were concerns over the impending Red Shirt Rally. On 31 August 2015, there were 9 news articles on *Bersih 4.0*, while on 2, 3 and 11 September 2015, 6 news articles were published on *Bersih 4.0*. Peak opinion column coverage in *The Star* was on 13 September 2015, two weeks after *Bersih 4.0*. The three opinion columns were "*Disquiet over Malay rally*" written by Joceline Tan, "*Stand up as Malaysians*" by Wong Chun Wai and "*The true colours of Malaysia*" by the late Soo Ewe Jin.

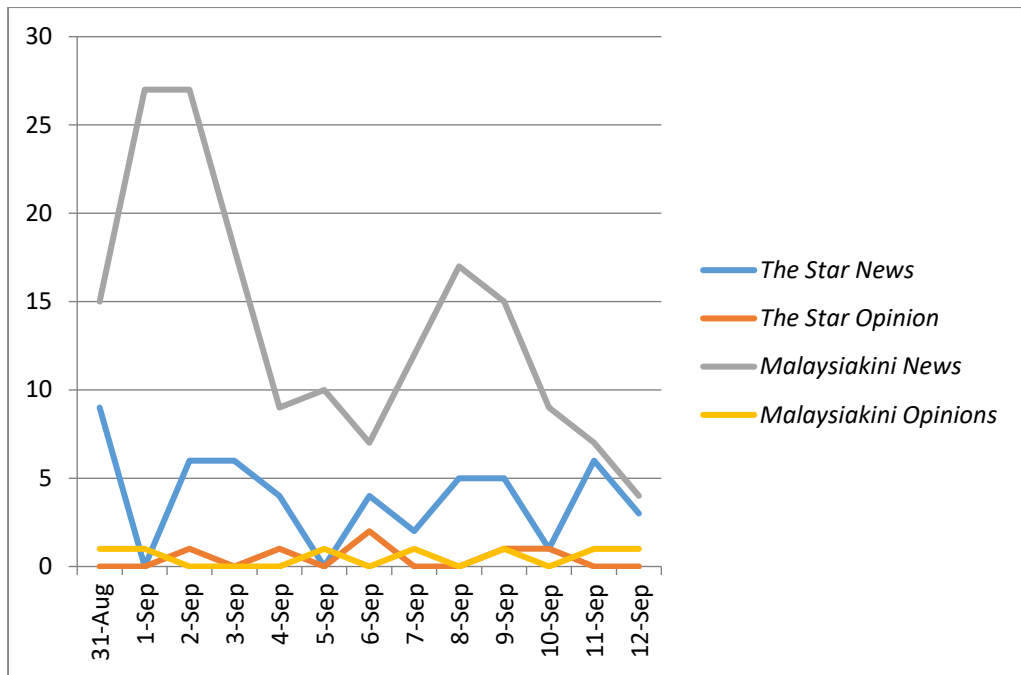


Figure 7: Distribution of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles and opinion columns for *Bersih 4.0* throughout the analysis period

In comparison, the highest number of *Malaysiakini* news articles in regards to *Bersih 4.0* was between 1 and 2 September 2015 with 27 news articles. This was followed by 8 September 2015 with 17 news articles. The opinion columns were spread out throughout the analysis period, with one each for 31st of August 2015, 1<sup>st</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of September 2015. A summary of the coverage pattern can be seen in Figure 7.

#### 4.2.2 Slants

The analysis of slant in the news articles and opinion columns was the next part of the analysis in answering the research question. The slant of the news articles and opinion columns were either neutral, positive or negative. As mentioned in Chapter 3 (pg. 61), coverage that is positive of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* includes those where *Bersih* committee members and others that have expressed their support for the rally, or news articles or

opinion columns that has a positive view on *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0*. Coverage that is neutral in regards to *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0* include news articles and opinion columns that have covered both sides of the rally in one article, PDRM brutality coverage (*Bersih 3.0*), reaffirmations from any one that the rally goers are innocent, probe panel coverage (*Bersih 3.0*), the coverage on the September 16 counter-*Bersih* rally, also known as the "Red Shirt Rally," (*Bersih 4.0*) and other similar coverage that is directly related to *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0* but does not express any positive or negative views on *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0*. Coverage that is negative towards *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0* includes attacks on the rally organizers, its supporters, how inferior they are to a certain political party and/or the federal government, how the rally is organised (*Bersih 3.0*) and how undemocratic and/or racist the rally is (*Bersih 4.0*) among others.

Overall, coverage for *Bersih 3.0* in the immediate aftermath in *The Star* was split between having a neutral coverage (44%) and a negative coverage (43%). Articles that were deemed neutral include articles like “*Hanif Omar heads panel to probe Bersih rally*” and “*Man dies of heart attack, 65 given medical treatment*”. Articles that are deemed negative in slant include articles like “*Saudi Arabia contemplates Haj restrictions over Bersih protests*” and “*Anwar has some explaining to do, says The Economist*”. There were 22 neutral articles and 21 negative articles. Only six units of analysis were positive of *Bersih 3.0* (13%). These include articles like “*Flowers for the FRU*” and “*Bersih sit-ins pass without incident*”.

In comparison, *The Star*'s coverage of *Bersih 4.0* contained more neutral coverage than *The Star*'s coverage of *Bersih 3.0* (44% in *Bersih 3.0* and 51% in *Bersih 4.0*). It was also the dominant slant found in their coverage of the rally. Articles that were deemed neutral include articles like “*Association: Business as usual at the Golden Triangle*” and “*Planned red-shirt rally giving traders, cabbies and hoteliers the jitters*”. There were 31 neutral articles and 17 negative articles (28%). Articles that were deemed negative in slant include articles like “*Don’t make Bersih 4 a racial issue, says Liow*”, “*Bersih to get RM65,000 bill*” and “*Only one rally on Sept 16*”. Only 13 units of analysis were positive of *Bersih 4.0* (21%), which is higher than the six positive news stories featured in *The Star* for *Bersih 3.0*. These include articles like “*Bersih 4 ends as it began – peacefully*” and “*Nur Jazlan thanks cops and participants*”. A summary of this finding can be found in Figure 8.

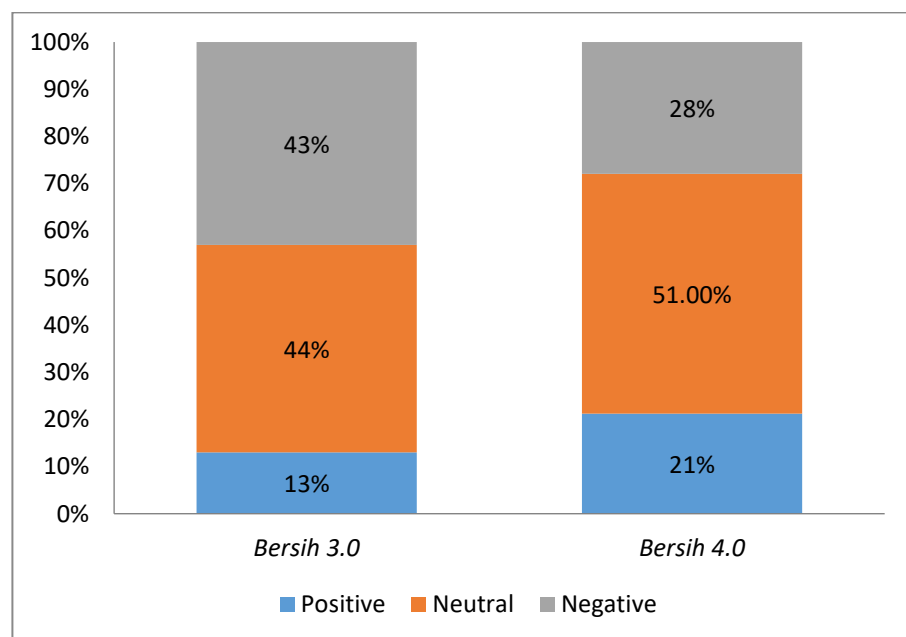


Figure 8: *The Star* coverage on the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*

For *Malaysiakini*, there was a more neutral coverage of *Bersih 3.0*, with 69.5% of coverage expressing a neutral view on *Bersih 3.0* (107 articles), as compared to *The Star* with 44% of its coverage expressing a neutral view on *Bersih 3.0*. Articles that were deemed neutral include articles like “*Ambiga – Bersih kept its promise but cops didn’t*” and “*Law student claims he was beaten up by 10 cops*”. There was also a more balanced proportion of negative (18.1% across 28 articles) and positive (12.4% across 19 articles) news coverage in *Malaysiakini*. The negative news coverage includes articles like “*MCA- Anwar, Azmin caused Bersih 3.0 violence,*” and “*Cops foot \$1.8m bill for Bersih 3.0*”. Among the positive articles include “*Anwar – Bersih 3.0 victims made villains*” and “*Pakatan didn’t seek free pass via Bersih 3.0*”.

For *Bersih 4.0*, *Malaysiakini* still has a more neutral coverage of *Bersih 4.0* (60.96%), as compared to *The Star* (51%). Articles that were deemed neutral include articles like “*Liow: Putting racial spin on Bersih 4 bad for country*” and “*S’wak DAP: Why fear urging Najib to resign?*”. However, there has been a slight increase in the number of negative (23.53% across 44 articles) and positive (15.51% across 29 articles) news coverage in *Malaysiakini*. The negative news coverage includes articles like “*Salleh: Dr M at Bersih 4 implies he is with opposition*” and “*Bersih 4 – Thanks but we’ll still come after you, say cops*”. Among the positive articles include “*Stop boasting, Rafizi Ramli tells the PM*” and “*Bersih yellow beats BN yellow*”. A summary of this finding can be found in Figure 9.

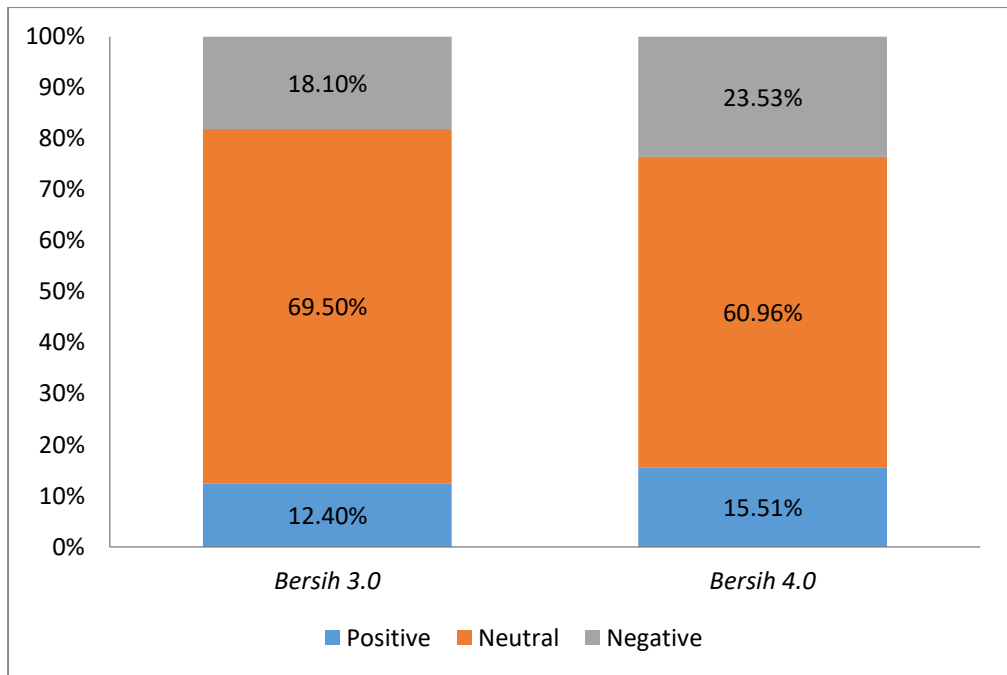


Figure 9: Malaysiakini coverage on the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*

#### 4.2.2.1 News articles

*The Star* had 44 news articles on *Bersih 3.0*. Of that, 19 had a negative coverage (43%), 21 had a neutral coverage (47.8%) and four had a positive coverage (9%). Articles that have a negative coverage include “*EC: Polling staff will not use yellow outfit*” and “*Traders stage ‘burger protest’ in front of Ambiga’s house*”. Articles that have a neutral coverage include “*Malaysian Bar condemns excessive use of force*” and “*Bar considering lawsuit against PDRM*”. Articles that have a positive coverage include “*MCA: Leave families out of political rows*” and “*Flowers for the FRU*”.

Meanwhile, *The Star* had 52 news articles on *Bersih 4.0*. Of that, 16 had a negative coverage (30.77%), 29 had a neutral coverage (55.77%) and seven had a positive coverage (13.46%). Articles that have a negative coverage include “*20 NGOs lodge reports against Bersih*” and “*DAP*”.

*hijacked Bersih, says Liow*”. Articles that have a neutral coverage include “30,000 NGO members expected at Sept 16 rally” and “Dr M to cooperate with cops”. Articles that have a positive coverage include “Brisk sales for businesses during rally weekend” and “Saifuddin: Rally proves that we can hold peaceful protests”. A summary of this finding can be found in Figure 10.

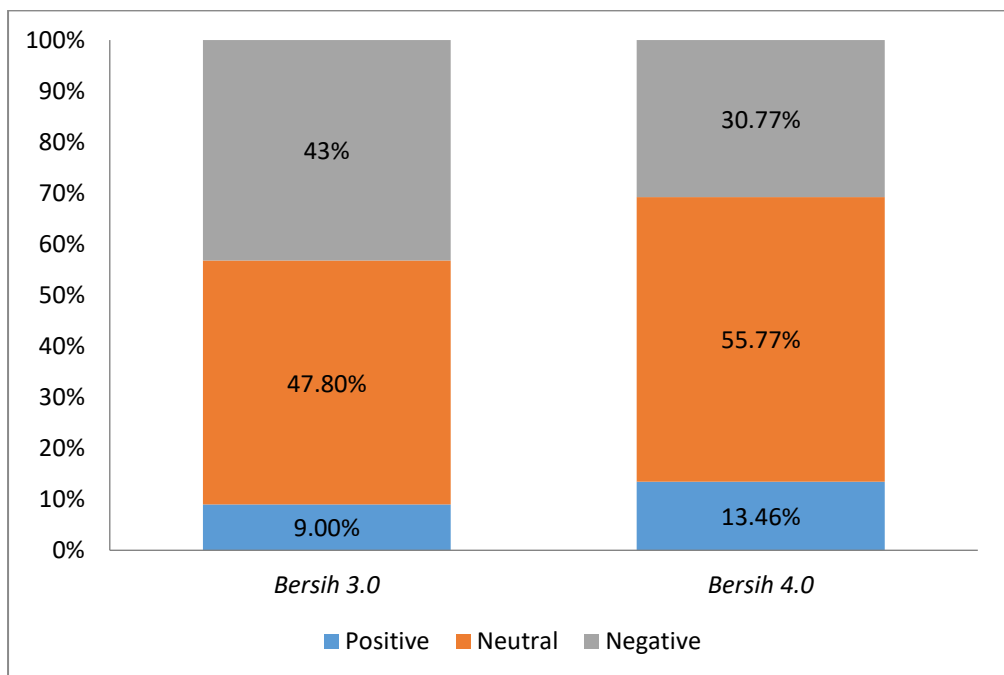


Figure 10: The Star News Coverage on the Immediate Aftermath of Bersih 3.0 and Bersih 4.0

For *Malaysiakini*, there were a total of 154 news articles, in which 19 had a positive coverage of *Bersih 3.0* (12.4%), 106 had a neutral coverage (69.3%) and 28 had a negative coverage (18.3%). Among the neutral articles include “Bar Council – Police Brutality worsens in Bersih 3.0” and “Police broke word by firing tear gas near Masjid Jamek”. News articles with a negative coverage include “Ex-IGP: Pro-communist elements in Bersih 3.0” and “EC snubs Bersih again, calls Ambiga ‘ruiner of democracy’”. News

articles with a positive coverage include “*Bersih’s ‘Mr Straw Hat’ says he’s no hero*” and “*Suaram tells British PM: Push Najib for reforms*”.

For *Bersih 4.0*, *Malaysiakini* had a total of 180 news articles, in which 23 had a positive coverage of *Bersih 3.0* (12.78%), 113 had a neutral coverage (62.78%) and 44 had a negative coverage (24.44%). Among the neutral articles include “*Bersih 4 Kuching ended abruptly due to safety concerns*” and “*Umno veteran: Najib pushed Dr M into going for Bersih 4*”. News articles with a negative coverage include “*Chinese flexing muscles at Malays, says Tunku Aziz*” and “*Dr M setting bad example, says Azalina*”. News articles with a positive coverage include “*500,000 were at Bersih 4, says organiser*”, and “*Saifuddin: Peaceful public assemblies the new normal*”. A summary of this finding can be found in Figure 11.

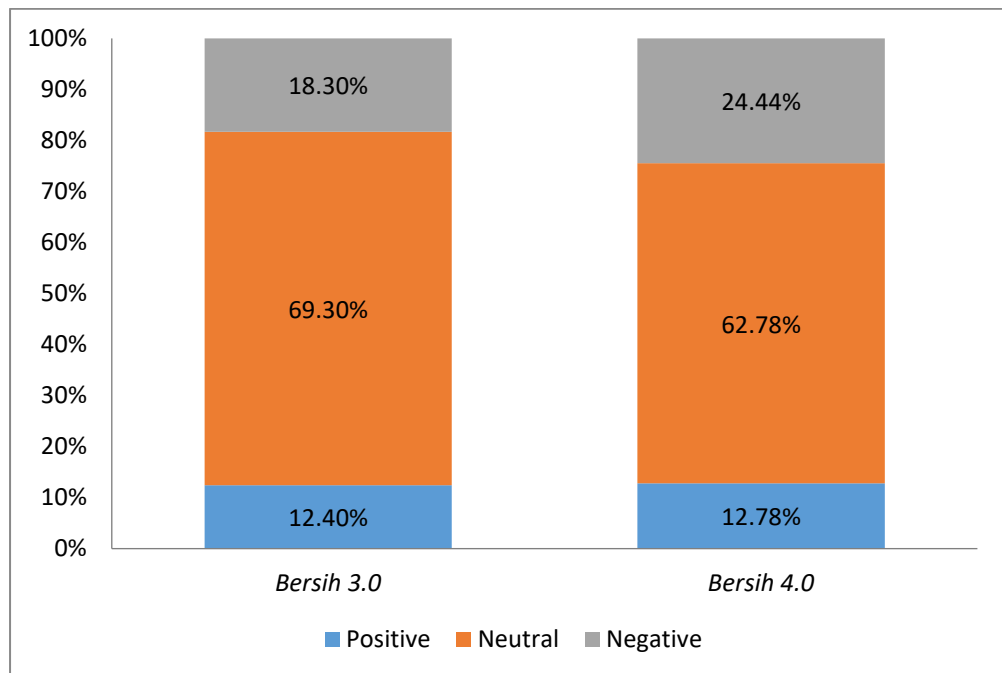


Figure 11: *Malaysiakini* News Coverage on the Immediate Aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*



#### 4.2.2.2 Opinion Columns

There are six opinion columns in *The Star* in regards to *Bersih 3.0*, with three opinion columns having a negative coverage on *Bersih 3.0* (50%), one having a neutral coverage (16.7%) and two having a positive coverage (33.3%). The opinion columns with negative coverage are the articles “*A big crowd – and big problems*”, and “*Yellow peril for pilgrimage*”. The opinion column with a neutral coverage is the article “*A riot at peaceful rally*”, while the articles with a positive coverage are “*Peaceful assembly not a crime*” and “*More tests for our democracy*”.

Meanwhile, there are nine opinion columns in *The Star* in regards to *Bersih 4.0*, with far more positive opinion columns on *Bersih 4.0* (6 opinion columns, 66.67%), as compared to the two positive ones in *Bersih 3.0*. There are also two opinion columns having a neutral coverage on *Bersih 3.0* (22.22%) and only one having a negative coverage (11.11%). The opinion column with negative coverage is the article “*The true colours of Malaysia*” written by the late Soo Ewe Jin, “*How social media killed Batman*” and “*Yellow peril for pilgrimage*”. The opinion column with a neutral coverage are the articles “*Disquiet over Malay rally*” and “*Focus on the march, not on the race*”, while the articles with a positive coverage are “*For goodness sake, I saw good, felt good*” and “*Stand up as Malaysians*” among others. A summary of this finding can be found in Figure 12.

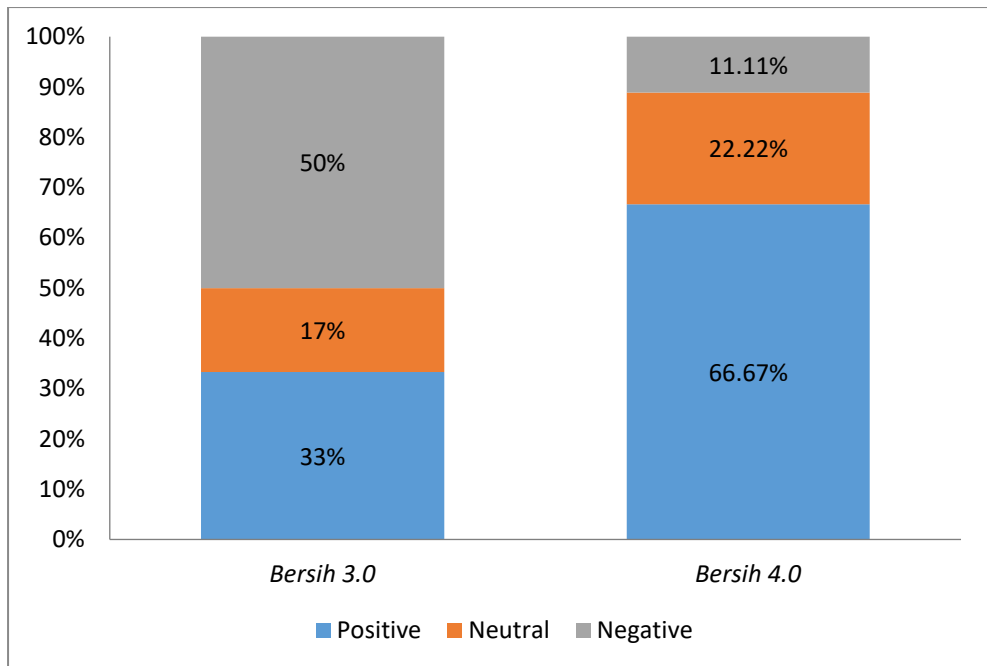


Figure 12: The Star opinion column coverage on the immediate aftermath of Bersih 3.0 and Bersih 4.0

Meanwhile, there are six opinion columns in *Malaysiakini* in regards to *Bersih 3.0*, and seven opinion columns for *Bersih 4.0*. Of those that had a positive coverage, four of those were on *Bersih 3.0* (67%), and six were on *Bersih 4.0* (85.71%). These include “Voices in a *BERSIH* night” (*Bersih 3.0*) and “The irony of Najib’s ‘1Malaysia’” (*Bersih 4.0*). Of those that had a neutral coverage, two were on *Bersih 3.0* (33%), and one was on *Bersih 4.0* (14.29%). These include “*PDRM - the armed division of Umno*” (*Bersih 3.0*) and “*World envy turns to enmity*” (*Bersih 4.0*). In both *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, there were no negative opinion columns on both demonstrations in *Malaysiakini*. A summary of this finding can be found in Figure 13.

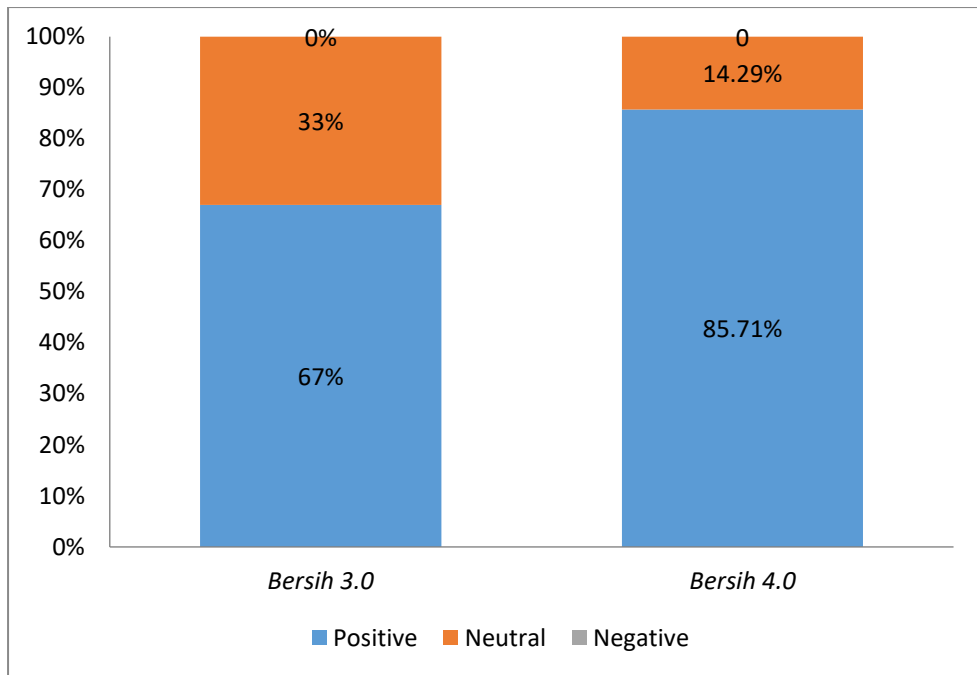


Figure 13: Malaysiakini opinion column coverage on the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*

#### 4.2.3 Themes found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*

*What are the frames found in The Star and Malaysiakini news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of Bersih 3.0 and Bersih 4.0?*

The first research question is split into two parts, namely the analysis for *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. For the analysis of *Bersih 3.0*, 122 coding categories have been identified, spread across 10 major themes (refer to Appendix B). They are the *Authorities*, *Bar Council*, *Bersih 3.0*, *Election Commission (EC)*, *The Government*, *The Mainstream Media*, *Pakatan Rakyat*, *The Royal Malaysia Police (PDRM)*, *The Probe Panel* and *Suhakam*.

For the analysis of *Bersih 4.0*, 83 coding categories were identified, spread across 8 themes in the framing of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih*

4.0 (refer to Appendix E). The categories are the *Red Shirt Rally*, *MCA*, *Bersih 4.0*, *PDRM*, *DBKL*, *Demonstrations*, *Mahathir* and *Government*.

For the purpose of this analysis, the coding categories can be considered as frames, as per Chapter 3 (pg. 63). In order to translate the frequency of the coding categories found in the news articles and opinion columns of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* into percentages, the coder identifies the coding categories found in those news articles and opinion columns based on the checklist (refer to Appendix B and E) using the software QDA Miner. Any coding categories that have been identified the first time round in the same news article or opinion column do not need to be encoded more than once. The percentages are then obtained from totalling the number of context units identified in either *The Star* or *Malaysiakini*, and then dividing it according to the themes aforementioned. The full breakdown of the themes and coding categories found can be found in Appendix K.

#### **4.2.4 Summary of Analysis**

In summary, the highest number of news articles published by both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* for *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* was during the first two days after the event, as well as when there is a significant turn in events. For *Bersih 3.0*, it was a day after the incident followed by a revival in interest in coverage on 11 May when *Bersih 3.0* Chair Datuk Ambiga Sreenevasan was harassed by traders selling burgers outside her home and the Former IGP Hanif Omar justifying his appointment into the probe panel investigating *Bersih 3.0*. For *Bersih 4.0*, peak coverage was on 31 August 2015 (a day after

the incident), 2 and 3 September which is when PDRM were taking action against rally goers and on 11 September, when there were concerns over the Red Shirt Rally. In *Malaysiakini*, peak coverage was between 1 and 2 September when politicians like BN strategic communications director Abdul Rahman Dahlan and Communications and Multimedia Minister Salleh Said Keruak weighed in on the incidents that have happened during *Bersih 4.0*, as well as coverage on police actions against rally goers.

Overall, coverage for *Bersih 3.0* in the immediate aftermath in *The Star* was split between being neutral and negative with a small coverage being positive towards *Bersih 3.0*. *Malaysiakini*'s coverage for *Bersih 3.0* in the immediate aftermath was overwhelmingly neutral, but coverage for positive and negative coverage for *Bersih 3.0* was almost equal. This scenario is replicated in news articles related to *Bersih 3.0*.

However, coverage for *Bersih 3.0* in the opinion columns differs. While half the coverage for *Bersih 3.0* is negative in *The Star*'s opinion columns, there was also a big proportion of opinion columns that have a positive coverage on *Bersih 3.0*. Meanwhile, a majority of *Malaysiakini*'s opinion columns had a positive coverage on *Bersih 3.0*, while the rest had a neutral coverage. There was no negative coverage on *Bersih 3.0* on *Malaysiakini*.

Meanwhile, for *Bersih 4.0*, there was more neutral coverage of the immediate aftermath in *The Star* as compared to *Bersih 3.0*, while

maintaining more negative coverage than positive coverage on *Bersih 4.0*. *Malaysiakini*'s coverage for *Bersih 4.0* in the immediate aftermath was still overwhelmingly neutral, but with a slightly larger percentage of its coverage catered for negative *Bersih 3.0* news articles. This scenario is replicated in news articles related to *Bersih 4.0*.

In a similar fashion with how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* framed *Bersih 3.0*, coverage for *Bersih 4.0* in the opinion columns differs. While there is a larger positive coverage for *Bersih 4.0* in *The Star*'s opinion columns, there was also a larger proportion of opinion columns that have a neutral coverage on *Bersih 3.0*, with only one opinion column having a negative coverage on *Bersih 4.0*. Meanwhile, there was a larger amount of *Malaysiakini*'s opinion columns having a positive coverage on *Bersih 4.0*, while the rest had a neutral coverage. Similar to its *Bersih 3.0* coverage, there was no negative coverage on *Bersih 4.0* on *Malaysiakini*.

For *Bersih 3.0*, slightly more than a third of the context units found in *The Star* news articles were related to *Bersih 3.0*, followed by those in relation to *PDRM*, *EC*, *Government*, *Probe Panel*, *Pakatan Rakyat*, *Bar Council*, the *Authorities* and frames related to *Suhakam*. The context units that were found the most in *The Star*'s opinion columns are related to *Bersih 3.0*, followed by *PDRM*, the *Government*, *Pakatan Rakyat* and frames related to the *Authorities*.

Meanwhile, almost a third of the context units identified in *Malaysiakini's* news articles were related to *PDRM*, followed by *Bersih 3.0*, the *Government*, *Probe Panel*, *Mainstream Media*, *Pakatan Rakyat*, *EC*, *Suhakam*, the *Authorities* and the *Bar Council*. The context units that were found the most in *Malaysiakini's* opinion columns are related to *Bersih 3.0*, followed by frames related to the *Government*, *PDRM*, *Pakatan Rakyat*, the *Mainstream Media* and frames related to the *Authorities*.

For *Bersih 4.0*, slightly more than a third of the context units identified in *The Star* news articles were related to *Bersih 4.0*, followed by the *Red Shirt Rally*, *PDRM*, *MCA*, *Demonstrations*, *Mahathir* and *DBKL*. The themes that has the most context units in *The Star's* opinion columns are related to *Bersih 4.0*, followed by frames related to *PDRM*, the *Red Shirt Rally*, *Demonstrations*, *PDRM* and *MCA*.

Meanwhile, slightly more than a third of the context units identified in *Malaysiakini* news articles were related to *Bersih 4.0*, followed by frames in relation to *PDRM*, the *Red Shirt Rally*, *Government*, *Demonstrations*, *Mahathir*, and *MCA*. The themes that has the most context units in *Malaysiakini's* opinion columns are related to *Bersih 4.0*, followed by frames related to the *Government*, *PDRM*, *Mahathir*, and *Demonstrations*.

A summary of this part of the findings can be found in Figure 14 and Figure 15.

<i>Bersih 3.0</i>				<i>Bersih 4.0</i>			
<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>		<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
News articles	Opinion Columns	News articles	Opinion Columns	News articles	Opinion Columns	News articles	Opinion Columns
Peak Coverage							
A day after the demonstration and burger stall harassment		A day after the demonstration and burger stall harassment		A day after the demonstration, PDRM actions against rally goers and concerns over Red Shirt Rally		A day after the demonstration, commentaries by politicians and PDRM actions against rally goers	
Overall Coverage							
Split between neutral and negative, with a small coverage being positive towards <i>Bersih 3.0</i>		Mainly neutral, with almost equal positive and negative coverage		More neutral coverage of <i>Bersih 4.0</i> , as compared to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> , but still has more negative coverage than positive coverage		Mainly neutral, with slightly more negative news articles on <i>Bersih 4.0</i> than positive news articles.	
Split between neutral and negative, with a small coverage being positive towards <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Half of coverage criticised <i>Bersih 3.0</i> , but with a bigger positive coverage on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> than news articles	Mainly neutral, with almost equal positive and negative coverage	A majority of the opinion columns had a positive coverage on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> , with no negative coverage	More neutral coverage of <i>Bersih 4.0</i> , as compared to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> , but still has more negative coverage than positive coverage	Only one negative coverage for <i>Bersih 4.0</i> . The rest were mainly positive and neutral	Mainly neutral, with slightly more negative news articles on <i>Bersih 4.0</i> than positive news articles.	A majority of the opinion columns had a positive coverage on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> , with no negative coverage

Figure 14: A summary of peak and overall coverage in *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*.



<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>		<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
News articles	Opinion Columns	News articles	Opinion Columns	News articles	Opinion Columns	News articles	Opinion Columns
<i>Bersih 3.0</i>				<i>Bersih 4.0</i>			
Government				Red Shirt Rally			
EC		EC		MCA			
Probe Panel		Probe Panel		Demonstrations			
<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i>		<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i>		Mahathir		Mahathir	
Bar Council		Bar Council		DBKL		Government	
SUHAKAM		SUHAKAM					
		Mainstream Media					

Figure 15: A summary of themes found for *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*.

To understand how the varying percentages of these themes mean in framing *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, the researcher will now discuss the similarities and the differences between the themes found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in their news articles and opinion columns.

### **4.3 Discussion**

This section will discuss the potential reasons behind the distribution of articles, slants, most identified coding categories, similarities and differences. This section also aims to answer the second research question, which is “*What are the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media?*”.

#### **4.3.1 Distribution of Articles**

It appears that the pattern of coverage in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s news articles is similar. The total number of news articles and opinion columns about *Bersih 3.0* in the immediate aftermath of the rally can be seen in three distinguishable phases. The first wave in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* lasted about two days (phase 1), and significantly decreased afterwards (phase 2) when the federal government, federal opposition and supporters of the *Bersih 3.0* rally in Dataran Merdeka begin blaming each other for what happened in Dataran Merdeka. The number of news stories sharply increased on May 11 (phase 3), which was around the time when *Bersih 3.0*'s Ambiga Sreenevasan was harassed by traders selling burgers outside her home and the Former IGP Hanif Omar justifying his appointment into the probe panel investigating *Bersih 3.0*. The concentration of opinion columns in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* is also similar,

with both media having concentrated most of their opinion columns between 29 April and 4 May 2012, as can be seen in Figure 16.

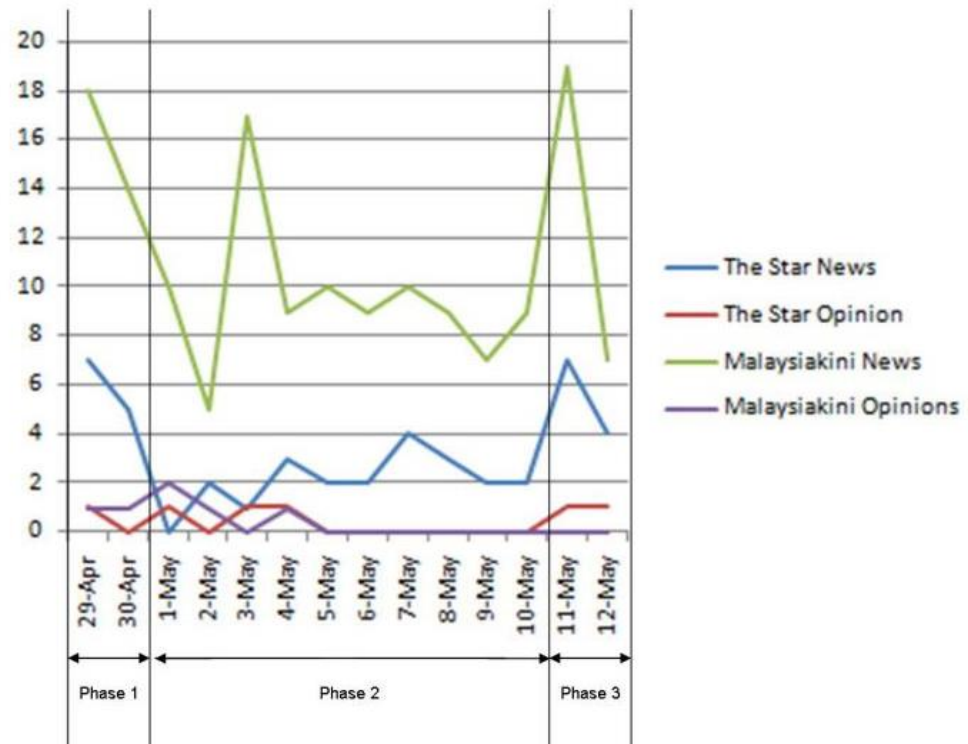


Figure 16: The three phases of coverage for the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*.

Similarly, for *Bersih 4.0*, news and opinion column coverage of *Bersih 4.0* in the immediate aftermath of the rally can be seen in three distinguishable phases. The first surge of the news media coverage in the aftermath of *Bersih 4.0* lasted about three days (phase 1), then significantly decreased (phase 2) when MCA started advising people not to make *Bersih 4.0* a racist issue and PDRM taking action against *Bersih 4.0* organisers. The number of news stories then surged on September 11 (phase 3), which was around the time when there were concerns over the impending Red Shirt Rally. The concentration of opinion columns in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* is also similar, with both media being spread out throughout the entire monitoring period, as can be seen in Figure 17.

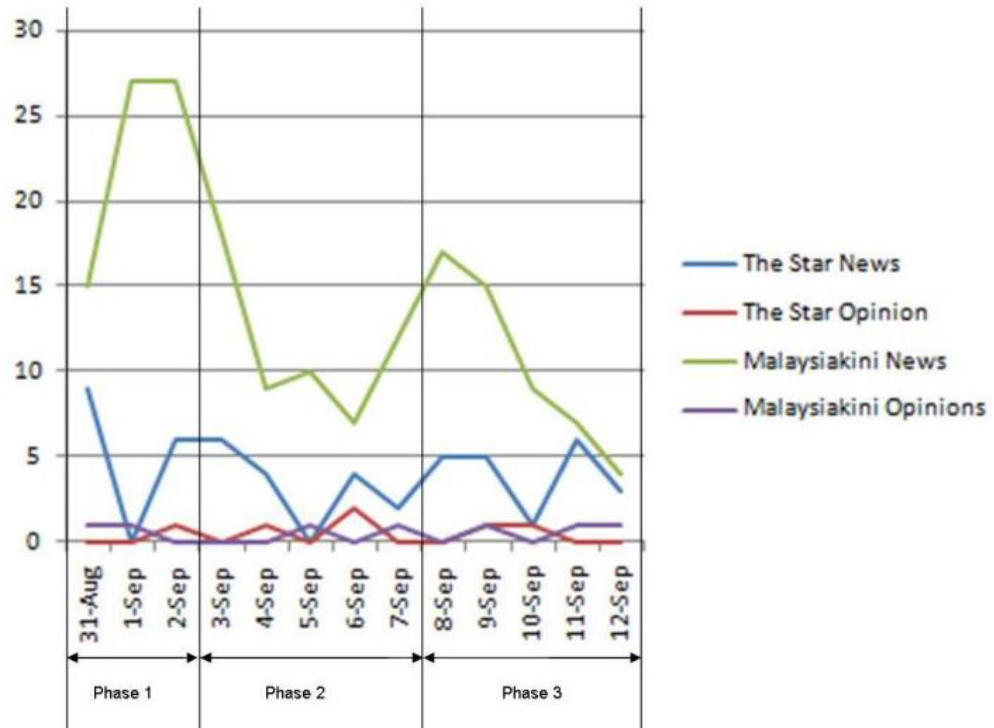


Figure 17: The three phases of coverage for the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 4.0*.

Generally, *Malaysiakini* posted three and a half times more news articles on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* than *The Star*, while both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* posted the same number of opinion columns in regards to *Bersih 3.0*. In *Bersih 4.0*, *The Star* posted slightly more opinion columns than *Malaysiakini*, but were similar in numbers. The proportion of coverage for *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* in *Malaysiakini* as compared to *The Star* suggests that they tried to push for the incident to be a political issue, like what Song (2007) suggested, given that during *Bersih 3.0*, the 13<sup>th</sup> general election was rumoured to be held as early as June 2012 (Ramasamy, 2012); the 13th Malaysian General Election was eventually held on 5 May 2013, with BN forming the federal government, although *Pakatan Rakyat* managed to garner the popular vote.

For *Bersih 4.0*, the push towards making *Bersih 4.0* a political issue is possibly due to the scandals regarding 1MDB and Prime Minister Najib Razak, in an effort to create a political awareness among the public about the need to oust Najib out of the Prime Minister's post. This would be in line with de Vreese (2005) Framing Model, in which one of the internal factors for frame building is dependent on the editorial level, in which *Malaysiakini*, by virtue of its founder Steven Gan (Brown, 2005), declared that it is pro-Opposition by default. Therefore, it can therefore be implied that *Malaysiakini* may perhaps have an editorial policy that is pro-federal opposition.

An alternative explanation as to why there were far more news articles devoted to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* in *Malaysiakini* as compared to *The Star* is that it is an online news medium, which allows it to post as many articles as possible without the restraints of printing costs and advertising spaces of a print newspaper, like *The Star*. This is also in line with the de Vreese (2005) Framing Model which attributes external factors to be the determinants of how *Malaysiakini* can frame *Bersih 3.0* or *Bersih 4.0*, such as an economic slowdown, socio-political environment and increasing competition. In *Malaysiakini*'s case, the socio-political environment is as such that it is unfavourable towards the federal opposition, and that to remain competitive, it has to differentiate itself from other paying media, including the mainstream media, by reporting news that are not normally covered in the mainstream, mainly paying, media.

The similar patterns of distributions of news articles and opinion columns in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* is reminiscent to a similar study done by Song

(2007), in which he found that the progressive media (*Hankyoreh*, *OhmyNews* and *PRESSian*) had far more coverage than the conservative media (*Chosun* and the *JoongAng*) on the protests against the US following the Yangju highway incident. Song (2007) suggested the news organisation's editorial orientation influenced the amount of news stories and its proportions of commentaries over the three phases of analysis. Song (2007) also suggested that rather than following each other's efforts to expand or contain the scope or intensity of an issue, news media may compete with each other to set agendas.

It is not certain if *The Star* was competing with *Malaysiakini* to expand or contain the scope or intensity of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. It is also uncertain if the news media's editorial orientation or online/print media differences contributed to the pattern of coverage observed in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in the aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*. However, for the latter argument, the notable similarities and differences in the frames found could help shed light on whether the editorial orientation of a news organization that contributed to the pattern of coverage observed. It is also worth noting that some of *Malaysiakini*'s staff formerly worked with mainstream newspapers like the *New Straits Times* and *Malay Mail* (Steele, 2009) – even the founders of *Malaysiakini*, Premesh Chandran and Steven Gan were once workers for *The Sun* (Steele, 2009). Therefore, it could be inferred that the *Malaysiakini* staff could have similar understandings with the mainstream media like *The Star* of what is important to be covered in a major event like *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. On top of that, restrictions on the media such as the Official Secret Acts, Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (previously the Internal Security Act), Sedition Act and

the Printing Presses and Publications Act, and a fear of being reprimanded and arrested without trial, like what happened during *Operasi Lalang* in 1987 (Othman, 2012; Lee, 2012), does not allow both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* to cover the issue thoroughly, and may restrict them to cover the issue in a way that may coincidentally be similar to each other's coverage.

However, it is only when the slants, dominant coding categories, similarities and differences in their reportage of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* were explored that we will know if there are similarities in the way both media covered the rally.

#### **4.3.2 Slants**

It appears that the slants of the news articles and opinion columns in their coverage of *Bersih 3.0* were generally different from each other.

In *The Star*, although there were similarities between the percentages of news articles and opinion columns that have a negative coverage (43% of news articles and 50% of opinion columns), the percentage of *The Star*'s opinion columns with a positive coverage of *Bersih 3.0* was far more than its news articles (33% vs 9%). Neutral coverage in *The Star* also differed between the news articles and opinion columns, with 47% of news articles having a neutral coverage on *Bersih 3.0*, as compared to 17% of opinion columns. This could suggest that while it may be unavoidable for *The Star* to have a significant part of their coverage devoted to having a negative coverage of *Bersih 3.0*, at least in its opinion columns, the columnists could have a bit more freedom to express their views on

the matter, even if it is not favourable to their major shareholder – the federal government.

During *Bersih 4.0*, *The Star* appeared to shift towards a more neutral coverage of *Bersih 4.0* (51.0% compared to 44% in *Bersih 3.0*), and reduced its negative coverage (28% compared to 43% in *Bersih 3.0*), with a similar scenario seen in the coverage of *Bersih 4.0* in *The Star* 's news articles (30.7% negative, 55.77% neutral and 13.46% positive). Like *Bersih 3.0*, there was a larger percentage of positive coverage in *The Star* 's opinion columns than its news articles, with a drastic shift in stance in *Bersih 4.0* (66.67% positive coverage, as compared to 33% in *Bersih 3.0*). This further strengthens the idea that the columnists could have a bit more freedom to express their views on the matter, even if it is not favourable to the federal government.

Meanwhile, Hackett & Carroll (2006, as cited in Atton & Hamilton, 2008) suggest that the alternative media pursues progressive aims, and with its supposed independence, the alternative media is encouraged to experiment with more inclusive and egalitarian forms of control and give access to voices and issues marginalized in hegemonic media. Given that *Malaysiakini* is an alternative media, *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* could be perceived as having a progressive aim and therefore give *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* a more comprehensive coverage to fit into its egalitarian principles. This is further reinforced by the ideals of one of its founders, Premesh Chandran who uses journalism as a “vehicle for democracy”.



As *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* demands deals directly with the process of democracy, it could explain the larger percentage of positive coverage it has on its opinion columns (85.71% in *Bersih 4.0*, 67% in *Bersih 3.0*) as compared to the percentage of positive coverage on *Bersih 3.0* on its news articles (12.78% in *Bersih 4.0*, 12.40% in *Bersih 3.0*). The complete absence of opinion columns with a negative slant of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* reaffirms this theory. Columnists have the liberty of writing whatever they think, subject to law and the editor's view on whether they can be published, and they may or may not be able to choose whether they want to write an opinion column that has a negative slant on *Bersih 3.0*. This is in line with Best's (2010) arguments that objectivity is relinquished in opinion pieces.

The negative coverage of *Bersih 3.0* was nonetheless still present in *Malaysiakini's* news articles, and it could be because they wanted to provide a balanced view on *Bersih 3.0* by reporting on the federal government's response to *Bersih 3.0*, or they are trying to criticise the federal government's response to *Bersih 3.0*. In *Bersih 4.0*, some of the negative coverage on *Bersih 4.0* came from the negative comments made by UMNO members and Red Shirt Rally organisers in regards to *Bersih 4.0*. For example, in the *Malaysiakini* article "Malacca CM: Dr M influenced into attending Bersih 4" dated 31 August 2015, the criticism for *Bersih 4.0* came from Malacca Chief Minister Idris Haron:

Malacca Chief Minister Idris Haron said today he believed that the national political situation would deteriorate if action was taken against former prime minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad for having attended the Bersih 4 rally in Kuala Lumpur.

He said he also believed that irresponsible people had coaxed or

influenced Dr Mahathir by offering inaccurate information based on emotion and perception to lure him to the rally.

“He (Dr Mahathir) has done something unusual (by attending the Bersih 4 rally) and I believe some irresponsible people are behind this,” he told reporters after attending the Melaka-level National Day celebration in Bandar Hilir in Malacca.

Idris said the state government strongly condemned the organisers of the Bersih 4 rally in Malacca.

Another example of an article with a negative slant that best exemplifies this argument is the Malaysiakini article “‘Red shirts’ at Dataran were from Umno”, dated 31 August 2015:

A boisterous group clad in red T-shirts that appeared at Dataran Merdeka close to midnight were from Federal Territories Umno Youth, said its leader Mohd Razlan Rafii.

In a statement on his Facebook page, Mohd Razlan said that his group had nothing to do with Sungai Besar Umno division chief Jamal Yunos.

Jamal had initially vowed to rally 30,000 people to face off against Bersih 4, which took place over the weekend.

However, Jamal backed down after he was ordered to do so by the police.

Mohd Razlan said the purpose of his group was to mark Merdeka Day at Dataran Merdeka, but they were denied entry by the police.

"At the stroke of midnight every Merdeka Day eve, our national anthem had always been sung at Dataran Merdeka.

"Last night was a black day for the country because Dataran Merdeka was no longer free, as the national anthem was not played," he said.

Mohd Razlan said the police eventually relented allowed one person to enter Dataran Merdeka to carry out the deed.

"There were no parents accompanying their children to Dataran Merdeka. It is clear that Bersih had robbed us of Merdeka Day.

"Our country will not be free as long as there are people who take (Dataran Merdeka) away from us," he said.

Meanwhile, the partisanship of the opinion columns, as can be seen in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, is supported by Shin (2010) who suggests that editorials and opinion columns may reflect partisan reactions to policies from various segments of the political spectrum. In *Malaysiakini*'s case, it is supporting the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* organizers and rally goers, while for *The Star*, it is

towards going against *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* organizers and rally goers.

Based on the slants, it does seem that both media are following the ideology of their superiors – *The Star* with the federal government, *Malaysiakini* with *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. Only a small percentage of *The Star*'s news articles had a positive coverage of *Bersih 3.0*, while *Malaysiakini* had a bigger percentage of neutral and positive news articles as compared to *The Star*. The percentage of *The Star*'s negative coverage was far greater as compared to *Malaysiakini*'s in *Bersih 3.0*, but there has been a shift towards a more neutral coverage by *The Star* during *Bersih 4.0*.

Half of *The Star*'s opinion columns had a negative coverage on *Bersih 3.0*. However, there was a shift towards a far more positive attitude during *Bersih 4.0*. Meanwhile, no *Malaysiakini* opinion columns had a negative coverage on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. In both *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, the percentage of positive coverage in *The Star*'s opinion columns is far smaller than *Malaysiakini*'s coverage in its opinion columns. To further investigate the partiality of both media, the researcher investigated their most identified coding categories, similarities and differences. A summary can be found in Table 7.

**Table 7**

*Similarities & Differences in Slant Coverage of Bersih 3.0 and Bersih 4.0 in The Star and Malaysiakini*

Newspaper	<i>Bersih 3.0</i>	<i>Bersih 4.0</i>
<i>The Star</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Similarities in negative coverage in news articles and opinion columns</li><li>- Positive coverage is far bigger in the opinion columns than in news articles</li><li>- Far less neutral coverage in opinion columns than news articles</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Negative coverage of <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is smaller than in <i>Bersih 3.0</i>; less negative coverage in opinion columns than in news articles</li><li>- Positive coverage is far bigger in the opinion columns than in news articles</li><li>- Far less neutral coverage in opinion columns than news articles</li></ul>
<i>Malaysiakini</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- More neutral coverage in news articles than in opinion columns</li><li>- More positive coverage in opinion columns than in news articles.</li><li>- No negative coverage in opinion columns</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- More neutral coverage in news articles than in opinion columns; lesser neutral coverage than in <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li><li>- More positive coverage in opinion columns than in news articles; even larger positive coverage in opinion columns</li><li>- No negative coverage in opinion columns</li></ul>

**4.3.3 Most identified coding categories**

In some instances, there is no dominant coding category found under a certain theme cluster. This could be because there were hardly any coding categories found, had minimal presence in all the news articles and opinion columns, or had an equal number of coding categories. This includes the coding categories under the theme clusters *Authorities*, *Bar Council* and *Suhakam* during *Bersih 3.0*.

However, some theme clusters have coding categories that were identified more than others than others. This pattern can be seen in theme clusters like *Bersih*, *PDRM* and *Government* in both *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, and *Pakatan Rakyat* in *Bersih 3.0*.

#### **4.3.3.1 *The Star* news articles**

During the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*, the most identified coding categories in *The Star*'s news articles mainly revolved around a comparison between *Bersih 3.0* organisers and *Pakatan Rakyat*, as well as the federal government.

It has been found that the most identified coding categories in *The Star*'s news articles under the theme cluster "*Bersih 3.0*" were basically negative towards *Bersih 3.0*, implying that *Bersih 3.0* rally goers were troublemakers, has been hijacked by political parties, that the *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers should have compromised with the federal government and that *Bersih 3.0* has a political agenda.

A comparison between the most identified coding categories clustered under the theme "*Bersih 3.0*" and "*Pakatan Rakyat*" suggested that *Pakatan Rakyat* were instigators of the barricade breach at the rally in Dataran Merdeka, which was not part of the agreement made between the authorities and the *Bersih 3.0* organizers. *Pakatan Rakyat* was also portrayed as people who are instigating the people to go out to the *Bersih 3.0* rally by claiming the elections are not clean and fair, as well as being undemocratic because they cannot accept dissent among

their own ranks. This is because the most identified coding categories under the category “*Pakatan Rakyat*” in *The Star*’s news articles are the coding categories “*Pakatan Rakyat is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka*”, “*Pakatan Rakyat should not fool people that the election process is not clean and fair*”, “*Pakatan Rakyat cannot accept dissent*” and “*Pakatan Rakyat is not the instigator of barricade breach*”.

In contrast, a comparison between the most identified coding categories clustered under the theme “*Bersih 3.0*” and “*Government*” suggested that the federal government was in fact better than *Bersih 3.0* organisers and is taking action to heed *Bersih 3.0*’s demands. The most identified coding categories under the theme under “*Government*” in *The Star*’s news articles are “*Government is responding to the people’s demands*” and “*Government is able to hold peaceful gatherings*”. The coding category “*Government is responding to the people’s demands*” was also identified many times. In other words, *The Star* framed *Bersih 3.0* in an “*Us against Them*” scenario, as suggested by McElmurry (2009), whereby the “*Us*” is the federal government, and the “*Them*” is *Bersih 3.0* and *Pakatan Rakyat*.

In the aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*, the federal government set up a probe panel to look into the alleged abuses that the PDRM committed during the rally. The most identified coding categories in *The Star*’s news articles under the theme cluster “*Probe Panel*” are “*Former IGP Hanif Omar is joining the probe panel*”, “*Suhakam and Bar Council are not included in the probe panel*” and “*Explanation on the purposes of setting up the probe panel*”. The nature of these coding

categories were generally neutral and do not imply any negativity or positivity in the issue. A summary of this finding can be seen in Figure 18.

“Us”	“Them”
Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- better than <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and is taking action to heed <i>Bersih 3.0</i>'s demands</li> </ul>	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Generally describes <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers as troublemakers and has been hijacked</li> <li>- <i>Bersih 3.0</i> should have compromised with the federal government and has a political agenda</li> </ul>
	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Instigators of the barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka and instigating people to join <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> </ul>
Neutral coverage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Probe panel coding categories eg. “Former IGP Hanif Omar is joining the probe panel”, “Suhakam and Bar Council are not included in the probe panel” and “Explanation on the purposes of setting up the probe panel”</li> </ul>	

Figure 18: “Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in *The Star*'s news coverage of *Bersih 3.0*

In a similar nature, the most identified coding categories in *The Star*'s news articles during *Bersih 4.0* mainly revolved around a comparison between *Bersih 4.0* organisers and MCA.

It has been found that the most coding categories in *The Star* regarding *Bersih 4.0* were basically negative in slant, implying that *Bersih 4.0* rally goers are predominantly Chinese, that *Bersih 4.0* does not have nationwide appeal and that *Bersih 4.0* organisers are hypocrites. Even the presence of Former Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad to *Bersih 4.0* was presented negatively in *The Star*'s news articles, suggesting, “Mahathir is still unable to attract the Malays to come to *Bersih 4.0*”

A comparison can be made between the most identified coding categories clustered under “MCA” and “*Bersih 4.0*” in *The Star*’s news coverage. *The Star* compared *Bersih 4.0*’s actions with “MCA is doing good for the community”, and how “*Bersih 4.0* supporters are rude” (“Don’t make *Bersih 4* a racial issue, says Liow” published on 4 September 2015). It is also worth noting that *The Star* also portrayed MCA as defending Malaysia from racists by saying they “had been consistently preserving racial harmony since the nation’s independence and would continue to protect the rights of all races” (‘Red shirt rally must be stopped’, 9 September 2015), for example. In addition to these, *Bersih 4.0* was also rebuffed with the coding category “Demonstrations are ‘not our culture’”, MCA’s objection towards *Bersih 4.0* and The Red Shirt Rally and how Malaysians should voice their views and thoughts “legally” (“Liow: Express views legally”, 7 September 2015).

A comparison between MCA and the Red Shirt Rally was also made in *The Star*’s news coverage, albeit indirectly. The Red Shirt Rally was covered mainly in a negative light, with the most identified frames being “Red Shirt Rally is disruptive”, “Red Shirt Rally is Racist/against the Malaysian Spirit of Unity”, “Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective” and “There is no need to organise the Red Shirt Rally”. The negative traits associated with the Red Shirt Rally suggest they are not beneficial for Malaysia’s democracy and racial unity. In this case, *The Star*’s news articles do not attempt to compare whether *Bersih 4.0* was better or worse than the Red Shirt Rally. In this case, when compared to McElmurry’s (2009) “Us against Them” scenario, the “Us” in this context is “*Bersih 4.0*” and the “Red Shirt Rally” while the “Them” is MCA. A



summary of this comparison can be seen in Figure 19.

“Us”	“Them”
<p>MCA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- MCA is doing good for the community, defending Malaysia from racists.</li> <li>- Believes demonstrations are “not our culture” and should voice their views and thoughts “legally”</li> </ul>	<p><i>Bersih 4.0</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Generally describes <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally goers as predominantly Chinese</li> <li>- <i>Bersih 4.0</i> does not have nationwide appeal and are hypocrites; not even Former PM Dr Mahathir Mohamad can attract Malays to the rally</li> </ul>
	<p>Red Shirt Rally</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Disruptive, racist, against unity, does not have a clear organiser or objective, and is not necessary.</li> </ul>

Figure 19: “Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in *The Star’s* news coverage of *Bersih 4.0*

#### 4.3.3.2 *The Star* Opinion Columns

In *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, two theme clusters stand out as having the most dominant coding categories, and they were *Bersih 3.0/4.0*, and PDRM.

During *Bersih 3.0*, the coding categories that was most identified in *The Star’s* opinion columns are "*Bersih 3.0 is a peaceful and festive event*", "*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers*" and "*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers are victims of some troublemakers*". With the exception of the coding categories "*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers*", the other two dominant coding categories paint a positive picture in regards to *Bersih 3.0*. In a similar nature, *Bersih 4.0* was painted in a positive manner, with the coding categories "*Bersih 4.0 is transparent and clear with its goals*" and "*Bersih 4.0 is a peaceful rally*" being dominant.

When it comes to the coding categories categorized under PDRM, the coding categories that was most identified in *The Star*'s opinion columns during *Bersih 3.0* is the coding category "*PDRM is brutal or used excessive force*". Other coding categories that were not dominant but have been identified in *The Star*'s opinion columns include "*PDRM composed and managing the crowd well*", "*PDRM's actions justified*", "*People overreacted to PDRM's approach*", "*PDRM victims of Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally goer's provocation*", and "*PDRM's action not justified*". With the exception of the last coding category and the dominant coding category, the others were positive towards PDRM and was sympathetic to and seemingly justifies the actions of PDRM officers who were at the *Bersih 3.0* rally in Kuala Lumpur. During *Bersih 4.0*, the PDRM was portrayed more positively, with the coding category "*PDRM were cooperative with Bersih 4.0 organisers and supporters*" being identified the most.

It was worth noting that despite implicit federal government support for the Red Shirt Rally during *Bersih 4.0*, the columnists painted Red Shirt Rally negatively, portraying "*Red Shirt Rally is Racist/against the Malaysian Spirit of Unity*" and "*Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective*". They appear in the opinion column "*Stand up as Malaysians*" by Wong Chun Wai (13 September 2015), "*Protest not for protest's sake*" by Marina Mahathir (10 September 2015) and "*Disquiet over Malay Rally*" by Joceline Tan (13 September 2015). There was also a mention that "*MCA has not gone soft on issues such as Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt Rally*", further showing that MCA will be part of the movement to counter racist rallies, found in Joceline Tan's "*Disquiet over Malay*

*Rally*".

There was also an attempt to portray demonstrations in a more balanced manner during *Bersih 4.0*. The columnists not only portrayed demonstration as not only "not part of our culture", but that "*Demonstrations has always been part of our culture*" and that "*Every citizen has a right to demonstrate*". There was an equal distribution of these coding categories in *The Star*'s opinion columns.

#### **4.3.3.3 Malaysiakini news articles**

The coding categories that were most identified in *Malaysiakini*'s news articles in regards to *Bersih 3.0* were basically attempting to remind people that the rally had wide support, that *Bersih 3.0* were victims of government's actions and reiterated *Bersih 3.0*'s eight demands. The coding category "*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers*" was also identified in *Malaysiakini*'s news articles, but they were typically about people who oppose the organisation of *Bersih 3.0* such as the government and the Election Commission. The dominant coding categories identified in *Malaysiakini*'s news articles try to garner sympathy from the reader, reminding people why *Bersih 3.0* has to happen with the coding categories "*Reiteration of Bersih 3.0's eight demands*" and "*Bersih 3.0 victims of government's actions*" often found in the news articles. The dominance of the coding categories "*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers*" and "*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions*" also reminded the reader the hurdles that the *Bersih 3.0* rally goers and organizers had to face in ensuring the rally takes place peacefully. The coding categories "*Bersih 3.0 as a peaceful and festive event*" were also dominant to remind the reader that the rally they have just attended was a peaceful and

festive event until the PDRM started attacking the protestors.

The most identified coding categories in regards to the government on *Bersih 3.0* in *Malaysiakini*'s news articles are “*Government is superior to Pakatan Rakyat*”, “*Government supporters are calling for action taken against Bersih 3.0 rally goers and organizers*”, “*Government is inferior to Bersih 3.0, Pakatan Rakyat and the people*” and “*Government is cracking down on Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally goers*”. The prominence of these coding categories appear to support the victimisation of *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers, with the government and its supporters being portrayed as having a condescending attitude towards *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers. The coding category “*Government is inferior to Bersih 3.0, Pakatan Rakyat and the people*” also tries to give support to *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers by telling them how inferior the government and their supporters are. In this scenario, a comparison was made between *Bersih 3.0* and Government that would fit the “Us against Them” scenario proposed by McElmurry (2009), whereby *Bersih 3.0* is “Us”, while the government is “Them”. This can be seen in Figure 20.

“Us”	“Them”
<i>Bersih 3.0</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Had wide support, victims of government's actions and reiterated <i>Bersih 3.0</i>'s eight demands</li> <li>- Criticisms about <i>Bersih 3.0</i> comes from people who oppose <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> </ul>	Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Superior to <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i>, cracking down on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers</li> <li>- Support for <i>Bersih 3.0</i> by reiterating <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is superior to Government</li> </ul>

Figure 20: “Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in *Malaysiakini*'s news coverage of *Bersih 3.0*

Meanwhile, the most identified coding category in regards to the mainstream media during *Bersih 3.0* were the coding categories “*Mainstream*

*media and/or Astro is controlled by the government*”, “*Mainstream media and/or Astro were unbalanced and unfair to Bersih*”, “*Mainstream media and/or Astro portray Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally goers as villains*” and “*Mainstream media and/or Astro are the government’s propaganda machine*”. Again, it can be observed that the coding categories that were most identified were critical to the mainstream media coverage towards the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*, with a possible aim of vilifying the mainstream media coverage that was given to *Bersih* rally goers. However, it would be hard to imagine these coding categories being identified in *The Star* or any mainstream media, given the links the mainstream media has to the federal government (refer to Appendix A), and the federal government’s negative stance towards *Bersih 3.0*.

The coding categories that were identified the most in regards to *Pakatan Rakyat* in *Malaysiakini*’s news articles are the coding categories “*Pakatan Rakyat is helping and supporting Bersih 3.0*”, “*Pakatan Rakyat is not the instigator of barricade breach*”, “*Pakatan Rakyat is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka*”, “*Pakatan Rakyat has questionable elements*” and “*Pakatan Rakyat intends to change government via Bersih 3.0*”. The first coding category aforementioned shows *Pakatan Harapan*’s efforts in helping the cause of *Bersih 3.0*, whether it is by bringing in supporters or helping to manage the crowd. The second coding category was aimed at shoring up the idea that it was not Federal Opposition Leader Anwar Ibrahim who instigated the barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka, as suggested by the federal government. The other coding categories, which have a negative connotation on *Pakatan Harapan*’s role in the *Bersih 3.0* rally, were mainly sourced from supporters of the federal government who are

opposed to *Bersih 3.0*, or people high up in the government, such as Prime Minister Najib Razak or the Former IGP Hanif Omar. It does appear that the prominence of such coding categories was aimed at trying to make *Pakatan Rakyat* the victim in a slew of government accusations.

The coding categories that were most identified in *Malaysiakini*'s news articles when it comes to the PDRM during *Bersih 3.0* were the coding categories “*PDRM is brutal or used excessive force*”, “*PDRM interfered with journalists' work*”, “*PDRM's actions not justified*” and “*PDRM is taking action against rally goers*”. It seems that the coding categories that were identified the most paints the PDRM in a negative picture, suggesting whatever the PDRM did in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* was brutal, excessive and unjustified, interfering with the jobs of the journalists and are taking action against the rally goers. The frequency of these coding categories could mean that it is looking to elicit anger towards the PDRM among its readers.

The most identified coding categories in *Malaysiakini*'s news articles in regards to the Probe Panel are “*Former IGP Hanif Omar should be replaced/resign/not accept position in the probe panel*”, “*Probe panel is allegedly one-sided*”, “*The probe panel should bring in United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue*”, “*Someone else should be leading the probe panel instead*” and “*Probe panel has no power*”. These coding categories suggest that *Malaysiakini* wants to portray the probe panel established by the federal government in a negative way, saying that it has no power to make any changes,

unreliable, that a certain member in that probe panel should not be trusted to make any judgements and that someone else, like La Rue, should join or lead the probe panel instead. The insistence was on United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue to head the probe panel, as he is seen to be more reliable than anyone else.

For its news coverage of *Bersih 4.0*, *Malaysiakini* also featured prominently the coding categories “*Bersih 4.0* has wide support” and “*Bersih 4.0* is transparent and clear with its goals”, coding categories that are similar in nature with the ones found in *Bersih 3.0*. What differentiates *Malaysiakini*’s news coverage on *Bersih 4.0* and *Bersih 3.0* is that *Malaysiakini* news articles also feature prominently the coding categories “*Bersih 4.0* is also a call to get PM Najib Razak to step down”, “*Bersih 4.0* supporters are rude” and “*Bersih 4.0* was predominantly Chinese/is racist”. The former coding category was featured prominently in *Malaysiakini*’s news articles because there were calls for PM Najib Razak to resign following the alleged role he had in the misappropriation of funds from the Malaysian investment company 1MDB. The latter coding category was featured because there were *Bersih 4.0* protestors stomping on pictures of PAS President Abdul Hadi Awang and PM Najib Razak, and has been interpreted as being rude and disrespectful to the two leaders. The third coding category was predominantly featured because there were accusations from several UMNO members that *Bersih 4.0* was predominantly Chinese, proving the racist nature of *Bersih 4.0* instead of having support from the Malays, Indians and other races.

In *Bersih 4.0*, the most identified coding categories clustered under the Government theme were “*Government's reaction to Bersih 4.0 was excessive*”, “*Questionable Government Moves*”, “*Government should not take action against Bersih 4.0/not biased*” and “*Government will take action against Bersih 4.0 rally goers*”. What can be implied from these most identified coding categories was that *Malaysiakini* continues its trend of supporting the idea that *Bersih 4.0* organizers and rally-goers are victims of the federal government’s actions, with the federal government and its supporters being portrayed as having a condescending attitude towards *Bersih 4.0* organizers and rally-goers. This was even taken one step further with the coding category “*Questionable Government moves*” in which federal opposition leaders such as PKR’s Saifuddin Abdullah and DAP’s Lim Kit Siang call into question the decisions made by the federal government in tackling *Bersih 4.0* and the Red Shirt Rally. Similar to its coverage of *Bersih 3.0*, *Bersih 4.0* can be considered “Us” while the federal government can be considered “Them” when compared with McElmurry’s (2009) “Us against Them” concept. This can be seen in Figure 21.

“Us”	“Them”
<i>Bersih 4.0</i> - Had wide support and is also a call for PM Najib Razak to step down	Government - Reaction to <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was excessive, questionable government moves and that government should not take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally goers

Figure 21: “Us against Them” scenario (McElmurry, 2009) in *Malaysiakini*’s news coverage of *Bersih 4.0*



The most identified coding categories in regards to PDRM was the coding categories “*PDRM will take/are taking action against Bersih 4.0 organisers and demonstrators*”, “*PDRM should not be biased when taking action*” and “*PDRM were cooperative with Bersih 4.0 organisers and supporters*” among others. The most identified coding categories suggest that *Malaysiakini* wanted to portray PDRM as not only doing their usual of taking action against *Bersih 4.0* supporters, but also that are capable of managing a rally in a peaceful manner, and that they should be fair in taking action against the Red Shirt Rally supporters too, if they were also breaking the law.

The Red Shirt Rally was also portrayed negatively in *Malaysiakini*'s news coverage, just like *The Star*. The most identified coding categories are “*Red Shirt Rally is racist/against the Malaysian spirit of national unity*”, “*Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective*” and “*Red Shirt Rally has strong grass root support*”. However, it was worth noting that *Malaysiakini* portrayed demonstrations in a positive light, mostly putting forth the argument that “*Every citizen has a right to demonstrate/take part in democracy*”.

During *Bersih 4.0*, in contrast to how MCA was portrayed in *The Star*, *Malaysiakini*'s most identified coding categories in regards to MCA portrayed MCA as a party that is as "racist" as UMNO. For example, DAP national organising secretary Anthony Loke took issue that MCA President Liow Tiong Lai blamed DAP for an incident at the rally where two participants stomped on a photograph of Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak and PAS president Abdul Hadi Awang, arguing that by doing so, MCA is no different to UMNO by turning *Bersih*

4.0 into a racial issue and to divert the attention of the focus of the rally (“DAP: Liow dancing to Umno's 'racist' tune,” 3 September 2015). MCA was also portrayed as dealing with dissent against party lines, which is anti-*Bersih 4.0* by dealing with people who go against party lines, such as MCA elder leader Dr Ling Liong Sik who will be punished for attending one of the global *Bersih 4* rallies (‘MCA to decide Liong Sik's fate for joining *Bersih 4*’ - 2 September 2015).

When it comes to coding categories related to Dr Mahathir Mohamad, the most identified coding categories were “*Mahathir joined Bersih 4.0 because he is angry*” and “*Mahathir joined Bersih 4.0 because he wants to save UMNO*”. For the former coding category, *Malaysiakini* would appear show that Mahathir’s appearance during *Bersih 4.0* was not welcomed, especially seeing that the comments against his presence at the rally came mainly from federal government leaders, such as Tourism and Culture Minister Nazri Abdul Aziz saying Tun Mahathir was just an upset and disgruntled old man who had nobody to listen to him (“*Bersih 4 - Nazri tells cops not to waste time on Dr M*” – 3 September 2015). For the latter coding category, *Malaysiakini* implied that Dr Mahathir joined the *Bersih 4.0* rally not because he supports it, but because he wants to save UMNO from Prime Minister Najib Razak who, as said by Former information minister Zainuddin Maidin, “is more dangerous than DAP” (Zam: Dr M feels Najib more dangerous than DAP – 31 August 2015).

#### ***4.3.3.4 Malaysiakini Opinion Columns***

The coding categories that were most identified in the opinion columns of *Malaysiakini* generally describe *Bersih 3.0* as a peaceful and festive event, has

wide support, were victims of federal government's actions and talked about why *Bersih 3.0* should be held at Dataran Merdeka. The coding category "*Bersih 3.0 has wide support*", were dominant to remind the reader, again, that the rally they have just attended was a peaceful and festive event, and many others have also shared that same experience, until the PDRM started attacking the protestors. The dominance of the coding category "*Justifications on Bersih 3.0 Kuala Lumpur rally being held in Dataran Merdeka*" could be explained by the significance of Dataran Merdeka to the formation of Malaysia and how UMNO has seemed to have blocked the rally-goers from going to Dataran Merdeka because it would have been a "moral coup" if it took place.

The coding categories that were most identified in the opinion columns of *Malaysiakini* in regards to the federal government is "*Government is inferior to Bersih 3.0, Pakatan Rakyat and the people*", followed by "*Government is afraid of clean and fair elections*" and "*Government is playing dirty politics*". The dominance of these coding categories suggest that the columnists do not view the federal government well when it comes to *Bersih 3.0*, suggesting that the federal government is afraid of meeting *Bersih 3.0*'s demands for a free and fair election because they want to continue playing dirty politics for their own personal interests. The dominance of the coding category "*Government is inferior to Bersih 3.0, Pakatan Rakyat and the people*" suggested that the federal government is out of touch with the people, and that it is the people are more superior to the federal government in various aspects.

The frames that were identified the most in *Malaysiakini*'s opinion columns when it comes to PDRM are the frames “*PDRM used by the government to make Bersih 3.0 violent*” and “*PDRM's actions not justified*”. Instead of blaming the PDRM of being brutal and using excessive force, those frames try to paint a more sympathetic picture towards the PDRM by attributing the PDRM's unjustifiable actions towards the *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goers to the federal government. It could be that the PDRM officers were forced to do what they did at Dataran Merdeka due to orders from ‘above’ – the federal government.

Similarly, during *Bersih 4.0*, the coding categories “*Bersih 4.0 has wide support*”, “*Bersih 4.0 is not racist*” and “*Bersih 4.0 is also a call to get PM Najib Razak to step down*” were among the most identified, reminding the reader that the rally has wide support from all walks of life despite accusations that it was dominated by one race, and that it was also a call for the prime minister to step down.

During *Bersih 4.0*, the most identified coding categories were the coding categories “*Government's reaction to Bersih 4.0 was excessive*”, “*Government is not listening to the people's demands*” and “*Questionable Government Moves*”. Again, the dominance of these coding categories suggest that the government is afraid of meeting *Bersih 4.0*'s demands for a free and fair election, as well as a federal government is out of touch with the people.

The most identified coding categories clustered under PDRM in *Malaysiakini*'s opinion columns were “*PDRM will take/are taking action against*

*Bersih 4.0 organisers and demonstrators*” and “*PDRM are taking excessive action against Bersih 4.0 supporters*”. This time, there was no sympathy given to the PDRM from the columnists, describing PDRM’s actions as excessive against the *Bersih 4.0* rally goers.

These dominant PDRM frames also continue to paint a negative picture of the federal government by suggesting that the federal government controls other institutions that are meant to be impartial, such as the PDRM, mainstream media and the Election Commission, and was especially prominent in *Bersih 3.0*. For the latter, the dominant frames found in *Malaysiakini*’s opinion columns were “*Mainstream media and/or Astro are the government’s propaganda machine*” and “*EC is partisan/biased towards the government*”.

#### **4.3.4 Similarities and Differences**

This part of the chapter will attempt to discuss the notable similarities and differences in the coding categories found in the findings.

##### ***4.3.4.1 Notable similarities in frames used***

To start the discussion on the similarities in the coding categories found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*’s news articles and opinion columns, the researcher first addressed the similarity in the number of instances of the coding categories identified in news articles and/or opinion columns, as well as similarities that were only found in any one news media, before discussing the similarities found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*.

At times, the number of instances of the coding categories identified in news articles and/or opinion columns have been similar if not the same, as can be seen in Appendix D and G. For example, the number of instances where the coding categories “*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers*” and “*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers have damaged properties and caused injuries*” found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s news articles were similar. While it may be tempting to consider the similarity in the number of articles as something meaningful for the analysis, the proportion of news articles between *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* has to be factored in. Although the number of opinion columns analysed in *The Star* is similar with *Malaysiakini*'s, the number of news articles in *Malaysiakini* is far more than *The Star* 's. If the proportion of news articles and the number of instances where the frames were identified were taken into consideration, the superficial similarities would not have the same significance in meaning. Therefore, this aspect of analysis will be ignored as it does not help answer the research questions.

The aspect of analysis will also discount the similarities that are only found in any one of the news media analysed. For example, the coding categories “*Government is superior to Pakatan Rakyat*” and “*Government is responding to the people's demands*” were both found in both *The Star* 's news articles and opinion columns, but were not found in *Malaysiakini*. Findings like this are better discussed in the Differences section. The researcher has also decided to discuss the major similarities that the researcher found relevant to the study, as the researcher believes highlighting every similarity between the two media would be overwhelming and takes away the main focus of the research.

The researcher has found that there were four types of similarities found: negative coverage of *Bersih 3.0/4.0*, authorities is partly to blame for the chaos in Dataran Merdeka during *Bersih 3.0*, neutral reporting of major *Bersih 3.0/4.0* players and positive coverage of *Bersih 3.0/4.0*.

Similarities in term of negative coverage of *Bersih 3.0/4.0* were further categorized into three – “*Bersih 3.0/4.0* is bad”, “*Government is superior to Bersih 3.0*”, and “*Supposedly impartial parties supporting Bersih*”.

Similarities under the category “*Bersih 3.0/4.0* is bad” found both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles talk about how both *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* was supposedly illegal, how it is disruptive, how it is hijacked and has questionable elements in it. Exclusively *Bersih 3.0* coding categories found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* include “*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers has tarnished Malaysia’s image*”, which was identified in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*’s news articles and opinion columns, and “*EC does not want to be associated with Bersih 3.0*”, which was found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*’s news articles.

Similarities under the category “*Government is superior to Bersih 3.0*” describe how the authorities are victims of the actions of *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goers, such as “*PDRM victims of Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally goer’s provocation*” which were found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles and opinion columns and “*EC is victim of Pakatan/Bersih 3.0’s tactics*” were found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*’s news articles. They suggest that *Bersih 3.0* was insincere in working with the federal government to implement election reforms

and were instead more interested in creating chaos on the streets. This was compared to the “superiority” of the federal government which described how “*EC has taken action to meet Bersih 3.0’s demands*”, which was found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*’s news articles.

Similarities under the category “*Supposedly impartial parties supporting Bersih*” described how supposedly impartial entities were being biased towards *Bersih 3.0*. For example, the frame “*Bar Council is partisan and has lost credibility*” was found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles.

There were also similarities in coding categories found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* which partly blame the authorities for the chaos caused at the *Bersih 3.0* rally in Dataran Merdeka. The coding categories “*Authorities should have worked with Bersih 3.0 organizers*”, “*PDRM is brutal or used excessive force*” and “*PDRM’s actions not justified*” were identified in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*’s news articles and opinion columns. They suggest that the authorities should have worked with the *Bersih 3.0* organizers so that the rally would run smoothly and be incident-free, instead of seeing the PDRM acting in an unjustified and brutal manner during the rally.

Similarities categorised under the neutral reporting of major *Bersih 3.0/4.0* players include coding categories clustered under the theme “Mainstream Media” (*Bersih 3.0*), “MCA” (*Bersih 4.0*), the “Red Shirt Rally” (*Bersih 4.0*) and “Demonstrations” (*Bersih 4.0*).



Similarities under the theme “Mainstream Media” found both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles having the coding category “*Mainstream media journalists are victims of PDRM’s actions during the Bersih 3.0 rally*”. That coding category was found because *The Sun*, another English mainstream media, had its reporter hospitalized because of the police brutality during the rally.

During *Bersih 4.0*, in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles, MCA was portrayed as a party that will among others, defend Malaysia from racists, deal with people who go against party lines, and yet will still not get back the support from the Chinese following *Bersih 4.0*. They also portrayed MCA as still not going soft on issues such as *Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt Rally*.

Both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles also covered thoroughly the Red Shirt Rally, describing how disruptive it is, how it is meant to demonstrate "Malay Unity", how it has supposedly strong grass root support, how it is racist/against the Malaysian spirit of national unity, how it will be peaceful and will follow the rules, its illegal status, how the Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective, how the Red Shirt Rally does not represent the Malays and how the Red Shirt Rally is supposedly not racist among others, which can be found in Appendix H.

Both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles seem to agree that “Mahathir is still unable to attract the Malays to come to *Bersih 4.0*”. With regards to demonstrations, it would seem that both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles feature the coding categories "*Demonstrations are 'not part of our culture'*", but

both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* columnists argue that "*Every citizen has a right to demonstrate*".

Similarities that can be considered as positive coverage of *Bersih 3.0/4.0* were also found in both media. The coding category "*Bersih 3.0 has wide support*" was found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s news articles and opinion columns. This was also found in *Bersih 4.0* with the coding categories "*Bersih is a peaceful rally*" and "*Bersih has wide support*". This was also seen during the reportage for the PDRM during *Bersih 4.0* when PDRM was seen to be more neutral than in *Bersih 3.0*. Among the coding categories found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles, include "*PDRM were cooperative with Bersih 4.0 organisers and supporters*", affirming the existence of the rally, and the wide support it had from the people.

#### ***4.3.4.2 Similarities with the frames proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000)***

Note that in Chapter 3 (pg. 57), the researcher argued against using generic frames in the research as it could skew the results in finding the frames. However, over the course of the research, the researcher has been able to match the researcher's coding categories and Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) generic frames, that are categorised based on 1) Attribution of Responsibility, 2) Human Interest Frames, 3) Conflict Frames, 4) Morality Frames and 5) Economic Frames. The full list of criteria for Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) generic frames can be found in Appendix J.

However, as argued in Chapter 3 (pg. 57), the researcher encountered challenges in trying to fit the coding categories into the frames proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and to avoid trying to skew the results. Therefore, the validity of this comparison cannot be determined.

Based on preliminary matching between the 201 coding categories found in *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, as well as the frames identified by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), it can be determined that 132 coding categories (65.67%) can match Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames, while 69 other coding categories cannot be matched (34.33%). It would appear that most of the coding categories identified fall under the “Human Interest” and “Conflict” category, as can be seen in Figure 22, 23 and 24.

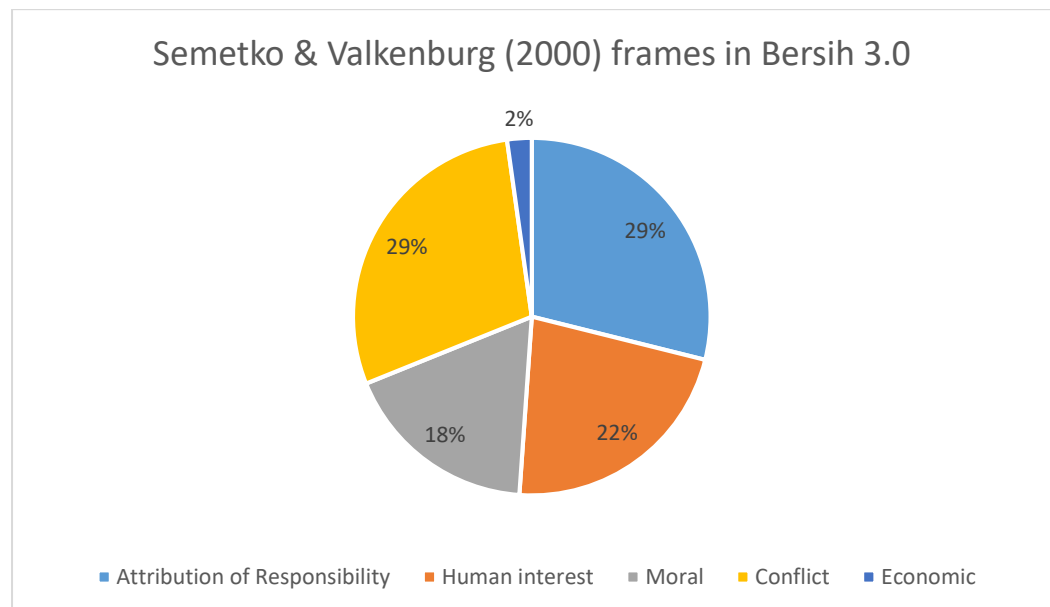


Figure 22: Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames in *Bersih 3.0*

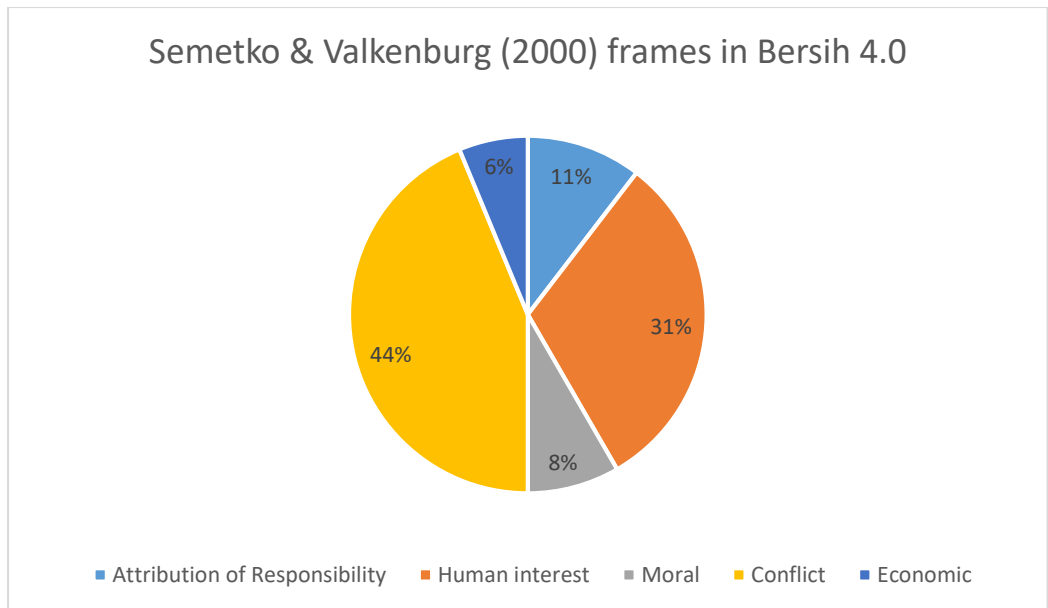


Figure 23: Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames in *Bersih 4.0*

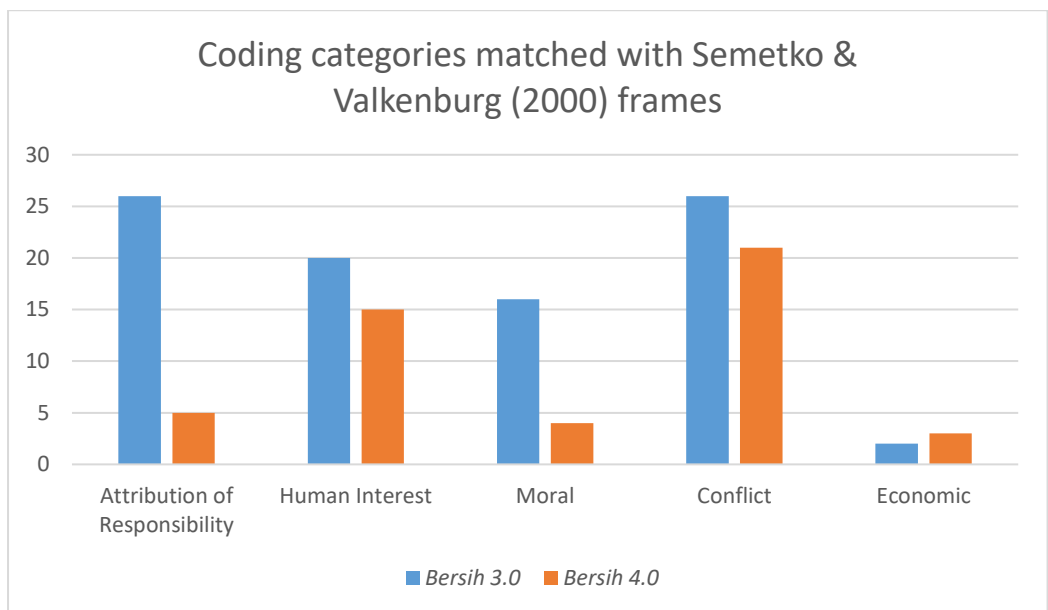


Figure 24: Coding categories found by researcher matched with Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames

As can be seen in Appendix J, it would appear that in the “Human Interest” category, many of the coding categories identified in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* can be seen to be containing visual information or adjectives that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion. It would also

appear that under the “Conflict” category, many of the coding categories identified can be seen as one party-individual-group-country reproaching another. Further implications will be discussed in page 168.

#### ***4.3.4.3 Differences in coding categories used***

##### *4.3.4.3.1 Absences in The Star’s news and opinion column coverage*

The differences in the coding categories used by *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* were dominated by the absences of certain coding categories in their media. This part of the discussion will first start with the absences in *The Star*, followed by *Malaysiakini*.

There were certain categories of frames where the absences of certain frames could suggest an underlying ideology. Given the smaller amount of news coverage by *The Star* on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, it was not surprising that there will be some coding categories that will be left out in their coverage. However, the absences of these particular coding categories in *The Star*, as well as the absence of certain coding categories in *Malaysiakini* suggest that ideology could play a factor in why these coding categories were absent.

In *The Star*, the coding categories that were absent from coverage but were present in *Malaysiakini* comprise mainly of criticisms towards the authorities such as PDRM, DBKL, and the federal government. The first type of criticism that has been absent in *The Star* was that the authorities were biased towards one side, which was towards the federal government. Among the notable frames that were

absent in *The Star* described how the authorities, EC and the probe panel were partisan/biased towards the federal government, and that “*PDRM should be fair in taking action*”. General direct criticisms of the PDRM and the federal government were also absent. A more comprehensive list of absences can be found in Appendix H.

During *Bersih 4.0*, coding categories that include criticisms towards the federal government that were absent in *The Star*'s news coverage include “*Government's reaction to Bersih 4.0 was excessive*”, “*Government should not take action against Bersih 4.0/not biased*”, “*Government politicians sowing hatred following Bersih 4.0*”, “*Government is not listening to the people's demands*”, “*Questionable government moves*” and “*Government will take action against Bersih 4.0 rally goers*”. Criticisms towards the PDRM include “*PDRM are taking excessive action against Bersih 4.0 supporters*”, “*PDRM should not be biased when taking action*” and “*PDRM were forced to act against Bersih 4.0*”

Another form of criticism towards the federal government that were absent in *The Star* news articles during *Bersih 3.0* was criticism towards the federal government's establishment of the probe panel, with frames “*The probe panel should bring in United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue*”, “*Probe panel has no power*” and “*Someone else should be leading the probe panel*” absent from *The Star*'s coverage.

The second form of criticism that was absent in *The Star* was calls for action to be taken against people who were required to show impartiality or responsibility but seemingly did not, such as “*EC people should resign*”, “*Authorities should take action against brutality*” and “*Government should apologize over how it handled the Bersih 3.0 rally.*”

The third kind of criticism of the federal government absent in *The Star* involved the federal government's supposed direct links with entities that are supposed to be impartial in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*, but act as if they support the federal government, such as “*PDRM used by the government to make Bersih 3.0 violent*”.

The absences of coding categories in *The Star* also comprised of frames that were related to the *Bersih 3.0* in Kuala Lumpur that could paint a better picture of the *Bersih 3.0* rally in Dataran Merdeka and further shed light onto the ideologies behind *Bersih 3.0*, such as “*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers a victim of Rapid KL's actions*”, “*Justifications on Bersih 3.0 Kuala Lumpur rally being held in Dataran Merdeka*”, “*Bersih 3.0 is not wrong in breaching PDRM barrier to go to Dataran Merdeka*”, “*A reiteration of Bersih 3.0's 8 demands*”, “*Pakatan Rakyat is helping and supporting Bersih 3.0*” and “*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers does not intend to overthrow government*”. In *Bersih 4.0*, this scenario can be seen from absences of coding categories like “*PM Najib Razak should heed Bersih 4.0's demands*” and “*UMNO can be negatively affected by Bersih 4.0*”.

It is also not a surprise that there were almost no coding categories in regards to how the mainstream media and Astro covered *Bersih 3.0* in *The Star*.

Curiously, there were also some coding categories that were neutral or positive towards the federal government and PDRM but were not present in *The Star*. Coding categories like “*Probe Panel promises to be unbiased*”, “*Government has established probe panel on how PDRM tackled Bersih 3.0*”, “*PDRM's actions justified*”, “*Government is democratic*” and “*PDRM will take action against unruly PDRM/set up panel*” were neutral coding categories or coding categories that were positive of the authorities that were never featured in *The Star*. Coding categories that were also negative to *Bersih 3.0* and *Pakatan Rakyat* but were never featured in *The Star* include “*Bersih 3.0 has questionable elements such as communists*”, “*Bersih 3.0 is against Islam*”, “*Pakatan Rakyat prioritizing other issues such as Bersih instead of other more pressing issues*” and “*Pakatan Rakyat has questionable elements*”.

It was also worth noting that during *Bersih 4.0*, MCA was thrown into the mix due to the perception that *Bersih 4.0* was predominantly Chinese. What *Bersih 4.0* has done is show that *The Star* may be politically inclined, if not owned by MCA, despite assurance by the MCA that it will not interfere in its editorial policies. Several coding categories that were negative to MCA were absent in *The Star*, such as “*Someone from MCA joined the Bersih 4.0 rally*”, “*MCA is as "racist" as UMNO in Bersih 4.0*” and “*MCA has gone soft on issues such as Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt*”. The political inclination of *The Star* can also be seen when there were far more instances of the coding category “*MCA will defend Malaysia from*



*racists*” in its news articles as compared to *Malaysiakini*.

The absences of these coding categories were further supported by the presence of certain coding categories that were not found in *The Star*’s news articles. Most of these coding categories can be considered negative towards *Bersih 3.0*, and the people’s reaction towards the PDRM’s action towards the rally-goers. The negative coding categories found in *The Star*’s opinion columns were concentrated in two columns, namely in Jocelyn Tan’s "*A big crowd - and big problems*" and "*How Social Media Killed Batman*" by Raphael Kok. The former explained how *Bersih 3.0* has divided Malaysians, intended to change federal government via *Bersih* and how the middle ground voters will not support *Pakatan Rakyat* because of *Bersih 3.0*. The latter also explained how *Bersih 3.0* has divided Malaysians; how PDRM's actions are justified and suggested that the people had overreacted to PDRM's approach in tackling *Bersih 3.0*.

However, the more positive frames that were absent in *The Star*’s news articles are concentrated in Azmi Sharom’s column "*Peaceful assembly a legal right*". He argued that the authorities should have worked with *Bersih 3.0* organizers and it's the people's right to assemble peacefully like *Bersih 3.0*.

In *Bersih 4.0*, several coding categories that were absent from *The Star*’s news articles reinforces its political leaning towards being pro-federal government, including "*Malays are scared to join Bersih 4.0*", "*Bersih 4.0 will not apologise for the actions of a few*", "*PM Najib Razak should heed Bersih 4.0's demands*", "*Questionable motives in Bersih 4.0*" and "*UMNO can be negatively*

*affected by Bersih 4.0"*

However, there have been a marked shift towards supporting the *Bersih* movement by *The Star*'s columnists. Only one opinion column was dismissive towards *Bersih 4.0*, and that was written by the late Soo Ewe Jin, who argues that "Street demonstrations may have their place in expression of public opinions, but I believe there is a better way" in his column "*The True Colours of Malaysia*". The majority of *The Star*'s opinion columns (6 out of 9) were positive of *Bersih 4.0*, as compared to the two opinion columns that were positive of *Bersih 3.0*.

Another coding category that was absent in *The Star*'s news articles but were present in its opinion columns were the reiteration of any *Bersih 3.0*'s demands. However, they were used in two ways. The first way was to remind the readers how the *Bersih 3.0* rally has gone off course in Raphael Kok's "How Social Media Killed Batman", while the other was more of a neutral comment made by a participant of the rally in Shahanaaz Habib's "*A Riot at a Peaceful Rally*". The discovery of these frames showed that upon analysis of the context, the seemingly positive frames towards *Bersih 3.0* contribute to the effort to paint the federal government in a better light, and *Bersih 3.0* in a more negative light.

Similarly, during *Bersih 4.0*, it can be observed that there were far more of the coding category "*Bersih 4.0 is disruptive/has caused disharmony in the country*" in *The Star*'s news articles than *Malaysiakini*. This finding further reinforces the idea that *The Star* is discouraging people to attend *Bersih 4.0*.

#### 4.3.4.3.2 Absences in *Malaysiakini*'s news and opinion column coverage

Meanwhile, the absences of certain coding categories in *Malaysiakini* but were present in *The Star* were generally negative towards *Bersih 3.0*, the Bar Council and *Pakatan Rakyat*. This include coding categories like "*Bar Council is inconsistent in its probe report*", "*Bar Council does not accept dissent*", "*Bersih 3.0 has lost support from Malaysians*", "*Bersih 3.0 organizers and rally-goers has tarnished Malaysia's image*", "*Pakatan Rakyat is not fit to rule the country*" and "*Pakatan Rakyat should not fool people that the election process is not clean and fair*".

Coding categories that paint the federal government and PDRM in a more neutral or positive light were also absent from *Malaysiakini*. These includes frames like "*Government has met some or all of Bersih 3.0's demands*", "*Government is able to hold peaceful gatherings*", "*Government is a victim of Bersih 3.0 and Pakatan Rakyat's actions*" and "*PDRM did not recognize the Bar Council as monitors*". Coding categories that attempt to give an explanation on the purposes of setting up the probe panel and that there is nothing wrong with the IGP joining the panel were also absent from *Malaysiakini*.

The absences of these coding categories were further supported by the presence of certain frames that were not found in *Malaysiakini*'s news articles but were found in *Malaysiakini*'s opinion columns. The columnists suggest that it is the people's right to assemble like *Bersih 3.0*, that *Bersih 3.0* is an avenue to express dissatisfaction with the federal government absent from its news articles and that people should not vote for BN because of *Bersih 3.0*. The coding

categories that were absent from the news articles also did not give PDRM a good picture, with the columnists suggesting that PDRM tarnished the country's image, or were sympathetic to PDRM.

During *Bersih 4.0*, coding categories that were absent from *Malaysiakini* were coding categories that are negative towards *Bersih 4.0*, including "*Bersih 4.0 needs to do something else rather than to demonstrate*" and "*Anwar is no longer a factor for Bersih 4.0*". The lack of absent coding categories from *Malaysiakini* during *Bersih 4.0* may suggest that while it is still ideologically inclined to *Bersih 4.0*, it has taken steps to be far more comprehensive if not neutral in its coverage of *Bersih 4.0*.

Coding categories that also attempt to paint the federal government and PDRM in a more neutral or positive light, as well as frames that attempt to explain to the reader the purposes of setting up the probe panel and to justify the IGP's appointment to the panel were also not present in *Malaysiakini*. This suggests that *Malaysiakini* wants to portray *Bersih 3.0* as an event that was widely supported by the people, wants to shed a more positive light on the people's movement and does not want people to know certain sides of the story that may be critical towards the people's movement. These were further supported by the interpretations of the columnists that argue people have the right to assemble, people should not vote for the federal government because of how they handled *Bersih 3.0/4.0* and how the PDRM has handled the matter badly.

#### ***4.3.4.4 Summary of similarities and differences***

What was observed was that the absences in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* appear to be in contrast with their objectives. For *The Star*, it is to "provide relevant, accurate and reliable information fairly and objectively" and to "be the voice and conscience of the people", while for *Malaysiakini*, it is to be as balanced and as objective as possible (Kee and Gan 2010, 214–15, as quoted in Leong, 2012).

The absences in the coding categories may suggest that the journalists may fear writing things, and for editors, they are to decide as to whether they should or should not include writings that would offend their employers and their employer's shareholders. In *The Star*'s case, a component party of the ruling coalition owns a stake in the company, and may use *The Star* to propagate its agenda and policies so that the ruling group's hegemony can remain (Wang, 2001). They have to promote national stability and security in order to successfully lead the Malaysian nation-state toward modernization, development, and economic prosperity while at the same time retaining existing power structures (Anuar, 2007). This is because MCA, taking over Huaren Sdn Bhd's shares in *The Star*, owns a 42% controlling stake in the news media ("MCA pledges non-interference in Star", 2010; Siow, 2009). While *Bersih 4.0* has seen a marked shift for *The Star*'s reporting, from having a pro-federal government slant to a more neutral reporting, its coverage on MCA further reinforces its political leanings when criticisms of MCA in handling the Red Shirt Rally was clearly absent from *The Star*'s coverage.

For *Malaysiakini*, it is not known who controls the online newspaper, but said on its blog post (<http://mkini.blogspot.com/p/donors.html>) that it is funded by its subscribers, advertisers, the Southeast Asian Press Alliance and the National Endowment of Democracy among others. It is worth noting that the National Endowment of Democracy, which funds *Malaysiakini* as highlighted above, also funds *Bersih*, as its chairman Ambiga Sreenevasan admitted in 2011 (Chong, 2011). Bowie (2012) suggested that *Bersih's* association with opposition political parties and groups financed by the US government, such as the National Endowment of Democracy, are attempts to change the BN-led government. The absences of certain coding categories and the dominant frames used by *Malaysiakini* suggests that in framing their news and opinion columns, their headlines and content may appear to be pro-opposition and anti-Government when it comes to the government's reaction in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*.

The amount of coverage that *Malaysiakini* had for *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, which is three and a half times more than *The Star*, suggested that *Malaysiakini* is trying to push it as a political agenda, as suggested by Song (2007). This is also possibly aimed at triggering antagonism towards the federal government and hopefully, prompting Malaysians to change the BN-led government. This idea is further backed by Tang (2009) who claimed in the article "The networked electorate: The Internet and the quiet democratic revolution in Malaysia and Singapore" that:

Well known websites in Malaysia like *Malaysia Today* and *Malaysiakini* and blog aggregators in Singapore such as Tomorrow.sg have regularly pushed certain stories on to the front pages of the mainstream press. As

such, these websites have helped shape the agenda for political discourse in the country.

In other words, *Malaysiakini* could have framed *Bersih 3.0* in a way that would have been more critical towards the federal government's actions in regards to *Bersih 3.0* in the hopes of eliciting a response from the readers to change the federal government. In *Bersih 4.0*'s case, it was seemingly pushing for the idea that PM Najib Razak needs to be pressured into resigning from his post over various scandals, notably the 1MDB scandal. This would mean coding categories that were negative to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* found in *Malaysiakini* could possibly be an attempt to elicit anger from the readers who are presumably supporters of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* and prompt a change of the present federal government.

On top of that, when these inferences are overlaid onto the theme clusters of coding categories that were found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, they further justify the idea that both media are biased. In *The Star*'s news articles, *Bersih* and *PDRM* take the big chunk of coverage (38% and 16% respectively), while *Pakatan Rakyat* (8%), the *Bar Council* (4%), the *Authorities* (1%), *Mainstream Media* (1%) and *Suhakam* (1%) are at the bottom of the list. *Bersih* (64%) and *PDRM* (19%) are also at the top of *The Star*'s opinion column coverage, with a much bigger proportion of coverage devoted to *Bersih* in the opinion columns as compared to the news articles (64% vs 38% in news articles).

Similarly, during *Bersih 4.0*, in *The Star*'s news articles, *Bersih*, *The Red Shirt Rally* and *PDRM* take the big chunk of coverage (39%, 36% and 17%

respectively), while *MCA* (5%), the *Demonstrations* (2%), the *DBKL* (1%) and *Mahathir* (1%) are at the bottom of the list. *Bersih* (64%) and *Red Shirt Rally* (15.69%) are also at the top of *The Star*'s opinion column coverage, with a much bigger proportion of coverage devoted to *Bersih* in the opinion columns as compared to the news articles (64% vs 39% in news articles).

However, as mentioned earlier, *Bersih* was generally not covered favourably in *The Star* while *PDRM* was viewed more positively or made the victim of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. Based on the other findings, the small coverage for coding categories like *Pakatan Rakyat*, *Bar Council* and *Suhakam* in *Bersih 3.0* and *MCA*, *Demonstrations* and *Mahathir* during *Bersih 4.0* could imply a hesitance to highlight these players in the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* debate.

Meanwhile, for *Malaysiakini*'s news articles, the most found frames was categorized under *PDRM* (32%), followed by *Bersih* (30.4%), while *Suhakam* takes a higher spot than *The Star*'s coverage (2% vs 1% in *The Star*). Frames categorized under *Government* (9%), *Probe Panel* (9%) and *Mainstream Media* (7%) also take a high spot in coverage. In *Malaysiakini*'s opinion columns, frames categorized under *Bersih* takes the top spot (36.7%), followed by the *Government* (24.4%), *PDRM* (22.4%), *Mainstream Media* (8.2%) and *Authorities* (0.1%). In both news articles and opinion columns, *Bersih* was portrayed favourably while *PDRM* and the federal government, as well as other entities associated with it such as the mainstream media, probe panel and authorities were not portrayed in a positive light.



During *Bersih 4.0*, the most identified coding categories was *Bersih 4.0* (37.66%), followed by *PDRM* (20.78.4%) and the *Red Shirt Rally* (19.48%). Coding categories under Government (7.79%), which was absent in *The Star's* news coverage, *Demonstrations* (5.84%), *Mahathir* (1%) also take a high spot in coverage. The coding category *MCA* (2.92%) was lower in *Malaysiakini's* coverage than in *The Star*. In *Malaysiakini's* opinion columns, frames categorized under *Bersih* still takes the top spot (50%), followed by the *Government* (25%), *PDRM* and *Mahathir* (10%), and *Demonstrations* (5%). In both news articles and opinion columns, *Bersih* was portrayed favourably while *PDRM* and the federal government were not portrayed in a positive light.

Another way to view the political side of this issue is that in the real world of politics, those who are competing for public support strive to frame issues to their advantage. This would mean people with interests in the media, such as *Malaysiakini* and *The Star*, would ensure the frames used in their news articles and opinion columns would be used to the advantage of their beliefs.

This view is supported by Sniderman & Theriault (2004), who suggest that in real politics, opposing sides contest issues, and part of that contest is competing to frame issues, to define their meaning, to establish how they should be thought about. In this research, one side insists that *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* was unnecessary, insincere in reforms and has burdened the people, while the other side maintains that *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* was necessary, a medium to push for electoral reforms and has shown how people are frustrated at the electoral process of Malaysia, as well as other perceived ills afflicting the country.

As seen by how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* covered the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, both sides barrage the public, as much as they can, to believe that their way of framing the issue is the right way of framing it. This is reflected in their opinion columns, where the columnists attempt to interpret the actions of the various players in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*, but they were just merely reinforcing the general status quo of their publisher, in the hopes that the framing of *Bersih 3.0* in their opinion columns would result in policy actions. This view is supported by Smith (2007) who said the persuasive power of the opinion columns comes from its clear partisan and ideological cues to the readers, which the news articles often lack. This view is also supported by Gamson & Mogdilani (1989) who suggest that opinion pieces serve to observe and react to the same media accounts of a news event, already partly framed and presented in a context of meaning that are available to other readers and viewers, such as the news articles. However, while this argument can be used for *Malaysiakini*'s news articles and opinion columns during *Bersih 4.0*, the same cannot be said for *The Star*, as its opinion columns marked a significant shift in stand from its news articles.

Besides the ownership of the media as highlighted above, the laws of the land and the journalist or the columnist's own biases when writing the news articles or opinion columns, the ideology of the editor may have contributed to the absences of certain frames, as highlighted above.

Beder (2004) suggests that the stories (i.e. news articles and opinion columns) should be "free of any politically discordant slants", that is, what they

write should fit the ideology of those above them in the hierarchy. Their employers may have hired editors, journalists and columnists who are of similar ideologies to work for them, resulting in biased coverage. In *The Star*'s case, the hiring of the editors, journalists and columnists could be influenced by MCA. It is no surprise then that *The Star* has no other news coverage of the mainstream media's coverage of *Bersih 3.0*, or of any criticisms towards MCA and their handling of the Red Shirt Rally during *Bersih 4.0* because if covered, it could potentially damage the image of themselves and their owners, the MCA despite the party pledging not to interfere in editorial choices (“MCA pledges non-interference in Star”, 2010).

For *Malaysiakini*, the ideology underlying the media is one that is pro-federal opposition, as mentioned by its editor Steven Gan on 10 January 2002 to Brown (2005), which could imply that they would have hired editors, journalists and columnists that have similar ideologies so that their coverage would be predominantly pro-federal opposition and pro-*Bersih*. It is therefore not curious that their coverage was found to have many frames criticizing the pro-federal government mainstream media. However, it should be noted that being this biased does not affect the independence of *Malaysiakini* from the main hegemonic force of the country, which is the BN.

One notable pattern observed in *Malaysiakini*'s coverage of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* was that although it appears that *Malaysiakini* is significantly neutral in its news articles, upon further analysis of the most identified frames and differences in frames used between *Malaysiakini*

and *The Star*, *Malaysiakini* is more biased towards *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* than what it seems to be. This seems to tie in with the coding categories that were found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* that seem to be negative to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* but are positive of the authorities.

These frames were found in *The Star* because it is what all mainstream media is expected to do, which is to portray the federal government in a good light and to maintain stability, as highlighted earlier. For *Malaysiakini*, these frames that are negative to *Bersih 3.0* and positive to the federal government seem to contradict their overall positive coverage for *Bersih 3.0*. However, if they are interpreted in a way that the frames are there because they want to show that *Pakatan Rakyat*, *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goers are victims of the federal government's actions, as well as ridiculing the federal government's response, the presence of these frames makes more sense to the *Malaysiakini* reader. While this situation continues to be seen in *Malaysiakini* during *Bersih 4.0*, outright federal government support was less prominent during *Bersih 4.0* in *The Star* than it was during *Bersih 3.0*.

It could be also that both media attempt to shape the narrative of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* as the side perceived to be the most unified, popular and powerful (Entman, 2007). For *The Star*, they want to shape the narrative as decided by the federal government and those who opposed *Bersih 3.0* and to a certain extent, *Bersih 4.0* as well. For *Malaysiakini*, they want to shape the narrative as decided by the people who supported the cause of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, their organizers and rally-goers, as well as *Pakatan Rakyat*.

This is prominent in the opinion columns, where the columnists were trying to influence the readers to strengthen their stand on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, that is to support *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* even stronger as the media framing of issues “influence belief importance, which in turn influence opinion” (Nelson & Oxley, 1999). This is supported by Best (2010) who suggested that having equal prominence of certain frames on a certain issue may ultimately reduce the likelihood the public will hold any consistent opinion at all if both frames are present within an article.

After all, McElmurry (2009) suggested the coverage may reveal a newspaper’s aspirations to please its current and desired audience by "pitting the perceived “Us against Them”. The characters that define the “Us” and “Them” depend on who is trying to shape the narrative of the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*.

As highlighted earlier, *The Star’s* news articles and opinion columns shaped the “Us against Them” narrative as the federal government and PDRM (Us) against *Pakatan Rakyat* and *Bersih 3.0* (Them). *The Star’s* other opinion columns generally had a more positive narrative of *Bersih 3.0*, but did not employ an “Us against Them” narrative. This “Us against Them” pattern was not too prominent during *Bersih 4.0* as the coverage was far more balanced in the news articles, though the “Us against Them” narrative can be seen through a comparison between MCA (Us) and *Bersih 4.0* and the Red Shirt Rally (Them).

Meanwhile, for *Malaysiakini*, its news articles and opinion columns generally shaped the “Us against Them” narrative as *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* organizers and rally goers (Us) against the federal government (Them). This partiality is supported by some researchers who believe framing effects have an influence on opinions in regards to political issues when people are exposed to only one frame (Nelson, Clawson and Oxley, 1997). Smith (2007) suggests people are more likely to remember information that they agree with, and tend to avoid exposure to information that is contrary to their current beliefs.

All these arguments are supported by the comparison of the researcher’s coding categories (i.e. frames) with the Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames that suggest a party, namely the Malaysian opposition, is in conflict with the federal government’s actions and is reproaching them, telling them what is the “right” way to do things when it comes to rallies and strengthening democracy. The portrayal of these various actors in the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rallies by the two aforementioned media are further cemented when journalists, editors and other internal and external factors frame the plight of the actors involved to generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion. This method of framing is meant to further the news media’s own agenda – whether it is to promote the federal government and its agencies in a more positive light (*The Star*) or to promote *Bersih 3.0/Bersih 4.0* and the Opposition in a more positive light (*Malaysiakini*).

The bias in framing the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* shows that both media have seemingly abandoned objectivity in their pursuit of

catering and pushing forth their coverage to suit their dominant ideologies, and what is perceived to be their target audience's ideologies as well. (e.g. Christian, Ngozi & Kenneth, 2012; Groshek & Han, 2011; Cammaerts, 2007).

Despite evidence showing strong partiality by both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, some dissenting views have been found in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*. It could be a form of business strategy to be less partisan by including news or opinion articles that remains inoffensive to the reader long enough to glance through the advertisements so as not to lose advertising revenue, as suggested by Grattan (1998, as quoted by Burns, 2002). At the same time, the news coverage has to appeal to political parties, the government, corporations, lobby groups, and civil society groups, while also ensuring the newspaper sells, and that their advertisers reach their target audience (McElmurry, 2009).

This is prominent in *The Star*'s opinion columns, where 33% of its coverage on the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* was positive of *Bersih 3.0* whereas 43% of its news articles had a negative coverage of *Bersih 3.0*. This was even more prominent during *Bersih 4.0* when 66% of its opinion columns was positive of *Bersih 4.0*, as compared to 21% of its news articles. Given that columnists could be given more freedom to offer dissenting views, the results of the study found that opinion columns of *The Star* can give a slightly more balanced view to the general news coverage of *Bersih* in that newspaper. The same cannot be said for *Malaysiakini*, as there were no opinion columns that were against *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* at all.

However, the small number of news articles and opinion columns, as well as the frames identified, that are against the general ideology of both news media show they are mere tokens in the wider coverage of the said media.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The triangulation of methods has confirmed that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* have framed the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* in a predictable, biased pattern. The triangulation method also proved that columnists were given more freedom to express views that cannot be explicitly expressed in the news articles, especially in *The Star* during *Bersih 4.0*. The frames that were found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, and its differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media proved that *The Star's* coverage is pro-federal government, while *Malaysiakini's* coverage is pro-*Bersih* and pro-opposition. The quantitative content analysis has revealed the slants used by *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, the number of news articles and opinion columns that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* have covered, the frames that were identified and the pattern of coverage. The qualitative textual analysis delves into the most dominant frames, the similarities and differences in coverage in an effort to understand the coverage of both media. A summary of this triangulation can be seen in Table 8.



**Table 8**

*Summary of analysis*

Research question	Research objective	Methodology	Results				
What were the frames that <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> ?	To identify the frames that <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Content analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifying and categorizing the frames found</li> </ul>	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> - 122 coding categories across 10 theme clusters <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 83 coding categories across 8 theme clusters				
What are the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media?	To identify the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media	Textual analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Analysing the tones, frequency of frames, most used frames, similar frames used and the differences in frames used</li> </ul>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Similarities</th> <th>Differences</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A number of coding categories that are negative and positive to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are found in both news articles and opinion columns.</li> <li><i>The Star</i> – In both news articles and opinion columns, criticisms about the federal government's handling of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and MCA during <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are not present.</li> <li><i>Malaysiakini</i> – In both news articles and opinion columns, criticism about <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> and people who support that rally are largely if not present</li> </ul> </td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> – Opinion columns have a bigger percentage of positive articles on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> than in news articles.</li> <li><i>The Star</i> – a significant increase in percentage of articles supporting <i>Bersih</i> (33% in <i>Bersih 3.0</i> to 66% in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>)</li> <li><i>Malaysiakini</i> – Consistently does not have negative articles on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Similarities	Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A number of coding categories that are negative and positive to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are found in both news articles and opinion columns.</li> <li><i>The Star</i> – In both news articles and opinion columns, criticisms about the federal government's handling of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and MCA during <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are not present.</li> <li><i>Malaysiakini</i> – In both news articles and opinion columns, criticism about <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> and people who support that rally are largely if not present</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> – Opinion columns have a bigger percentage of positive articles on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> than in news articles.</li> <li><i>The Star</i> – a significant increase in percentage of articles supporting <i>Bersih</i> (33% in <i>Bersih 3.0</i> to 66% in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>)</li> <li><i>Malaysiakini</i> – Consistently does not have negative articles on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul>
Similarities	Differences						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A number of coding categories that are negative and positive to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are found in both news articles and opinion columns.</li> <li><i>The Star</i> – In both news articles and opinion columns, criticisms about the federal government's handling of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and MCA during <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are not present.</li> <li><i>Malaysiakini</i> – In both news articles and opinion columns, criticism about <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> and people who support that rally are largely if not present</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> – Opinion columns have a bigger percentage of positive articles on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> than in news articles.</li> <li><i>The Star</i> – a significant increase in percentage of articles supporting <i>Bersih</i> (33% in <i>Bersih 3.0</i> to 66% in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>)</li> <li><i>Malaysiakini</i> – Consistently does not have negative articles on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul>						

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Summary

This research was able to answer what were the frames that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, and the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media. The researcher was able to find 122 coding categories across 10 theme clusters for *Bersih 3.0*, and 83 coding categories across 8 theme clusters for *Bersih 4.0*. The similarities and differences in the way news and opinion columns are framed in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* suggest both *media* are biased in their coverage and the opinion columns play a role in trying to convince the reader to support that bias. Despite several exceptions in *Malaysiakini's* news articles and opinion columns in *The Star*, the overall coverage was enough to eclipse the balance that those articles provide and could be there as mere token articles in the wider picture. A summary of this research and how it answers the research question can be found in Table 8 (pg. 157).

#### 5.2 Discussion

This research aimed at looking at how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* framed the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rallies. This was because in Malaysia, *Bersih* has been one of the more prominent movements of activism. While

various studies (Yang & Ishak, 2012a; Yang & Ishak, 2012b; Wilson, Leong, Nge, Ngerng, 2011; Knirsch & Kratzenstein, 2010) have shown how both the Malaysian mainstream media and alternative media have covered various events differently, the analyses of mainstream and alternative media typically do not differentiate the frames found in the news articles and opinion pieces, especially opinion columns. Given that opinion pieces are parts of a news media that gives more freedom for its authors to write what they want to say, it may be possible that the opinion pieces will present different frames than what is usually found in the news articles. The research results suggested that similarities and differences in the way news and opinion columns are framed in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* may indicate that media are biased in their coverage, while opinion columns play a role in trying to convince the reader to support that bias. In fact, it can be argued that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s coverage on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* uses the "Us against Them" scenario, as proposed by McElmurry (2009) in order to convince the reader of their arguments for and against *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* (see pg. 114).

The literature review also implied that perhaps there will be some differences between the way news articles and opinion columns would frame demonstrations such as *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, and it has proven to be so. The absence and presence of certain coding categories (i.e. frames) in the coverage of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, as well as an analysis of the background and owners of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* covers a certain event validates the research results. While *The Star* has shown that it has bias towards the BN government during *Bersih 3.0*, *Malaysiakini* has shown

attempts to be balanced in its news reporting though it could be implied that its balanced reporting may be attempts to elicit anger from its readers. A surprising turn of events was when *The Star* became more balanced in its reporting during the *Bersih 4.0* rallies, while its opinion columns swung towards being positive towards *Bersih 4.0*. Further elaboration on the results can be found in pages 86 - 90.

During this research, the absence of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles and opinion columns in databases like LexisNexis meant that the researcher had to manually scour *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* websites using the keywords “*Bersih 3.0*” and “*Bersih 4.0*” to obtain the news articles and opinion columns. The news articles and opinion columns were then input manually into a content analysis software (QDA Miner) to be analysed and coded. While initially rejecting the use of generic frames, such as proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), the researcher found that some of these frames could be overlapped on the researcher’s coding categories found. Further elaboration on the results can be found in pages 134 – 137, while discussion on the results can be found in pages 168 - 170.

Further research on framing could cover the internal factors of frame building, using databases such as LexisNexis to analyse frames, and analysing other Malaysian mainstream media in different languages and alternative media. The shift in reporting in *The Star* could also be investigated given the significant shift in its framing of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. This will be further discussed in page 165.

The results showed a progression in the way *The Star* has framed the *Bersih* cause, from overtly being hostile in *Bersih 3.0* to being more positive in *Bersih 4.0*. While the research does not cover *Bersih 5.0*, it would be interesting to see where *The Star* would go in terms of its coverage of demonstrations. *Malaysiakini*, while seen to be generally biased towards the *Pakatan Harapan* (formerly *Pakatan Rakyat*), has also made a notable progress in the aftermath of the 14<sup>th</sup> General Election by publishing a letter by former Prime Minister Najib Razak, a move seen unprecedented given *Malaysiakini*'s previously unfavourable view on Najib. More on this in page 175.

### **5.3 Implications of study**

#### **5.3.1 Implications to theory**

Ideally, news articles should be impartial to brief the individual citizen, as mentioned by Curran (2011) – as in the case of *The Star*, this as 43% were critical to *Bersih 3.0* and another 47% were neutral, with the remainder being supportive to *Bersih 3.0*. During *Bersih 4.0*, the neutral articles increased to 55.77% . In the case of *Malaysiakini*, its news articles has been consistently neutral; 69% during *Bersih 3.0* and 62% during *Bersih 4.0*.

Curran (2011) also argues that view-based features provide a forum of debate shaping public opinion, and in some versions, the editorial represents public opinion to the government. In *The Star*, the opinion columns attempt to reflect the perceived opinion of the *rakyat* (citizen)

opposing the *Bersih 3.0* rally (50% negative coverage), in line with Cissel (2012) who argues that mainstream media attempts to narrate a news event as if they are majority-held ideas. However, during *Bersih 4.0*, there was an increase in supportive columns (66%) with only 11% of negative coverage in its opinion columns. In *Malaysiakini*, the absence of opinion columns that were negative to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* indicate that it wants to project the voice that *Bersih* rallies are the voices of the people (67% in *Bersih 3.0* and 85.71% in *Bersih 4.0*).

This research has shown that news articles can act impartial to a certain extent, but the real opinions of the news media can be seen in its omissions and perhaps its opinion columns, as can be seen in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*. The argument made by Cissel (2012) that the various advertisers, funders and special interest groups that help media conglomerates survive and thrive may influence the partiality of the mainstream media was proven true as well, as can be seen by the absences of the federal government and MCA-related frames in *The Star*.

In page 16, Groshek & Han's study (2011) found both mainstream media and alternative media are ideologically constrained and thus fail to (re)construct any form of interactive discourse on competing claims. This is proven to be slightly untrue in *The Star*, who has a little more dissenting view on its opinion columns than on its news articles.

The studies done on opinion pieces (pg. 21) also found that 1) opinion pieces can be written in a way that can reinforce or differ from the main ideology or frames found in the news articles and 2) newspapers may choose not to publish or minimise the publication of any opinion pieces on a certain issue due to the power of opinion pieces or the less filtered nature of opinion pieces, as can be seen in *The Star's* opinion columns during *Bersih 3.0* (50% negative coverage) and *Malaysiakini's* (no negative coverage in *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*). The results of this research also proves the theory put forth by Best (2010) that “opinion” pieces, and in this case, opinion columns, relinquished objectivity because they act as an open forum for the expression and defence of personal views. The theory that newspaper’s aspirations to please its current and desired audience by "pitting the perceived Us against Them" (McElmurry, 2009) was seen in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, with the general idea that in *The Star*, "Us" is the federal government and the ruling party, and "them" being the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rally goers. For *Malaysiakini*, the "us" is represented by the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rally goers as well as others that support them, while "them" is represented by the federal government and parties that are against the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rallies.

This study also contributes to the body of knowledge on the analysis between *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*. The findings continue to show that during the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rallies, *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* continued to frame various events differently; *The Star* to be more pro-federal government, and *Malaysiakini*, a bias towards the federal opposition,

in line with what various researchers such as Yang & Leong (2017) and Rajaratnam (2009) have found.

In terms of the framing theory, this research is in line with what Robert Entman in 1993 said about what constitutes framing, which is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text. The criteria of what constitutes a frame, as suggested by Entman (1993), is still relevant in this research. The existence or lack of certain sources of information, key words, stereotyped images, stock phrases and sentences that thematically reinforces clusters of judgments or information about *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rallies were able to convey a certain message to the readers of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, therefore showcasing links among them to endorse a certain interpretation (Entman, 2007).

This study is also related to the framing model that was proposed in Chapter Two (pg.36). The Framing model proposed by de Vreese (2005) can help explain the frames that were found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in the aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. The frames found suggest that internal factors, namely political leanings, could have played a role in shaping the editorial policies and news values of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* – *The Star* being pro-federal government (Azlan, Rahim, Basri & Hasim, 2012; Siow, 2009; Anuar, 2007; Wang, 2001) and *Malaysiakini* being pro-federal opposition (Abbott, MacDonald & Givens, 2013; Rajaratnam, 2009; Brown, 2005).



Note that *The Star*'s major stakeholder is MCA, and therefore, the message that needs to be simplified for its readers on *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* has to toe the federal government line as closely as possible. *The Star*'s affiliation with MCA is further reinforced with its coverage on *Bersih 4.0* when frames that criticise MCA for its handling of *Bersih 4.0* and the Red Shirt Rally were notably absent from coverage. Curiously, the editorial policies of *The Star*'s opinion columns appear to have become more lenient and can be further investigated.

Meanwhile, *Malaysiakini* consistently framed *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* as a people's movement and commenting on the federal government's actions towards democratic movements, reflecting the ideology behind its editorial boards and journalists. This is even more prevalent in its opinion columns, where none of its columnists had negative views towards *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* and were in fact, supportive of the movement. The trend observed in *Malaysiakini* is consistent with its co-founder Steven Gan's comment that *Malaysiakini* is pro-federal opposition by default, therefore its news and opinion pieces has to be simplified to convey that meaning.

On another note, external factors could help explain why *The Star*'s coverage during *Bersih 4.0* has become more neutral than it has been during *Bersih 3.0*. During the period between January 2012 and December 2016, data from the Audit Bureau of Circulation Malaysia archives (<http://abcm.org.my/report/archives/>) revealed circulation figures for *The Star* has declined steadily, from 287,061 in the January to June 2012 period

to 220,972 in the July to December 2016 period, as can be seen in Table 9 and Figure 25. Circulation data of a newspaper can be a barometer of how well a newspaper is doing because it is the number of papers in circulation on an average day, both through subscriptions and news stand sales (“Looking at the right numbers”, 2014).

**Table 9**

*The Star’s circulation figures between January 2012 and December 2016*

<i>The Star's Circulation</i>	
January - June 2012	287,061
July - December 2012	248,993
January - June 2013	289,362
July - December 2013	289,611
January - June 2014	291,068
July - December 2014	286,436
January - June 2015	272,507
July - December 2015	248,413
January - June 2016	248,559
July - December 2016	220,972

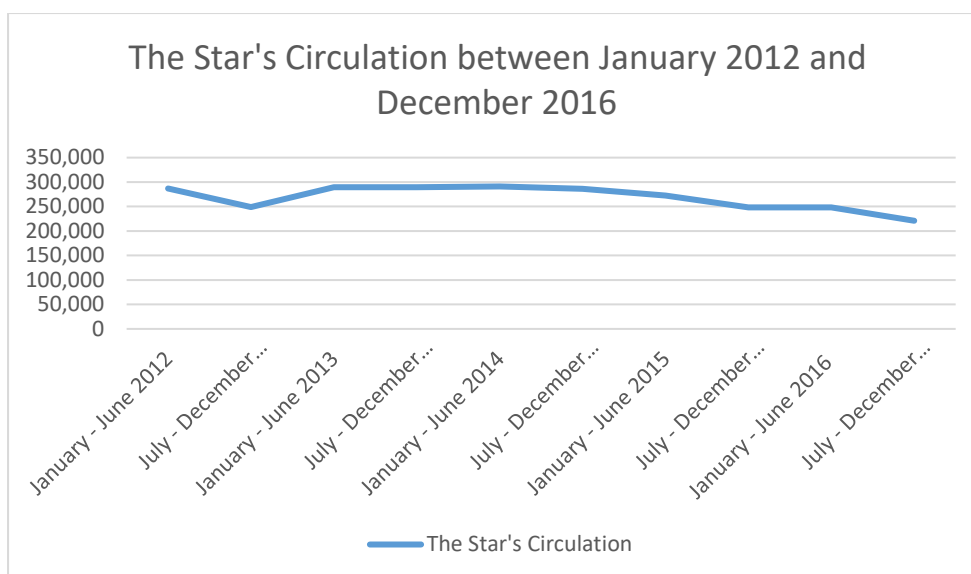


Figure 25: *The Star's* Circulation between January 2012 and December 2016

Although this circulation does not take into consideration the number of its online subscribers, taking into consideration its competition from cheaper online news media such as *The Malaysian Insight* and *Malaysiakini*, it can therefore be deduced that its more neutral coverage, less hostile attitude towards *Bersih 4.0*, as well as a shift in its columnists towards a more positive take on *Bersih 4.0*, is an attempt at regaining readers and increasing its circulation. This suggestion is also supported by the idea that the mainstream media needs to appeal to its audiences so that it can advertise to the audiences, including publishing news articles and opinion pieces that are not only inoffensive enough for the reader to glance through the advertisements (Grattan, 1998, as quoted by Burns, 2002), but also ensuring that their content appeals to a variety of people and achieve reader expansion so they can sell advertising spaces to possible advertisers (McElmurry, 2009). This can also be seen by various studies that suggest *The Star* has some liberal leanings despite having an MCA-affiliated company owning shares (and MCA itself,

2010 onwards) in its company and having being forced to shut down once (Othman, 2012; Brown, 2005; Wang, 2001). The model suggests that private news media are businesses that sell its readers to other businesses, such as advertisers and governments (Enoch, 2012).

As a result of frame building, the news articles and opinion columns that are published are framed in a way that is intended to shape the audience's view on a particular matter. In *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, the coding categories found (hereafter called frames), are generally issue-specific. Frames such as DBKL, Government, Probe Panel (*Bersih 3.0*), Mahathir, MCA and Red Shirt Rally (*Bersih 4.0*) are very issue specific. However, several frames that the researcher has found were found to be compatible with Semetko & Valkenburg's frames (2000). As highlighted in Chapter 4 (pg. 134), several frames found in the content analysis can match Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) suggested five general frames that a researcher can identify in any content analysis, namely 1) Attribution of Responsibility, 2) Human interest frames, 3) Conflict frames, 4) Morality frames and 5) Economic frame. The comparison found that 66% of coding categories found by the researcher matches the frames "Human Interest" and "Conflict" the most, and is supported by the similarities and differences found in this research.

This comparison between the researcher's coding categories and Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames suggests that any content analysis study does not need to exclusively identify only issue-specific frames or

generic frames, and can help address concerns on issue-specific frames, such as relying on too small a sample and being difficult to replicate (de Vreese, 2005). Kozman (2016) also argued in favour of this method, saying that “examining two different aspects of an issue allows for methodological standardization and replication that leads to a deeper understanding of the theory in question”. To recap, issue specific frames are frames that generally arise from the material analysed, while generic frames are frames that are defined and operationalised prior to the investigation (de Vreese, 2005).

Indeed, Gronemeyer & Porath (2017) argued that none of Semetko & Valkenburg’s (2000) frames appear in Latin American studies of framing, while studies like Ballesteros (2015) found that the most significant presence in the Spanish news items related to Catalanian independence are the Attribution of Responsibility and Conflict frames, similar to what the researcher has found in this study.

Perhaps Semetko & Valkenburg’s (2000) frames can be expanded to cover more frames. The remainder 34% that could not fit into Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) frames could be categorised into new frames, like “Does the story suggest that some level of gov’t is taking action against the source of the problem?” (Attribution of responsibility), “Does the story describe the actions of one party-individual-group-country in regards to a certain incident?” (Human Interest Frame), and “Does the story describe how one party-individual-group-country is defending their views in regards to a certain incident?” (Conflict frame), “Does the story describe how one party-

individual-group-country is not credible when handling a certain incident?”  
(Conflict frame).

The individual and societal level consequences of these frames will be discussed in the limitation section of this chapter (pg. 177), while a summary of the research’s contribution to de Vreese’s Framing Model can be seen in Table 10.

**Table 10**

*Comparison of findings of research with de Vreese's Framing Model*

Frame Building	
Internal Factors	<u>Political leanings</u> <i>The Star</i> – more pro-federal government (note that MCA has a stake in <i>The Star</i> ) <i>Malaysiakini</i> – more pro-federal opposition (note that <i>Malaysiakini</i> 's co-founder Steven Gan said that <i>Malaysiakini</i> is pro-federal opposition by default)
External factors	<u><i>The Star</i></u> Declining circulation and competition from online news media could have forced <i>The Star</i> to be more neutral in its news reporting
Frame setting	
Frames in the news	<u>Generic Frames &amp; Issue specific frames</u> While initial investigations found issue-specific frames (eg: DBKL, Red Shirt Rally), some frames can fit into generic frames like Semetko & Valkeburg's (2000) frames. This shows that any content analysis study does not need to exclusively identify only issue-specific frames or generic frames, and can help address concerns on issue-specific frames, such as relying on too small a sample and being difficult to replicate (de Vreese, 2005).
Framing effects – Limitations in study	Individual and societal level consequences not investigated Frames may shape social level processes such as collective actions, political socialisation and decision-making. They can be discovered through various methodologies such as experiments & interviews

### **5.3.2 Implications to Methodology**

This study on the framing in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s news articles and opinion columns in regards to the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* was conducted using a triangulation of content analysis, textual analysis and literature review. This is a form of a mixed methods

approach, whereby quantitative and qualitative approaches to theory, data collection and data analysis and interpretation are integrated (Bamberger, 2012) to overcome their weaknesses. Mixed methods can help enhance the validity of evaluation findings by comparing information obtained from different methods of data collection (Bamberger, 2012). The validity of this research was achieved through a methodological triangulation (quantitative and qualitative analysis) to ensure that all aspects of a phenomenon have been investigated, minimizing distortion from a single data source or from a biased researcher, therefore increasing confidence in the 'truth' of the findings (Krefting, 1991).

The triangulation method has proven to be effective in proving that not only does the research's result has credible validity based on the frames found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s news articles and opinion columns, but also the possible reasons behind the way the journalists and columnists write their published articles. These came about from not just the similarities and differences found in the media coverage of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* as a result of content and textual analysis, but also the literature review associated with the two news media, and later in the research, Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) frames. Research into *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*'s historical backgrounds and comparison with Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) frames have further proven and validated the various findings found from the researcher's content and textual analysis alone. Previous studies done by Hamedi & Dunan (2016) and Oleinik (2015) have used triangulation to determine the validity of their studies.



Future studies on framing that may involve content analysis should consider not just using exclusively quantitative or qualitative analysis, but use mixed mode methodology. This will not only help overcome potential weaknesses in each of the methodologies, but also understand better the effects of framing on its audience. This is especially so given the potential impact of framing as a result of social media sharing of news articles and opinion columns in either changing or reaffirming the reader's opinions, as highlighted by Lim (2012).

### **5.3.3 Implications to Practitioners**

This study provides an important snapshot of how *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* portrayed a major and historic event for democracy in Malaysia, given that *Bersih 3.0* was held so close to the 13<sup>th</sup> General Election, while *Bersih 4.0* was an opportunity for the federal government and PDRM to show improvements in handling *Bersih* rally goers, and to a certain extent, pro-democracy rallies. The study has shown that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* has framed *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* differently, especially so in its opinion columns.

The study also revealed little progress in the way the federal government tackled *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, if not a digression by allowing the *Bersih 4.0* counter rally, the Red Shirt Rally, to take place on a significant day like Malaysia Day. However, the study has also shown that there has been some progress made by the PDRM in handling pro-democracy and its counter rallies, as seen in *Bersih 4.0*. The results show that the Malaysian government

is not doing enough to promote consensus, integration and democracy in Malaysia, while PDRM appears to be making some progress in this aspect.

On 9 May 2018, *Pakatan Harapan*, formerly known as *Pakatan Rakyat*, won the 14<sup>th</sup> General Elections, winning the simple majority of 113 parliamentary seats while the BN, which ruled the country for 61 years, only managed to garner 79 seats (“*Pakatan Harapan* wins 14th General Election”, 2018). The new Communications Minister, Gobind Singh Deo, said the federal government supports freedom of media and would not stifle any reports as long as it is not detrimental to public harmony (Idris, 2018). Meanwhile, Home Minister Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin has promised that the mandatory death sentence, Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984 (PPPA), Sedition Act 1948, and several other controversial acts may be abolished in the near future (“Muhyiddin: Mandatory death sentence, Sedition Act, several others may be abolished”, 2018), which could potentially see a less constrained and more vibrant media scene in Malaysia in the future.

In the days that followed the historic election results, the researcher observed anecdotally that the mainstream media of Malaysia, such as RTM, *The Star* and *Harian Metro* became far more balanced. At this point this research was completed, this research will serve as a reminder of how the media, traditional and alternative, are framing various issues in the opinion pieces because of the persuasive power of the opinion pieces and that media framing of issues “influence belief importance, which in turn influence

opinion” (Nelson & Oxley, 1999).

On another note, the study has revealed that while *Malaysiakini* has been consistent in being neutral in its news coverage, *The Star* has improved on its coverage on issues related to democracy promotion in Malaysia, as can be seen in its coverage of *Bersih 4.0*. The researcher hopes that *The Star* will continue to re-evaluate, revise and make appropriate changes to promote healthy democracy and democratic voices in Malaysia. At the same time, *Malaysiakini* opinion columns was not able to give a more balanced view to the general news coverage of *Bersih*, all the while wholeheartedly and positively promoting *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* without providing any dissenting views of how *Bersih* rallies are done. At the point this research was completed, the researcher suggests that perhaps *Malaysiakini* could hire a columnist that is able to provide a critical and analytical view of pro-democracy rallies without being too critical that it discourages *Malaysiakini* readers from renewing their subscriptions.

However, in the aftermath of the 14<sup>th</sup> General Election, *Malaysiakini* published a letter written by the former Prime Minister Najib Razak titled “You won GE14, now safeguard economy, stop politicking” dated 2 June 2018. In this opinion piece, Najib commented on the status of Malaysia’s economic debt, the cancellation of the Singapore-Kuala Lumpur High-Speed Rail project, and 1MDB’s debts. This is indeed unprecedented on the part of *Malaysiakini*, given the constant negative coverage it gave to Najib Razak in its *Bersih 4.0* coverage. It is a commendable effort on the part of *Malaysiakini*

to publish his opinion piece in an effort to provide a more balanced critique of the new Malaysian Federal Government helmed by the *Pakatan Harapan* a coalition that was once in federal opposition, and the coalition that *Malaysiakini* is supposedly biased towards. All we can hope is that studies like this will be a reminder to media practitioners to be more balanced in their news coverage so that Malaysians will be able to access as balanced as possible information on Malaysia's current affairs.

Meanwhile, this study has shown that opinion columns do provide different viewpoints on demonstrations, and that columnists were seemingly given more freedom to offer dissenting views – in this study, *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*. Journalists in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* are still nonetheless bound by their company and as seen in the news articles, may find it awkward to write against the general tone of their company in opinion columns. This was prominent in *Bersih 3.0*'s news coverage in *The Star* and while news coverage in *Bersih 4.0* was more neutral as compared to *Bersih 3.0*, the absences of frames negative towards MCA shows that certain angles are still off limits to journalists working for *The Star*. Perhaps it is an inevitable and unavoidable part of working in media companies that are partisan in their views, and for journalists not be able to put out news articles that they want published but is not in line with the media organisation's stand on the matter. However, opinion columns, as seen in this study, can provide a safe space for journalists and columnists to share views that may be different from the main stand of their media organisation, or unpublishable in the news articles.

#### 5.4 Limitations in research

There were several limitations to this research which can be categorized under limitations for scope of research and units of analysis to be researched. The limitations for scope of research does not cover *Bersih 5.0*, which is the most recent *Bersih* rally at the point this research was completed. The aftermath of *Bersih 4.0* saw *Bersih 5.0* taking place on 19 November 2016, calling for a clean administration and free and fair elections, despite a far smaller crowd of 15,000 people (Goh & Naidu, 2016; Kamal, 2016). A counter rally was also held by people who shared similar views with the Red Shirt Rally organisers, but was unable to engage with *Bersih 5.0* rally goers due to PDRM intervention (Goh & Naidu, 2016). This study does not take into account *Bersih 5.0* as it is not in the scope of study.

The scope of this research does not also investigate the reasons behind the way journalists and editors frame their news and columns. One way framing studies can be conducted is through interviews to determine why journalists chose to frame their news articles on a certain issue in a certain way. Studies like the one done by Jha (2008) found various reasons as to why journalists attribute certain types of sources for their news articles. In such studies, the researcher will first determine the frames found in the analysis, after which the researcher will interview the journalists from a random sample of journalists as to why they selected those frames. However, due to a lack of time and to ensure the research does not lose its focus, the researcher has decided not to pursue this method of research and will instead concentrate on undertaking a content analysis.

The pictures that came together with the news articles and opinion columns in *Malaysiakini* and *The Star* were also not analysed due to the sheer number of pictures that were needed to be analysed alongside the news articles. An analysis of the pictures alone could shed further light on how both media portray a certain event. A summary of the limitations of this research can be found in Table 11.

**Table 11**

*Limitations in this study*

	Limitations
Scope of Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interviews to find out why journalists and editors frame their news in such manner were not done due to time constraints</li> <li>• Does not cover <i>Bersih 5.0</i> news and opinion column coverage</li> </ul>
Units of Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pictures in the news articles and opinion columns not analysed</li> </ul>

### 5.5 Further research

Recall that in the framing model proposed by de Vreese (2005), internal factors play a role in frame building before a news article or an opinion column gets published. One internal factor that the researcher was not able to explore in this research was whether the journalist's ideology plays a role in the writing of their news articles, or whether the journalists' work as a result of their ideology gets approved or denied by their editor. It is also not known whether it is the editor or the journalist that plays a greater role in the publication's content.

Besides the journalist and editors, the sources themselves could be biased. Kothari (2010) suggests that media frames are the result of certain conditions: (1) the type of primary sources used in a story, (2) the location of journalists, and (3) the subject of the story. The media frames that come from the selective presentation of information are made possible by the information that sources provide journalists, as the sources themselves are not neutral beings and have their bias and agenda for sharing information (Kothari, 2010).

Perhaps these theories on framing can be further explored by experiments or interviews. Some agenda setting and framing theory studies use experiments to determine how public discourse about public policy issues is constructed and negotiated (e.g. Liu, 2012; Lecheler, Vreese and Slothuus, 2009; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004; Nelson & Oxley 1999 and Kuklinski et. al., 1991). It is also worth noting that frames may also shape social level processes such as collective actions, political socialisation and decision-making (de Vreese, 2005), which can be discovered using various investigative methodologies.

Collecting and comparing data collected from mainstream and alternative media for framing studies can be made fast and effective through a database. By using a database, researchers can set limits on their search such as dates, language, and type of resource, and search using different 'descriptors', which allows the researcher to find resources that are very specific to their research problem (Nguyen, 2014). This helps the researcher

to quickly determine theme clusters, narrow their field of search and come up with a conclusion. The use of a database such as LexisNexis is also prominent in some studies (e.g. McKeever, 2013; Cissel, 2012; Best, 2010; Kothari, 2010; Xie, Lowry & Witte, 2008; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Song, 2007 and Brunken, 2006).

However, as the LexisNexis database for Malaysia does not cover *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* as at the time this research is written, the researcher has to make do with typing in the keyword "Bersih" into *The Star* and *Malaysiakini's* online archives, retrieving the articles and then filtering them out manually. On top of that, it may even be possible that not all of the articles of a certain newspaper, TV or radio broadcast are made available in the databases. Most software programs to analyse the patterns found in the database also do not reveal the details of their measures or how they construct their scales and indexes (Macnamara, 2005). This limits replicability as other researchers cannot conduct similar studies unless they use the same software program and, even then, key functions and calculations are hidden within the 'black box' (Macnamara, 2005). Future studies on framing in Malaysia can consider using databases if databases such as LexisNexis can provide adequate articles necessary for the framing study.

This research is only limited to two news media, namely *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*. Perhaps future studies can explore other mainstream newspapers such as the Malay mainstream newspaper *Utusan Malaysia*, the English mainstream newspaper *New Straits Times*, and the Chinese and Tamil



mainstream newspapers. Other more popular alternative news media sites such as *The Malaysian Insight* (formerly known as *The Malaysia Insider*), *Free Malaysia Today* and *Malaysia Chronicle* can also be analysed with the aforementioned mainstream news media. A better representation of the alternative media is also necessary as there is a lack of studies, if there are any studies, on the other alternative media in Malaysia.

In 2015, following a Malaysia Anti-Corruption Commission investigation that has shown that the RM2.6 billion deposited into the account of Prime Minister Najib Razak was from "donations", *Bersih 4.0* was held from August 29 to August 30 to show that the people was not willing to tolerate any further any misappropriation of funds from the people of Malaysia. This time around, while *Malaysiakini* covered *Bersih 4.0* as per usual, the researcher found that *The Star's* coverage of *Bersih 4.0* was far more neutral than in *Bersih 3.0*, with the shift in coverage far more positive in its opinion columns. It would therefore be curious that a major stakeholder of *The Star*, the MCA, has allowed this newspaper to publish *Bersih 4.0* articles in this manner. Whether this is attributed to the weakening MCA (Ng, 2013), who has significant holdings in *The Star*, or if editors and journalists are secretly supporting *Bersih 4.0*, the reasons are unknown and warrant further research.

Studies on framing in opinion columns can also investigate whether readers become more ideologically consistent in their issue opinions after reading them, as highlighted by Smith (2007). If the reaction of readers to the

opinion columns can be measured, it would help to confirm of *dispel Sin Chew Daily's* Lim Mun Fah observation that *Bersih* has made supporters of BN and *Pakatan Rakyat* (known as *Pakatan Harapan*) hold onto their faith firmer instead of changing their political stands (Lim, 2012). A study on the reaction of readers could also determine if digital journalism, which creates niche audiences because people have the option to view what they are viewing and reading (Kumar, 2011), actually reinforces people's political beliefs or allow people to understand and empathise different political beliefs that may not be accessible previously through traditional media.

Framing studies would be more thorough if researchers are able to gauge the responses from the readers in regards to the news articles and opinion columns. Investigating the responses would answer the individual and societal level consequences of the frames found in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* following the aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, as proposed in de Vreese's framing model (2005). One way of analysing them is by analysing the content of letters that were published in *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in regards to *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, as well as other feedback that was allowed to be published on both media. In *Malaysiakini's* case, they can be the comments generated under the news articles and opinion columns. Alternatively, if this research was conducted much closer to the *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* rally, it can help shed light on whether the news articles or opinion columns have a positive or a negative impact on the reader, and also whether those comments have an impact on other readers to commentators and non-commentators alike. Currently, the research is only

able to show that there is framing bias in both *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*, but is unable to show whether readers are moved by the framing bias or not.

In fact, it would be imperative that the units of analysis for studies on news framing, and the reaction of readers, be obtained not just from mainstream media and alternative media alone, but also on social media platforms, where they present a far more real-time, interactive view on the influence of news media towards its audiences.

With over 20 million Malaysian users on top social network sites and spending 2.8 hours a day on social media (“2016 Malaysia Digital Landscape”, 2016), the speed, immediacy, accessibility, readily legible and identifiable causes/issues and information conveyed through these medium offers and enables a zone of engagement and contention for those looking to counter the ruling coalition’s hegemonic rule over information and the broader spectrum of Malaysian politics (Wong, 2014). It is now increasingly difficult for mainstream media and governments to ignore their concerns, especially in an environment saturated with access to social media platforms (Smeltzer & Paré, 2015). A study conducted by Wong (2014) found that a significant proportion of the interviewees saw social media as providing an alternative voice and even playing a critical role as both a watchdog and critic of the government. They nonetheless still use them for contacts with their friends and families.

In fact, a study conducted by Hashim, Mahpuz, Khan, & Daud (2012) found that 45% of respondents were active participants of political discussion, while 53% have posted political news online and about 45% does it frequently. The study also found that 86% of social media users opposed the idea that the country's mainstream media is balanced in their reporting and coverage, while 94% agreed that social media has played a large and effective part in mobilizing people to attend the *Bersih 3.0* rally (Hashim et al, 2012). Though the respondents of the study were the young, urban middle class in the Klang Valley, the study suggests that social media is indeed capable of influencing the politics of Malaysia, and the thinking of Malaysians in general.

How these new media frame any democratic movements in Malaysia and whether those who interacted with the new media actually translated their words into actions would be of interest to those interested in investigating the effects of framing. This would also help address the need for further research to gain more conclusive evidence in establishing the role of social media in Malaysian politics, given that the potential democratising effect of social media in Malaysia is uncertain (Chinnasamy & Griffiths, 2012) or inconclusive (eg: Abbott, MacDonald & Givens, 2013) and perhaps influenced by external factors (Sulaiman & Talib, 2017; Noh, 2016).

This research also covered only the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0* but not before the rally was held. A longitudinal study on how both media covered *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, like what the researcher

intended to do initially in Chapter Three (pg. 49) as well as the previous *Bersih* rallies or demonstrations could yield richer and better data to either reinforce the researcher's inference that both media are biased, or dispel them. A summary of this can be found in Table 12.

**Table 12***Summary of Further Research*

	Further research
Internal factors of frame building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Journalists and editor's ideology</li> <li>- The possibility that the journalist or the editor has a greater role in publication of news</li> <li>- The possibility that the source of the news is biased or not</li> <li>- Experiments and interviews can help shed light on these</li> </ul>
Database	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If databases like LexisNexis has adequate articles, studies on framing can be done much faster and efficient.</li> </ul>
News media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Other mainstream media in different languages (Malay, Chinese and Tamil) and alternative media (<i>The Malaysian Insight</i>, <i>Free Malaysia Today</i> and <i>Malaysia Chronicle</i>) can be studied</li> </ul>
The shift in <i>The Star's</i> coverage of <i>Bersih 4.0</i> from pro-federal government towards a more neutral coverage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The possibility that <i>The Star's</i> shift in coverage is due to a weakening MCA or that editors and journalists are secretly supporting <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>- Exploration of news coverage of <i>Bersih 5.0</i> and future rallies</li> </ul>
Opinion columns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The possibility that opinion columns make readers more ideologically consistent in their issue opinions</li> </ul>
Units of analysis obtained from social media platforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social media platforms present a far more real-time, interactive view on the influence of news media towards its audiences, studies on how news media frames the news and how people interact with it would reveal how social media can affect the democratisation of Malaysia</li> </ul>
Longitudinal study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Studying how the media framed demonstrations before and after could yield richer data</li> </ul>

**5.6 Conclusion**

This study was able to show, like previous studies (Yang & Ishak, 2012a; Yang & Ishak, 2012b; Wilson et.al., 2011; Knirsch & Kratzenstein, 2010), how both the Malaysian mainstream media and alternative media have

covered various events differently. However, what differentiates this study and previous studies is that this study has found a difference in the frames found in the news articles and opinion pieces, especially opinion columns, whereas previous studies have not made that distinction, or have only studied only news articles.

This study was also able bridge a gap in the study of framing on editorials and opinion columns in Malaysia, much like studies done by Christian, Ngozi & Kenneth (2012), Best (2010), McElmurry (2009), Jones (2007) and Gamson & Modigliani (1989). In addition to that, this study was also able to not only make a distinction between the frames found in news articles, editorials and opinion columns, but also highlighted how opinion columns in the Malaysian media framed *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*.

This study was also able to show that despite a seemingly more neutral news coverage in *Malaysiakini*, its opinion columns are undoubtedly biased towards *Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*, while its choice of news articles could potentially reveal an underlying bias with the absences and presence of several frames. Meanwhile, in *The Star*, the opinion columns have provided an avenue for dissenting voices to be heard, and the progress can be seen by how *The Star*'s opinion columns positive coverage increased from about a third in *Bersih 3.0* to about two thirds in *Bersih 4.0*. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that in *The Star*'s case, opinion columns have provided a space to offer dissenting views. It is hoped that further research into framing in Malaysian media and social media can potentially help contribute to the

democratization of Malaysia's media scene and the country's society in general.



## REFERENCES

- 2016 Malaysia Digital Landscape. (2016, August). Retrieved from Malaysian Digital Association website: <http://www.malaysiandigitalassociation.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Malaysia-Digital-Landscape-August-2016.pdf>
- 5 things about Malaysia's 'Red Shirt' rally. (2015, September 16). Straits Times. Retrieved from <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/5-things-about-malaysias-red-shirt-rally>
- Abbott, J., MacDonald, A., & Givens, J. W. (2013). New social media and (electronic) democratization in East and Southeast Asia - Malaysia and China Compared. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 9(2).
- About *Bersih* 2.0. (2011, June 26). Retrieved from [http://Bersih.org/?page\\_id=4109](http://Bersih.org/?page_id=4109)
- Andsager, J. L. (2000). How interest groups attempt to shape public opinion with competing news frames. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(3), 577-592.

- Anuar, M. K. (2007). Politics and the Media in Malaysia. Kasarinlan:  
*Philippine Journal of Third World Studies*, 20(1), 25-47.
- Atton, C., & Hamilton, J. F. (2008). Journalism studies: Key texts:  
Alternativejournalism.Sage.
- Atkinson, J. (2006). Analysing Resistance Narratives at the North  
American Anarchist Gathering A Method for Analysing Social  
Justice Alternative Media. *Journal of communication inquiry*, 30(3),  
251-272.
- Azlan, A. A., Rahim, S. A., Basri, F. K. H., & Hasim, M. S. (2012).  
Malaysian newspaper discourse and citizen participation. *Asian  
Social Science*,8(5).<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.5539/ass.v8n5p116>
- Ballesteros, C. (2015). El desafío inadvertido. La consulta sobre la  
independencia de Cataluña desde el marco informativo del conflicto  
[The unnoticed challenge: Conflict framing on the Catalan  
independence referendum]. *Anàlisi. Quaderns de Comunicació i  
Cultura*, 53, 48–64.
- Bamberger, M. (2012). Introduction to mixed methods in impact  
evaluation. Impact evaluation guidance notes.

Baysha, O. & Hallahan, K. (2004). Media framing of the Ukrainian political crisis, 2000—2001. *Journalism Studies*, 5(2), 233-246.

Beder, S. 'Moulding and Manipulating the News', in *Controversies in Environmental Sociology*, edited by Rob White, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2004, pp. 204-220.

Berelson, B., PF Lazarsfeld & McPhee, W. N. (1954). *Voting*.

Best, S. (2010). *The framing of hate speech in the printed press*.  
University of Delaware.

Bowie, N. (2012, April 29). The US-sponsored 'protest movement' in Malaysia. Retrieved from Centre for Research and Globalisation website: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-us-sponsored-protest-movement-in-malaysia/30588>

Brown, G. (2005). The rough and rosy road: Sites of contestation in Malaysia's shackled media industry. *Pacific Affairs*, 78(1), 39\_56.

Brunken, B. L. (2006). Hurricane Katrina: A content analysis of media framing, attribute agenda setting, and tone of government response (Doctoral dissertation, Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfilment of the Requirements for the degree of Master of Mass Communication in The Manship School of Mass Communication by Brigette Lynn Brunken BA, Louisiana State University).

Bryman, A. (2004). Triangulation and measurement. Loughborough University, Department of Social Sciences, United Kingdom: K. n.

Burns, L. S. (2002). Understanding journalism. SAGE.

Cammaerts, B. (2007) Introduction: Activism and media. In: Cammaerts B and Carpentier N (eds) *Reclaiming the Media: Communication Rights and Democratic Media Roles*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 217–224.

Caramani, D. (Ed.). (2010). *Comparative politics*. Oxford University Press.

Chinnasamy, S., & Griffiths, M. (2012). Emerging forms of internet-enabled political participation in Malaysia.

Chong, D. (2011, June 27). *Bersih* repudiates foreign Christian funding claim.

Retrieved from The Malaysian Insider website:

<http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/mobile/malaysia/article/>

[Bersih-repudiates-foreign-Christian-funding-claim/](http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/mobile/malaysia/article/Bersih-repudiates-foreign-Christian-funding-claim/)

Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 10, 103-126.

Choong, P. Y. (2012, May 10). Malaysia's *Bersih 3.0*: Sentiments, perceptions and politics. Retrieved from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies website:

<http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/Perspective/RSIS0812012.pdf>

Cissel, M. (2012). Media Framing: A comparative content analysis on mainstream and alternative news coverage of Occupy Wall Street. *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications*, 3(1), 67-77. Retrieved from

<https://www.elon.edu/docs/e-web/academics/communications/research/vol3no1/08CisselEJSpring12.pdf>

Christian, O. C., Ngozi, O. B., & Kenneth, A. (2012). Newspaper editorial frames of security issues in Nigeria. Ibadan Conference. Retrieved from <http://www.internationalpolicybrief.org/conferences/ibadan-conference-2012/63-newspaper-editorial-frames-of-security-issues-in-nigeria>

Chomsky, N. (1997). What makes mainstream media mainstream. *Z magazine*, 10(10), 17-23.

Cole, P., & White, M. (2008, September 25). How to write journalism: Peter Cole and Michael White on writing columns. Retrieved from The Guardian website: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/sep/25/writing.journalism.columns>

Cook, M. & Singh, D. (2016). Southeast Asian Affairs 2016. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.

Curtin, P. A. (1995). *Textual Analysis in Mass Communication Studies: Theory and Methodology*.

Curran, J. (2011). *Media and power*. Psychology Press.

D'angelo, P. (2002). News framing as a multiparadigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of communication*, 52(4), 870-888.

- Dave, A. (2011). Environmental appraisal of newspaper industry in India. IMS Manthan, VI (2). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/7XiR4a>
- De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information design journal+document design*, 13(1), 51-62.
- Donors [Blog post].(n.d.). Retrieved from *Malaysiakini* Blog: <http://mkini.blogspot.com/p/donors.html>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. Retrieved from [http://sotomo-ve.geo.uzh.ch/sotomo/pps/lit/entman\\_93.pdf](http://sotomo-ve.geo.uzh.ch/sotomo/pps/lit/entman_93.pdf)
- Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 163-173.
- Enoch, S. (2012). Beautiful Trouble (A. Boyd, Comp.). BookMobile.
- Finkel, S. E. (1993). Reexamining the 'minimal effects' model in recent presidential campaigns. *Journal of Politics*, 55(1), 1-21.
- Franzosi, R. (2007). Content analysis: objective, systematic, and quantitative description of content. *Content analysis*,(pp xxi-1). Sage Thousand Oaks.

- Frey, L., R, Botan., C., H and Kreps, G. L. (2000). *Investigating communication: An introduction to research methods*. 2nd Edition. (pp. 225 – 256). Massachusetts, Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon.
- Fuchs, C. (2010). Alternative media as critical media. *European journal of social theory*, 13(2), 173-192.
- Gamson, W. A. & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: a constructionist approach. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1- 37.
- Gerard, M. (2012). Invasion of privacy in the Malaysian press: A case study on the New Straits Times  
(Unpublished master's thesis).Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman.
- Gerbner, G., & Gross, L. (1974).System of cultural indicators. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 38,460–461.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York, NY et al.: Harper & Row.
- Goh, M., & Naidu, S. (2016, November 19). More than 15,000 turn up for *Bersih 5* rally in KL. Retrieved from Channel News Asia website: <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asiapacific/more-than-15-000-turn-up-for-Bersih-5-rally-in-kl-7712642>



- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, 8(4), 597-607.
- Gronemeyer, M. E., & Porath, W. (2017). Framing Political News in the Chilean Press: The Persistence of the Conflict Frame. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 24.
- Groshek, J., & Han, Y. (2011). Negotiated hegemony and reconstructed Boundaries in alternative media coverage of globalization. *International Journal of Communication*, 1523-1544. Retrieved from <http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/viewfile/1073/626>
- Guion, L. A., Diehl, D. C., & McDonald, D. (2011). Triangulation: Establishing the validity of qualitative studies.
- Hall, S. (1975). Introduction. In A.C. Smith, E. Immirizi and T. Blackwell, *Paper voices: The popular press and social change*, 135-1965 (pp.11- 24). London: Chatto & Windus.
- Hamed, M. A., & Dunan, A. (2016). Framing Malaysia in the News Coverage of Indonesian Television. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(2 S1), 45.
- Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2016). What is news? News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies*, 1-19.

- Harlow, S. (2012). Social media and social movements: Facebook and an Online Guatemalan justice movement that moved offline. *New media & society*, 14(2), 225-243.
- Hashim, A., Mahpuz, M., Khan, N. A., & Daud, N. M. (2012). Investigating the use of social media among the young urban middle class in Malaysian politics, and its potential role in changing the nation's political landscape. *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences*, 6(8), 1245-1251.
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Holsti (1969). Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Idris, R. (2018, May 26). Gobind: PH will not support efforts to stifle media freedom. *New Straits Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2018/05/373521/gobind-ph-will-not-support-efforts-stifle-media-freedom>
- Iyengar, S. (1987). Television news and citizens' explanations of national affairs. *American Political Science Review*, 81, 815–831.

- Jha, S. (2008). Why they wouldn't cite from sites: A study of journalists' perceptions of social movement web sites and the impact on their coverage of social protest. *Journalism*, 9(6), 711\_732.
- Johnson, C. (2005). *21st Century Feature Writing*. New York, USA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Jones, S. A. (2007). *Framing the Violence in Southern Thailand: Three Waves of Malay-Muslim Separatism* (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio University).
- Kahn, R. & Kellner, D. (2004). New media and Internet activism: From the 'Battle of Seattle' to blogging. *New Media & Society* 6(1): 87–95.
- Kalvas, F., Váně, F., Štípková, M., Kreidl, M. (2012). Framing and Agenda-Setting: Two Parallel Processes in Interaction. *Czech Sociological Review*, 48 (1): 3-38
- Kamal, S. M. (2016, November 20). Three things we learned from *Bersih 5*. The Malay Mail. Retrieved from <http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/three-things-we-learned-from-Bersih-5>
- Khoo, Y. H. (2013). *Bersih's impact on GE13*. New Mandala.

- Knirsch, T. and P. Kratzenstein, 2010. Press freedom, New Media and Political Communication in Malaysia – A society in flux. Retrieved May 25, 2012 from The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) Website: [http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\\_19710-544-2-30.pdf?100526134411](http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_19710-544-2-30.pdf?100526134411)
- Kothari, A. (2010). The framing of the Darfur conflict in the New York times: 2003–2006. *Journalism Studies*, 11(2), 209-224.
- Kozman, C. (2016). Measuring Issue-Specific and Generic Frames in the Media's Coverage of the Steroids Issue in Baseball. *Journalism Practice*, 1-21.
- Krefting, L. (1991). Rigor in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *American journal of occupational therapy*, 45(3), 214-222.
- Krippendorff, K. (1989). Content analysis. In E. Barnouw, G. Gerbner, W. Schramm, T. L. Worth, & L. Gross (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of communication* (Vol. 1, pp. 403-407). New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from [http://repository.upenn.edu/asc\\_papers/226](http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/226)
- Kuklinski, J. H., Riggle, E., Ottati, V., Schwarz, N., &Wyer, R. S. (1991). The cognitive and affective bases of political tolerance judgments. *American Journal of Political Science*, 35(1), 1-27.

- Kumar, R. (2011). *Research methodology: A step by step guide for beginners* (3rd ed.). London, UK: SAGE.
- Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). The People's Choice: How the voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign. Pp. xxxiii, 178. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 261(1), 194-194.
- Lee, C. F. (2012, November 23). Living under the shadow of Ops Lalang. *Selangor Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.selangortimes.com/index.php?section=insight&permalink=20121122155929-living-under-the-shadow-of-ops-lalang>
- Lecheler, S., de Vreese, C., & Slothuus, R. (2009). Issue importance as a moderator of framing effects. *Communication Research*, 36(3), 400-425.
- Leong, S. (2012). Sacred cows and crashing boars. *Critical Asian Studies*, 31-56. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2012.644886>
- Lester-Roushanzamir, E. P., & Raman, U. (1999). The global village in Atlanta: A textual analysis of Olympic news coverage for children in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 76(4), 699-712.

Lim, M. F. (2012, May 8). After reading The Economist. Malaysia Today.

Retrieved from

<http://www.malaysia-today.net/after-reading-the-economist/>

Lim, J. B. (2013). Video blogging and youth activism in Malaysia.

*International Communication Gazette*, 75(3), 300-321.

Lincoln, YS. & Guba, EG.(1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA:

Sage Publications.

Lippman, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. London: Allen & Unwin

Liu, X. (2012). Moderation of media issue salience: Testing the agenda

setting effect within the elaboration likelihood model. *University of*

*Macau Technology Journal*, 90-102.

Looking at the right numbers. (2014). Retrieved from Audit Bureau of

Circulation Malaysia website:

[http://abcm.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Looking-at-the-](http://abcm.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Looking-at-the-Right-Numbers.pdf)

[Right-Numbers.pdf](http://abcm.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Looking-at-the-Right-Numbers.pdf)

MACC probe shows: RM2.6bil in PM's account from donors, not 1MDB.

(2015, August 25). New Straits Times. Retrieved from

<http://www.nst.com.my/node/94521>

Macnamara, J. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1-34.

Makagon, D. (2000). Accidents should happen: Cultural disruption through alternative media. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 24(4), 430-447.

Malaysia racial discrimination report 2015. (2016, March). Retrieved from Pusat Komnas Malaysia website: <http://komnas.org/v2/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Malaysia-Racial-Discrimination-Report-2015.pdf>

Matthes, J. & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 258-279.

MCA pledges non-interference in Star. (2010, November 8). the Sun. Retrieved from <http://www.thesundaily.my/node/136458>

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.

- McCombs, M., Llamas, J. P., Lopez-Escobar, E., & Rey, F. (1997).  
Candidate images in Spanish elections: Second-level agenda-setting  
effects. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74(4), 703-  
717.
- McElmurry, S. E. (2009). Elvira Arellano: No Rosa Parks Creation of “Us”  
Versus “Them” in an Opinion Column. *Hispanic Journal of  
Behavioral Sciences*, 31(2), 182-203.
- McKeever, B. W. (2013). News Framing of Autism Understanding Media  
Advocacy and the Combating Autism Act. *Science Communication*,  
35(2), 213-240.
- Miller, I. W., Epstein, N. B., Bishop, D. S., & Keitner, G. I. (1985). THE  
McMaster Family Assessment Device: Reliability  
And Validity\*. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 11(4),  
345-356.
- Misener, L. (2013). A media frames analysis of the legacy discourse for the  
2010 Winter Paralympic Games. *Communication & Sport*, 1(4),  
342-364.
- Morrison, A. & Love, A. (1996), ‘A discourse of Disillusionment: Letters  
to the Editor in two Zimbabwean Magazines 10 years After  
Independence’, *Discourse and Society*, 7: 1, pp. 39–75.



Muhyiddin: Mandatory death sentence, Sediton Act, several others may be abolished. (2018, May 22). theSun. Retrieved from <http://www.thesundaily.my/news/2018/05/22/muhyiddin-mandatory-death-sentence-sediton-act-several-others-may-be-abolished>

Nair, G. K. S., Luqman, A., Vadeveloo, T., Marimuthu, R., & Shanmuggam, S. (2012). Better Policing through a Paradigm Shift in Public Perception of the Police. *Asian Social Science*, 8(3), p113.

Naveed, F. (2011, October 25). Column definition and explanation. Retrieved from <http://www.masscommunicationtalk.com/column-definition-explanation.html>

Nelson, T. E. & Oxley, Z. M. (1999). Issue framing effects on belief importance and opinion. *The Journal of Politics*, 61(4), 1040-1067.

Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 567-583.

Ng, E. (2013, December 24). MCA set to rejoin Cabinet but still no love from the Chinese. Retrieved from The Malaysian Insider website: <http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/malaysia/article/mca-set-to-rejoin-cabinet-but-still-no-love-from-the-chinese>

Nguyen, Y. (2014). *How to write a master's thesis*. SAGE.

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1973). Return to the concept of powerful mass media.  
In H. Eguchi & K. Sata (Eds.), *Studies of broadcasting: An international annual of broadcasting science*, 9 (pp. 67-112). Tokyo, Japan: NHK.

Noh, A. (2016) Political Change and Institutional Rigidity in Malaysia: Is There a Way Out?. Retrieved from <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/WP2016-02.pdf>

Othman, A. L. (2012, November 2). *Rahmat tersembunyi Operasi Lalang 1987* [Hidden blessings from the 1987 Operation Lalang]. Retrieved From Harakah Daily website: <http://bm.harakahdaily.net/index.php/columnist/editor-harakah/14263-rahmat-tersembunyi-operasi-lalang-1987>

Oleinik, A. (2015). On content analysis of images of mass protests: a case of data triangulation. *Quality & Quantity*, 49(5), 2203-2220.

Oliver, P. (2016, July 16). Defining Protest and Protest Events. Retrieved from <https://www.ssc.wisc.edu/soc/racepoliticsjustice/2016/07/16/defining-protest-and-protest-events/>

Ottati, V., Renstrom, R., & Price, E. (2012). The metaphorical framing model: *Political communication and public opinion*. Unpublished manuscript.

*Pakatan Harapan* wins 14th General Election. (2018, May 10). New Straits Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nst.com.my/news/politics/2018/05/367907/pakatan-harapan-wins-14th-general-election>

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political communication*, 10(1), 55-75.

PSC must adopt all *Bersih*'s demands. (2011, December 2). Retrieved from *Malaysiakini* website: <http://www.Malaysiakini.com/letters/183015>

Prasad, B. D. (2008). Content Analysis. A method in Social Science Research. Teoksessa: Lal Das, DK and Bhaskaran, V (toim.).(2008): *Research methods for Social Work*. New Delhi: Rawat, 173-193.

Rajaratnam, U. D. (2009). Role of traditional and online media in the 12th general election, Malaysia. *Journal of South East Asia Research Centre for Communications & Humanities*, 1(1), 79-95.

Ramasamy, M. (2012, March 16). Malaysia said to prepare for potential election in May or June. Retrieved from Bloomberg website: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-03-16/malaysia-said-to-prepare-for-potential-election-in-may-or-june.html>

Ramli, R., Chang, P. K., & Sannusi, S. N. (2015). Analisis Isi Berita Demonstrasi *Bersih 4.0* pada Fajar, Tribun Timur, Sindo [News content analysis of *Bersih 4.0* in Fajar, Tribun Timur and Sindo]. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 5(1), 52-64.

Razak, N. (2018, June 2). You won GE14, now safeguard economy, stop politicking. Malaysiakini, Comment. Retrieved from <https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/427981>

Ruling coalition wins Malaysian election amid fraud allegations. (2013, May 13). Retrieved from ABC News website: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-05-06/an-barisan-wins-malaysia-election/4670904>

Sajahan, M. S., Zawawi, A. A., Syafena, A., Kamarunzaman, N. Z., Yusof, A. S. M., Hussin, Z. H., & Jusoff, K. (2010). Media warfare content analysis of the conservative and alternative media during the Bukit Selambau Malaysian by-election. *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, 2(1), 001-010.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, 49(1), 103-122.

Selamat, M. R., & Rosli, M. R. (2015). Agenda setting diaspora: a comparative analysis of news article coverage on *BERSIH 3.0* by keadilandaily. com and umnoonline. com. *International Journal of Arts and Commerce*, 4(6), 142-162.

Semetko, H., & Scammell, M. (2012). *The SAGE handbook of political communication*.

Semetko, A. & Valkenburg, P. (2000) Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news, *Journal of Communication*, 52(2), 93-109.

Shin, G.-W.(2010, February). The Media and the U.S.-ROK Alliance: The South Korean Case. Retrieved from <http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/ShinGiWookMedia100628.pdf>

Siow, C. M. (2009, March 23). A cash cow for Huaren. The Edge. Retrieved from <http://www.theedgemaalaysia.com/features/3961-a-cash-cow-for-huaren.html>

Smeltzer, S., & Paré, D. J. (2015). Challenging electoral authoritarianism in Malaysia: the embodied politics of the *Bersih* movement. *Interface: A Journal on Social Movements*, 7(2).

Smith, G. (2007) "Political Issues in the Press: An Experimental Study of Media Effects." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Classical Chinese Garden, Portland, Oregon USA Online <PDF>. 2012-06-23 from [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p204738\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p204738_index.html)

Sniderman, P. M., & Theriault, S. M. (2004). The structure of political argument and the logic of issue framing. In W. E. Saris & P. M. Sniderman (Eds.), *Studies in Public Opinion* (pp. 133–165). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Song, Y.H. (2007). Internet news media and issue development: A case Study on the roles of independent online news services as agenda-builders for anti-US protests in South Korea. *New Media & Society*, 9(1), 71\_92.

Steele, J. (2009). Professionalism Online How *Malaysiakini* Challenges Authoritarianism. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 14(1), 91-111.

- Sulaiman, N., & Talib, K. A. (2017). Will There Be Malaysia Spring? A Comparative Assessment on Social Movements. *Jurnal Komunikasi, Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 33(1).
- Tang, H.W. (2009). The networked electorate: The Internet and the quiet democratic revolution in Malaysia and Singapore. *Journal of Information, Law & Technology*, 13(2),135\_151.
- Tsfati, Y., & Peri, Y. (2006). Mainstream media skepticism and exposure to sectorial and extranational news media: The case of Israel. *Mass Communication & Society*, 9(2), 165-187.
- Vision and mission.(n.d.). Retrieved from Star Investors Relation website:  
<http://starinvestorrelations.com/>
- Wang, L.K. (2001). Media and democracy in Malaysia, *Journal of The European Institute of Communication and Culture*, 8(2): 67-68.
- Weiss, M. L. (2012). Politics in cyberspace: New media in Malaysia. Berlin, Germany: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Welsh, B. (2011, August 10). People power in Malaysia: *Bersih* rally and its aftermath. Asia Pacific Bulletin. Retrieved from  
<http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/21037/APB%20no.%20128.pdf?sequence=1>

What you need to know about Malaysia's *Bersih* movement. (2015, August 27). Straits Times. Retrieved

from <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/>

what-you-need-to-know-about-malaysias-*Bersih*-movement

Wiest, J. (2003). Serial killers as heroes in the media's storybook of murder:

A textual analysis of the New York Times coverage of the " Son of Sam", the " Boston Strangler", and the " Night Stalker"

(Unpublished masters dissertation). University of Georgia.

Wilson. S, Leong. L, Nge. C. & Ngerng, M.H. (2011) Trust and Credibility

of Urban Youth on Online News Media. *Jurnal Komunikasi*

*Malaysian Journal of Communication* .Jilid 27(2), pp. 97-120

Wong, M. L. (2014). Social Media, Power and Democratisation in

Malaysia: Weapons of the Weak?. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Xie, L., Lowry, D. and Witte, O. ,(2008). "Agenda-setting and Rhetorical

Framing by Semantic Proximity: A New Computerized Approach to

the Analysis of Network TV News" Paper presented at the annual

meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass

Communication, Marriott Downtown, Chicago, IL Online.



Yang, L. F., & Ishak, M. S. A. (2012a). Framing controversy over language policy in Malaysia - the coverage of PPSMI reversal (teaching of mathematics and science in English) by Malaysian newspapers. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 449-473.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2012.701312>

Yang, L. F., & Ishak, M. S. A. (2012b). Framing Interethnic Conflict in Malaysia: A Comparative Analysis of Newspaper Coverage on the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf). *International Journal of Communication* (19328036), 6.

Yang, L. F. & Ishak, M. S. A. (2013). Covering Galas and Batu Sapi by-elections: Framing by Chinese newspapers. *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, 9(2), 15-47.

Yang, F. L., & Leong, W.K. (2017). Framing the Cow-Head Protest: A Comparative Analysis of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini*.

## APPENDIX A

### Media ownership in Malaysia (Anuar, 2007)

1. Media Prima owns the New Straits Times Press (M) Bhd (NSTP), which publishes the English-language newspapers *New Straits Times*, *New Sunday Times*, *Malay Mail*, and *Sunday Mail*, and the Malay-language newspapers *Berita Harian*, *Berita Minggu*, and *Harian Metro*. Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Bhd (or popularly known as TV3), 8TV, Channel 9, and ntv7. This group is said to be close to UMNO.

2. Huaren Management Sdn Bhd, an investment arm of the BN component party, MCA, owns *The Star*, Sunday Star, Nanyang Siang Pau, China Press, and the radio station STAR Rfm.<sup>1</sup>

3. Utusan Melayu (M) Bhd group owns *Utusan Malaysia*, *Mingguan Malaysia*, *Utusan Melayu* and *Kosmo!* (apart from magazines such as *Mastika*, *Wanita*, etc.). It has close links with the dominant party, UMNO.

4. The Ministry of Information controls TV1, TV2, and all government radio stations.

5. Timber tycoon Tiong Hiew King owns Sin Chew Media Corp Bhd, which publishes the popular *Sin Chew Daily* and *Guang Ming Ribao*, apart from other media interests in Cambodia, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea. This

---

<sup>1</sup> In 2010, MCA bought over the shares of Huaren Sdn Bhd in *The Star*. However, it has pledged not to interfere in its editorial policies. (“MCA pledges non-interference in Star”, 2010)

Sarawakian media magnate is well connected to the state's political elite.

6. Another Sarawakian, timber tycoon Lau Hui Kiang was given permission by Mahathir to operate the Chinese Oriental Daily as a way of checking the growing influence of Tiong Hiew King in the Chinese community.

7. Ananda Krishnan, a friend of Former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, owns the satellite TV Astro and Maxis Communications Bhd that operates cellular services.

8. The Tamil newspaper *Tamil Nesan* is published by the wife (Indrani S. Vellu) of the current president, Samy Vellu, of the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), a component party of the ruling BN. Another Tamil daily, *Malaysia Nanban*, is also closely allied with the MIC;

9. Mahathir's close allies Vincent Tan Chee Yioun and Tong Kooi Ong jointly control Nexnews Bhd that owns The Sun, a free paper (that is distributed freely via selected outlets); The Edge, a weekly; and Asia Inc.

## APPENDIX B

### Pilot study of *Bersih 3.0*

Dear participant,

You have been invited to take part in an academic research to learn more about the frames used by *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*. This study is conducted by Kung Khai Jhun, a postgraduate candidate of Masters in Communication of Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman.

The purpose of this research is to identify the frames that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 3.0*, as well as to identify the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media.

This is being conducted for academic purposes only. You need to be someone who can read and understand English, and has a basic understanding of Malaysian politics. You also need to have basic skills in operating a computer, as you will need to match the frames to the appropriate sentence or paragraphs.

This research is not being funded by any interest group or any of the news media mentioned earlier. Your demographic information is not needed for this study, therefore your responses are kept anonymous.

For any inquiries for this research, kindly contact the researcher at [albernardo.kung@gmail.com](mailto:albernardo.kung@gmail.com)

#### Authorities

*These are frames that typically describe the PDRM, government, DBKL and/or EC as a collective in regards to Bersih 3.0.*

- Authorities should have worked with *Bersih 3.0* organizers.
- Authorities should take action against the brutality imposed onto *Bersih 3.0* rally goers.
- Authorities are possibly biased against *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goers.
- Authorities should take action against trouble-makers.

#### Bar Council

*These are frames that are related to the Bar Council in regards to the*

*Bersih 3.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- Bar Council is inconsistent in its probe report.
- Bar Council is partisan and has lost credibility.
- Bar Council may take action against the government over the latter's reaction towards the *Bersih 3.0* rally
- Bar Council does not accept dissent from its members.

### *Bersih*

*These are frames that are related to Bersih 3.0 in regards to its rallies worldwide, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- *Bersih 3.0* is a peaceful and festive event.
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers.
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers have caused traders losses
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers has a political agenda
- *Bersih 3.0* has been hijacked by political parties who may or may not want to topple the government.
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers have damaged properties and caused injuries
- *Bersih 3.0* has divided Malaysians
- *Bersih 3.0* has lost support from Malaysians.
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers has tarnished Malaysia's image
- *Bersih 3.0* has wide support
- *Bersih 3.0* insincere in wanting election reforms
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers should have compromised with the government
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers are victims of some troublemakers
- *Bersih 3.0* was not hijacked
- *Bersih 3.0* has questionable elements such as communists
- It's the people's right to assemble peacefully like *Bersih 3.0*

- *Bersih 3.0* should have been disruptive to make an impact
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers a victim of Rapid KL's actions
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers does not intend to overthrow government
- A reiteration of *Bersih 3.0*'s 8 demands
- Justifications on *Bersih 3.0* Kuala Lumpur rally being held in Dataran Merdeka
- *Bersih 3.0* is against Islam
- *Bersih 3.0* is not against Islam
- *Bersih 3.0* is not wrong in breaching PDRM barrier to go to Dataran Merdeka
- *Bersih 3.0* failed to keep its promise
- *Bersih 3.0* is an avenue to express dissatisfaction with the government
- *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally-goers should be left alone

#### Election Commission

*These are frames that are related to the Election Commission's (EC) in regards to the Bersih 3.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- EC does not want to be associated with *Bersih 3.0*
- EC has taken action to meet *Bersih 3.0*'s demands
- EC is partisan/biased towards the government
- EC is victim of Pakatan/*Bersih 3.0*'s tactics
- EC people should resign

#### Government / Barisan Nasional

*These are frames that are related to the government and/or Barisan Nasional in regards to the Bersih 3.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- Government is afraid of clean and fair elections
- Government has established probe panel on how PDRM tackled *Bersih 3.0*

- Government impacted negatively over Bersih 3.0
- Government is superior to *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goers.
- Government has met some or all of *Bersih 3.0*'s demands
- Government is able to hold peaceful gatherings.
- Government is playing dirty politics.
- Government is responding to the people's demands.
- Government is sincere in reforms but agencies not catching up
- Government is a victim of *Bersih 3.0* and *Pakatan Rakyat*'s actions.
- Government has labeled its critics as politicians
- Government is insincere in reforms
- Government did not handle the matter well
- Government supporters are calling for action taken against *Bersih 3.0* rally goers and organizers
- Government is inferior to *Bersih 3.0*, *Pakatan Rakyat* and the people.
- Government is democratic
- Government is cracking down on *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goers.
- Government will help journalists affected by *Bersih 3.0*
- People should not vote for Barisan Nasional because of how they treated *Bersih 3.0* rally goers and organizers
- Government is dictatorial.
- Government supporters are taking action against *Bersih 3.0* supporters
- Government should apologize over how it handled the *Bersih 3.0* rally.
- Government is superior to *Pakatan Rakyat*.

#### Mainstream Media

*These are frames that are related to the mainstream media and/or Astro in regards to the Bersih 3.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- Mainstream media and/or Astro attempts to show the government in a better light.

- Mainstream media and/or Astro is controlled by the government
- Mainstream media and/or Astro are the government's propaganda machine
- Mainstream media's reportage on *Bersih 3.0* is detrimental to the future of democracy in Malaysia
- Mainstream media and/or Astro were unbalanced and unfair to *Bersih*.
- Tamil and Mandarin mainstream media newspapers are more balanced in their coverage of *Bersih 3.0*
- Mainstream media and/or Astro portray *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goers as villains
- Mainstream media journalists are victims of PDRM's actions during the *Bersih 3.0* rally

#### *Pakatan Rakyat, its leaders and supporters*

*These are frames that are related to the Pakatan Rakyat in regards to the Bersih 3.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- *Pakatan Rakyat* intends to change government via *Bersih 3.0*
- Middle ground voters will not support *Pakatan Rakyat* because of *Bersih 3.0*
- *Pakatan Rakyat* is happy that *Bersih 3.0* took place
- *Pakatan Rakyat* is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka
- *Pakatan Rakyat* is not fit to rule the country
- *Pakatan Rakyat* should not fool people that the election process is not clean and fair
- *Pakatan Rakyat* is prioritizing other issues such as *Bersih 3.0* instead of other more pressing issues.
- *Pakatan Rakyat* has questionable elements
- *Pakatan Rakyat* is helping and supporting *Bersih 3.0*
- *Pakatan Rakyat* cannot accept dissent
- *Pakatan Rakyat* is not the instigator of barricade breach

#### *PDRM*

*These are frames that are related to the Royal Malaysian Police (better*



*known for its acronym in Malay, PDRM – Police DiRaja Malaysia) in regards to the Bersih 3.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- PDRM is brutal or used excessive force
- PDRM is composed and managing the crowd well
- PDRM did not recognize the Bar Council as monitors
- PDRM infringed on human rights
- PDRM interfered with journalists' work
- PDRM's actions not justified
- PDRM's actions justified
- PDRM did not learn from previous mistakes
- PDRM is at fault over violence and should apologize
- PDRM is taking action against rally goers
- PDRM is a victim of a minority of non-law abiding officers
- PDRM is used by government to make *Bersih 3.0* violent
- PDRM will take action against unruly police/set up panel
- PDRM is insincere in apologizing for its mistakes at the *Bersih 3.0* rally in Dataran Merdeka
- PDRM should be fair in taking action
- PDRM tarnished the country's image
- People overreacted to PDRM's approach in handling the *Bersih 3.0* rally
- PDRM victims of *Bersih 3.0* organizers and rally goer's provocation
- PDRM is not professional and did not do their work properly.
- PDRM acting stupid over *Bersih 3.0*
- PDRM victims of government's orders
- PDRM follows the law

#### Probe Panel

*These are frames that are related to the probe panel that was set up by the*

*government in the aftermath of the Bersih 3.0 rally in Kuala Lumpur.*

- Former IGP Hanif Omar is joining the probe panel
- Probe panel Probe panel has freedom to choose panelist
- Suhakam and Bar Council are not included in the probe panel
- Support for the establishment of the probe panel
- Probe panel is allegedly one-sided
- Probe panel promises to be unbiased
- The probe panel should bring in United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue.
- Someone else should be leading the probe panel
- Royal Commission of Inquiry should be set up instead of a probe panel.
- Probe panel has no power
- Former IGP Hanif Omar should be replaced/resign/not accept position in the probe panel
- Probe panel should be given a chance to carry out duties
- Explanation on the purposes of setting up the probe panel
- There is nothing wrong with Former IGP Hanif Omar joining the probe panel

### Suhakam

*These are frames that are related to Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (better known for its Malay acronym, Suhakam - Suruhanjaya Hak Asasi Manusia) following the establishment of a probe panel in the aftermath of the Bersih 3.0 rally in Kuala Lumpur.*

- Suhakam should conduct an inquiry
- Suhakam should be on the probe panel

## APPENDIX C

**List of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles and opinion columns analysed between 29 April 2012 and 12 May 2012 for *Bersih 3.0*.**

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>The Star</i>				
29/4/2012	News	DPM: <i>Bersih</i> organisers responsible for damage and injuries.	Negative	Lee Yen Mun
		Patrol car attacked	Negative	No Author
		Opposition not concerned about free and fair elections, says Najib.	Negative	Sharon Ling and Zora Chan
		Man dies of heart attack, 65 given medical treatment	Neutral	No Author
		<i>Bersih</i> sit-ins pass without incident	Positive	No Author
		Flowers for the FRU	Positive	No Author
		Protests more peaceful in other parts	Positive	No Author
30/4/2012	News	Videos of Dataran demo to be aired	Negative	No Author
		'Probe assault on journalists'	Neutral	No Author
		Bar slams police conduct at rally	Neutral	No Author
		We condemn violence and want a full inquiry, says <i>Bersih</i> co-chairman	Neutral	No Author
		Big mess after <i>Bersih</i>	Neutral	Various
		Benji goes mum on 'angry' video	Neutral	No Author
3/5/2012	News	Chinese papers go black in protest	Neutral	Lim Wey Wen
4/5/2012	News	PM: Demonstration was attempt to overthrow govt	Negative	Mazwin Nik Anis and Rahimy Rahim

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>The Star</i>				
4/5/2012	News	High-flying GLCs get thumbs up	Negative	No Author
		Party backs independent panel to probe <i>Bersih 3.0</i> violence	Neutral	No Author
5/5/2012		Anwar has some explaining to do, says The Economist	Negative	Bernama
		<i>Bersih</i> organisers not completely blameless, says Tunku Abdul Aziz	Negative	No Author
6/5/2012		PM Stadium venue too peaceful for <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers	Negative	Ong Han Sean
7/5/2012		The Economist take on rally	Negative	The Economist
		Police: Tear gas used at rally safe, UN-approved	Neutral	Joseph Kaos Jr
		DAP wants Tunku Aziz to confirm if criticism was repeated	Neutral	No Author
		Bar EGM on rally expected to be heated	Neutral	Regina Lee
		Saudi Arabia contemplates Haj restrictions over <i>Bersih</i> protests	Negative	No Author
		Ambiga denies <i>Bersih</i> has been hijacked	Neutral	No Author
9/5/2012		Ranjit goes on YouTube to seek Bar Council's explanation on rally	Neutral	Loshana K. Shagar
		Former IGP Hanif Omar to head panel to look into <i>Bersih</i> rally allegations	Neutral	No Author
10/5/2012		EC: Polling staff will not use yellow outfit	Negative	Florence A. Samy
		Hanif Omar heads panel to probe <i>Bersih</i> rally	Neutral	Zuhrin Ahmad and M.Kumar
11/5/2012		Najib: We can gather at stadium, why can't they	Negative	No Author
		Traders stage 'burger protest' in front of Ambiga's house.	Negative	No Author
		Malaysia worries haj pilgrims may be affected	Negative	Zuhrin Azam Ahmad
		Four more held over <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally	Neutral	Bernama
		I am independent-minded, says former IGP Hanif	Neutral	No Author

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>The Star</i>				
11/5/2012	News	Malaysian Bar condemns excessive use of force (Update)	Neutral	Regina Lee and Tashny Sukumaran
12/5/2012		Chua Umno proves rallies can be peaceful	Negative	Mazwin Nik Aziz, Martin Carvalho, Florence A. Samy and Loshana K. Shagar
		NGOs: Police action at rally the right move	Negative	Steven Chew
		Hishammuddin: Bar Council has lost credibility	Neutral	Wong Pek Mei
		MCA: Leave families out of political rows	Positive	No Author
29/4/2012	Opinion Column	A riot at peaceful rally	Neutral	Shahanaaz Habib
1/5/2012		A big crowd — and big problems	Negative	Jocelyn Tan
3/5/2012		Peaceful Assembly not a crime	Positive	Azmi Shahrom
4/5/2012		More tests for our democracy	Positive	Tunku 'Abidin Muhriz
11/5/2012		How social media killed Batman	Negative	Raphael Kok
12/5/2012		Yellow peril for pilgrimage	Negative	Mergawati Zulfakar
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
29/4/2012	News	DPM: <i>Bersih</i> should be responsible for fracas	Negative	No Author
		Police free Tian Chua and 511 other protesters	Neutral	AFP
		Driver: I passed out before crash	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		Female reporter 'grabbed' by four male cops at rally	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		Hisham: Photo equipment seized as part of SOP	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		Najib whispers apology to Sun reporter	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		How the Dataran cordon was breached	Neutral	Andrew Ong
		71-year-old woman claims she was punched by police	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
	'Police motorbike knocked into m-biker near Sogo'	Neutral	Kow Gar Chie	

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
29/4/2012	News	Media bias on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> stuns Aussie senator	Neutral	Leven Woon
		<i>Bersih</i> denies losing control	Neutral	Nigel Aw
		Lawyer claims he was attacked by cops	Neutral	Nigel Aw
		Dataran barrier breach no excuse for use of force'	Neutral	No Author
		Papers blame Azmin, Anwar for 'instigating' chaos	Neutral	No Author
		<i>Bersih</i> on a cool Saturday in Sydney	Positive	Eric Loo
		Don't deflect from electoral reform issue, gov't told	Positive	Nigel Aw
		400 Malaysians gather in HK for <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Positive	Temily Tianmay
30/4/2012	News	Police were made victims, says Najib	Negative	Nigel Aw
		Gov't feared long-term occupation of Dataran	Negative	Nigel Aw
		PAS Youth denies charging police human wall near KLCC	Neutral	Koh Jun Lin
		Police brutality: A first person account	Neutral	Koh Jun Lin
		Mat Sabu: 1mil for <i>Bersih 4.0</i> if no polls reform	Neutral	Nicholas Wong
		<i>Bersih 3.0</i> : Horror stories of police aggression	Neutral	Nigel Aw
		Arrests, violence towards journalists condemned	Neutral	No Author
		KL Hospital gets 113 casualties during <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Neutral	No Author
		Anwar: We did not order breach of cordon	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy
		IGP Seizing reporters' cameras not police SOP	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy
		'Police acted after protesters became aggressive'	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy
		'Najib, don't whisper, apologise publicly'	Neutral	Susan Loone
		<i>Bersih</i> Paris: 60 turn out despite heavy rain	Positive	Christine Chan
		Ex-IGP - Pro-communist elements in <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Negative	Bernama
		1/5/2012		MCA - Anwar, Azmin caused <i>Bersih 3.0</i> violence

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
1/5/2012	News	Mainstream media 'ordered' not to report police brutality	Neutral	Hafiz Yatim
		Lawyers mull civil action against brutality	Neutral	Nigel Aw
		Ambiga - <i>Bersih</i> kept its promise but cops didn't	Neutral	No Author
		Bar Council - Police brutality worsens in <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Neutral	No Author
		Don black on Press Freedom Day, urges DAP	Neutral	No Author
		Police broke word by firing tear gas near Masjid Jamek	Neutral	No Author
		Anwar - <i>Bersih 3.0</i> victims made villains	Positive	No Author
2/5/2012		'I saw police officer pull his gun on protester'	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		CID chief - Police to arrest protesters soon	Neutral	Bernamea
		Astro admits censoring BBC report on <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Neutral	No Author
		DAP - Najib must apologise for police brutality	Neutral	No Author
		Independent panel to probe all brutality cases	Neutral	No Author
		Malacca Wanita MCA chief defends attending <i>Bersih</i> rally	Positive	Bernamea
3/5/2012		Cops foot RM1.8m bill for <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Negative	Bernamea
		Be fair to the government, Soi Lek tells the media	Negative	No Author
		Chegubard denies orders given to breach barrier	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		PM to announce post- <i>Bersih 3.0</i> panel next week	Neutral	Bernamea
		Mainstream media's <i>Bersih</i> coverage 'off tangent'	Neutral	Hazlan Zakaria
		Assaulted theSun reporter has facial fracture	Neutral	No Author
		Chinese dailies go black to protest attacks on journalists	Neutral	No Author
		DAP - IGP's explanation on police assault a total lie	Neutral	No Author
		PKR's Thangam charged over Dataran breach	Neutral	No Author
		Police form special panel to probe brutality claims	Neutral	No Author

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
3/5/2012	News	Suhakam - Police conduct at <i>Bersih</i> 'unacceptable'	Neutral	No Author
		49 individuals sought over <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy
		Come forth with evidence of police abuse, urge cops	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy
		Law student claims he was beaten up by 10 cops	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy
		Occupy member - Strategic disruptions are the key	Positive	Leven Woon
		Don't deal with mainstream media, corporations urged	Positive	No Author
4/5/2012	News	EC snubs <i>Bersih</i> again, calls Ambiga 'ruiner of democracy'	Negative	No Author
		<i>Bersih</i> violence planned to distract from huge turnout	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		Bar Council to hold EGM on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally	Neutral	No Author
		'BN still controls media despite changes in PPPA'	Neutral	No Author
		'Najib fears using Suhakam to probe police brutality'	Neutral	No Author
		Police ask for help to identify errant cops but...	Neutral	No Author
		Tangam did not breach any laws, claims lawyer	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy
		'Protester assaulted and dumped into a drain'	Neutral	S. Pathmawathy and Leven Woon
		'Delighted' to hear journalists were assaulted	Positive	Koh Jun Lin
5/5/2012	News	Revoke Ambiga's citizenship, urge Baling NGOs	Negative	Bernama
		Indignant traders want Ambiga arrested	Negative	Leven Woon
		Groups to hold protest against Selangor gov't	Neutral	Bernama
		Undergrad nabbed allegedly for Facebook posting	Neutral	Leven Woon
		Bar to debate 12 resolutions on <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Neutral	No Author
		<i>Bersih</i> - Mainstream media failing its own staff	Neutral	No Author
		DAP - RapidKL aggravated chaos at <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	Neutral	No Author
		'How does occupying a square topple a gov't'	Positive	No Author



Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
5/5/2012	News	Pakatan kicks off nationwide <i>Bersih</i> info war	Positive	No Author
6/5/2012		Dr M links <i>Bersih 3.0</i> to Pakatan lack of confidence	Negative	Bernama
		Cops probing PM's <i>Bersih</i> coup claims	Negative	No Author
		Former top cops want action against 'coup attempt'	Negative	No Author
		Hishammuddin Panel on <i>Bersih</i> will be 'unbiased'	Neutral	Bernama
		Najib: Demos okay, but don't flout the law	Neutral	Bernama
		Take up La Rue's offer, gov't told	Neutral	Nigel Aw
		Blame <i>Bersih</i> followers if Saudi bans pilgrims	Neutral	No Author
		Kit Siang Ex-IGP treating PM's word as gold	Neutral	No Author
		7/5/2012	Najib wants 'Vishwaz' with the Sikhs	Negative
Mayor dodges Dataran question, citing 'laws'	Negative		Koh Jun Lin	
'Anwar impatient to become prime minister'	Negative		No Author	
'Coup claims use circular logic'	Negative		No Author	
Nik Aziz: Fatwa council looking through one eye	Neutral		Jocelyn Tan	
Pro- and anti- <i>Bersih</i> groups in brief standoff	Neutral		Koh Jun Lin	
Minister confident cops have basis for student's arrest	Neutral		Nigel Aw	
PAS: Fatwa body, comment on electoral fraud instead	Neutral		No Author	
Police defend use of tear gas in webvideo	Neutral		No Author	
'Pakatan didn't seek free pass via <i>Bersih 3.0</i> '	Positive		Aidila Razak	
8/5/2012	Wisma Putra say no to La Rue's offer	Negative	Nigel Aw	
	Former IGP calls Nik Aziz 'father of kafir'	Negative	No Author	
	<i>Bersih</i> protester grilled on sexual matters	Neutral	Aidila Razak	
	'Anwar planned to occupy Dataran Merdeka'	Neutral	No Author	

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
8/5/2012	News	<i>Bersih</i> pressures gov't to invite UN rapporteurs	Neutral	No Author
		Kit Siang: Will Najib emulate Sarkozy?	Neutral	No Author
		Nurul Izzah: Is the Arab Spring 'haram' as well?	Neutral	No Author
		PAS Unit Amal chief receives death threat	Neutral	No Author
		Islamic scholar cited to counter anti-demo fatwa	Positive	Aidila Razak
9/5/2012	News	Police give ultimatum to 141 <i>Bersih</i> protesters	Negative	Wong Teck Chi
		Activist: Cops kept me in custody despite court order	Neutral	Nicholas Wong
		Apologise to Nik Aziz, Azmin urges ex-IGP	Neutral	No Author
		Ex-IGP Hanif Omar leads <i>Bersih 3.0</i> probe panel	Neutral	No Author
		CID chief denies Khalid posed with sexual questions	Neutral	Wong Teck Chi
		<i>Bersih's</i> 'Mr Straw Hat' says he's no hero	Positive	Koh Jun Lin
		<i>Bersih</i> endorses: Don't be distracted by gov't spin	Positive	Kuek Ser Kuang Keng
10/5/2012	News	Four more <i>Bersih</i> supporters detained	Negative	Bernamea
		<i>Bersih</i> , opposition spun our Bill out, decries EC	Negative	Kuek Ser Kuang Keng
		EC wants to disassociate with <i>Bersih's</i> yellow	Negative	Kuek Ser Kuang Keng
		Traders 'grill' Ambiga with burger protest	Negative	Nicholas Wong
		PKR Youth exco man pleads not guilty to violating order	Neutral	Bernamea
		<i>Bersih</i> chief: It's an invasion of my privacy	Neutral	Nicholas Wong
		Dr M refutes daughter's police violence claim	Neutral	No Author
		NUJ favours Steve Shim over Hanif Omar as panel head	Neutral	No Author
11/5/2012	News	Proham derides Hanif panel as 'weakest' option	Neutral	No Author
		Perkasa seeks edict over use of word 'Islam' by PAS	Negative	Bernamea
		PM: <i>Bersih</i> rejected stadium to foment media circus	Negative	Hazlan Zakaria

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
11/5/2012	News	Poser over army, police voters not irregular, says EC	Negative	Kuek Ser Kuang Keng
		Wan Ahmad accuses <i>Bersih</i> of creating hatred	Negative	Kuek Ser Kuang Keng
		Hands raised against Hanif's appointment	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		Protester: Cop pulled out gun at rally in self-defence	Neutral	Aidila Razak
		Bar Council to boycott panel, wants UN rapporteur instead	Neutral	Hafiz Yatim
		<i>Bersih 3.0</i> impact may last four months	Neutral	Hafiz Yatim
		<i>Bersih</i> rejects 'powerless' Hanif panel	Neutral	No Author
		Check my track record first, Hanif tells critics	Neutral	No Author
		Guan Eng: Perkasa protests have to respect privacy	Neutral	No Author
		NGOs: Burger stall protest brazen act of lawlessness	Neutral	No Author
		PAS wants safety guarantee for wanted <i>Bersih</i> protesters	Neutral	No Author
		Use your brains or be buried, PAS tells Perkasa	Neutral	No Author
		Malaysian Bar's EGM blasts police violence	Positive	Hafiz Yatim
		PAS Youth moots debate at Dataran for <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	Positive	No Author
		Suaram tells British PM Push Najib for reforms	Positive	No Author
		'Only good communists support <i>Bersih</i> '	Positive	Zulaikha Zulkifli
12/5/2012	News	Gov't backs proposal to form new lawyer body	Neutral	Bernamea
		Innocent people sought by police, laments DAP	Neutral	Leven Woon
		'Let brutality victims do balai to balai search as well'	Neutral	Leven Woon
		DAP joins boycott of Hanif-led panel	Neutral	No Author
		Hishammuddin Hanif stays as panel chief, period	Neutral	No Author
		Suhakam undecided on holding <i>Bersih 3.0</i> inquiry	Neutral	No Author
		<i>Bersih</i> man scores high on police wanted list	Neutral	Wong Teck Chi

Date	Type	Title	Tone	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
29/4/2012	Opinion columns	Voices in a <i>BERSIH</i> night	Neutral	S. Thayaparan
30/4/2012		Bouquet of barbed wire for Dataran	Positive	Mariam Mokhtar
30/4/2012		Were you a responsible actor?	Positive	KJ John
2/5/2012		PDRM - the armed division of Umno	Neutral	S. Thayaparan
4/5/2012		Halting the wheels of injustice	Positive	Josh Hong

## APPENDIX D

### Themes and coding categories found for *Bersih 3.0*

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Authorities	Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers		1	1	1
	Authorities should take action against the brutality imposed onto <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers.			1	
	Authorities are possibly biased against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally goers.			3	1
	Authorities should take action against trouble-makers	1			
Bar Council	Bar Council is inconsistent in its probe report	1			
	Bar Council is partisan and has lost credibility	3		2	
	Bar Council may take action against the government over the latter's reaction towards the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally			1	
	Bar Council does not accept dissent from its members.	1			
<i>Bersih 3.0</i>	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is a peaceful and festive event.	3	3	6	4
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers are troublemakers.	11	3	10	1
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers have caused traders losses	1		3	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers has a political agenda	4		7	1
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has been hijacked by political parties who may or may not want to topple the government.	6	2	2	

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
<i>Bersih 3.0</i>	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers have damaged properties and caused injuries	3		2	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has divided Malaysians		2		
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has lost support from Malaysians.	1			
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers has tarnished Malaysia's image	3	1	1	1
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has wide support	1	2	12	3
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> insincere in wanting election reforms	2	1	2	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers should have compromised with the government	4	2	4	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions	3		22	2
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions	2	3	8	1
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> was not hijacked	1			
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has questionable elements such as communists			4	
	It's the people's right to assemble peacefully like <i>Bersih 3.0</i>		2		1
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> should have been disruptive to make an impact			1	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers a victim of Rapid KL's actions			2	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers does not intend to overthrow government			1	1
	A reiteration of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> 's 8 demands		2	11	
Justifications on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> Kuala Lumpur rally being held in Dataran Merdeka			1	2	

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
<i>Bersih 3.0</i>	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is against Islam			5	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is not against Islam			4	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is not wrong in breaching police barrier to go to Dataran Merdeka			3	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> failed to keep its promise	1		1	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is an avenue to express dissatisfaction with the government				1
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers should be left alone	1			
Election Commission	EC does not want to be associated with <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	1		1	
	EC has taken action to meet <i>Bersih 3.0</i> 's demands	1		2	
	EC is partisan/ biased towards the government			3	4
	EC is victim of Pakatan/ <i>Bersih</i> 's tactics	1		3	
	EC people should resign			3	
Government	Government is afraid of clean and fair elections			1	3
	Government has established probe panel on how PDRM tackled <i>Bersih 3.0</i>			2	
	Government impacted negatively over <i>Bersih 3.0</i>			2	1
	Government is superior to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally goers.	1	1	4	
	Government has met some or all of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> 's demands				1
	Government is able to hold peaceful gatherings.	2			
	Government is playing dirty politics.			1	2
	Government responding to the people's demands.	3	1	2	

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Government	Government is sincere in reforms but agencies not catching up	1		1	
	Government is a victim of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> 's actions.	1	1		
	Government has labeled its critics as politicians			1	
	Government is insincere in reforms			1	
	Government did not handle the matter well			2	
	Government supporters are calling for action taken against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers and organisers	1		3	
	Government is inferior to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> , <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> and the people.			3	4
	Government is democratic			1	
	Government is cracking down on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally goers.			3	
	Government will help journalists affected by <i>Bersih 3.0</i>	1			
	People should not vote for Barisan Nasional because of how they treated <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers and organisers				1
	Government is dictatorial.	1		1	
	Government supporters are taking action against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> supporters	1		2	
	Government should apologise over how it handled the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally.			2	
Government is superior to <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> .	1		1		
Mainstream Media and/or Astro	Mainstream media and/or Astro attempts to show the government in a better light.			2	
	Mainstream media and/or Astro is controlled by the government			6	1



Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Mainstream Media and/or Astro	Mainstream media and/or Astro is the government's propaganda machine			4	3
	Mainstream media's reportage on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is detrimental to the future of democracy in Malaysia			1	
	Mainstream media and/or Astro were unbalanced and unfair to <i>Bersih</i> .			5	
	Tamil and Mandarin mainstream media newspapers are more balanced in their coverage of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>			2	
	Mainstream media and/or Astro portray <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goers as villains			4	
	Mainstream media and/or Astro are victims of PDRM's actions during the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally	2		2	
<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i>	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> intends to change government via <i>Bersih 3.0</i>		1	2	
	Middle ground voters will not support <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> because of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>		1		
	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka	3		4	
	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is not fit to rule the country	1			
	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> should not fool people that the election process is not clean and fair	2			
	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is prioritising other issues such as <i>Bersih 3.0</i> instead of other more pressing issues.			1	
	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> has questionable elements			2	
	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is helping and supporting <i>Bersih 3.0</i>			6	
<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> cannot accept dissent	2		1		

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i>	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is not the instigator of barricade breach	2		4	
PDRM	PDRM is brutal or used excessive force	4	2	36	1
	PDRM is composed and managing the crowd well	2	1	1	
	PDRM did not recognise the Bar Council as monitors			1	
	PDRM infringed on human rights			4	
	PDRM interefered with journalists'work			13	
	PDRM's action not justified	2	1	11	2
	PDRM's actions justified		1	6	1
	PDRM did not learn from previous mistakes			2	
	PDRM is at fault over violence and should apologise	2		4	
	PDRM is taking action against rally goers	2		11	
	PDRM is a victim of a minority of non-law abiding officers	1		1	1
	PDRM is used by government to make <i>Bersih 3.0</i> violent			1	2
	PDRM will take action against unruly police/set up panel			7	
	PDRM is insincere in apologising for its mistakes at the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally in Dataran Merdeka			1	
	PDRM should be fair in taking action			5	
	PDRM tarnished the country's image				1
People overreacted to PDRM's approach in handling the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally		1			
PDRM victims of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally goer's provocation	5	1	7	1	

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Police	PDRM acting stupid over <i>Bersih 3.0</i>			3	1
	PDRM victims of government's orders				1
	PDRM follows the law	2		4	
Probe Panel	Former IGP Hanif Omar is joining panel	2		1	
	Probe panel has freedom to choose panelist	1		1	
	Suhakam and Bar Council are not included in the probe panel	2		3	
	Support for the establishment of the probe panel	1			
	Probe panel is allegedly one-sided			5	
	Probe panel promises to be unbiased			2	
	The probe panel should bring in United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue.			5	
	Someone else should be leading the probe panel			4	
	Royal Commission of Inquiry should be set up instead of a probe panel.	1		1	
	Probe panel has no power			4	
	Former IGP Hanif Omar should be replaced/resign/not accept position in the probe panel	1		6	
	Probe panel should be given a chance to carry out duties			1	
	Explanation on the purposes of setting up the probe panel	2			
Nothing wrong with IGP joining probe panel	1				

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Suhakam	Suhakam should conduct an inquiry	1		5	
	Suhakam should be on the probe panel			1	

## APPENDIX E

### Pilot study for *Bersih 4.0*

Dear participant,

You have been invited to take part in an academic research to learn more about the frames used by *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 4.0*. This study is conducted by Kung Khai Jhun, a postgraduate candidate of Masters in Communication of Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman.

The purpose of this research is to identify the frames that *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* used for its news articles and opinion columns in the immediate aftermath of *Bersih 4.0*, as well as to identify the differences and similarities between the way the news and opinion columns are framed in both media.

This is being conducted for academic purposes only. You need to be someone who can read and understand English, and has a basic understanding of Malaysian politics. You also need to have basic skills in operating a computer, as you will need to match the frames to the appropriate sentence or paragraphs.

This research is not being funded by any interest group or any of the news media mentioned earlier. Your demographic information is not needed for this study; therefore, your responses are kept anonymous.

For any inquiries for this research, kindly contact the researcher at [albernardo.kung@gmail.com](mailto:albernardo.kung@gmail.com)

#### *Bersih 4.0*

*These are frames that are related to Bersih 4.0 in regards to its rallies worldwide, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- *Bersih 4.0* is disruptive/has caused disharmony in the country
- *Bersih 4.0* supporters are rude
- *Bersih 4.0* is illegal
- *Bersih 4.0* is a peaceful rally
- *Bersih 4.0* victims of a few/saboteurs
- *Bersih 4.0* has damaged the city
- *Bersih 4.0* are responsible organisers and supporters
- *Bersih 4.0* is transparent and clear with its goals
- *Bersih 4.0* has brought good business to nearby traders
- *Bersih 4.0* has wide support
- *Bersih 4.0* is not racist
- *Bersih 4.0* is pro-Opposition/has been hijacked by the Opposition
- *Bersih 4.0* needs to do something else rather than to demonstrate

- *Bersih 4.0* organisers and supporters are hypocrites
- *Bersih 4.0* was predominantly Chinese/is racist
- *Bersih 4.0* is also a call to get PM Najib Razak to step down
- *Bersih 4.0* supporters are patriotic
- *Bersih 4.0* shows change is possible in Malaysia
- *Bersih 4.0* is not hijacked by the Opposition
- *Bersih 4.0* is not disruptive
- *Bersih 4.0* supporters are threatened by anarchists
- *Bersih 4.0*'s efforts to topple government or initiate reforms will be futile
- Anwar is no longer a factor for *Bersih 4.0*
- PAS was a major contributor to previous *Bersih* rallies
- *Bersih 4.0* will take action against the government
- Malays are scared to join *Bersih 4.0*
- *Bersih 4.0* will not apologise for the actions of a few
- PM Najib Razak should heed *Bersih 4.0*'s demands
- Questionable motives in *Bersih 4.0*
- UMNO can be negatively affected by *Bersih 4.0*

### Red Shirt Rally

*These are frames that are related to the Red Shirt rally in Kuala Lumpur, a Bersih 4.0 counter rally which is officially known as the Malay Dignity Rally (Himpunan Maruah Melayu). The rally is known as the Red Shirt Rally due to the red shirts given to the participants of the rally.*

- Red Shirt Rally is disruptive
- Red Shirt Rally to demonstrate "Malay Unity"
- Red Shirt Rally has strong grassroots support
- Red Shirt Rally is racist/against the Malaysian spirit of national unity
- Red Shirt Rally will be peaceful and will follow the rules
- Red Shirt Rally is illegal/has not obtained the necessary permits
- UMNO supporters will be joining/not stopped from joining the rally
- Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective
- UMNO can be negatively affected by the Red Shirt Rally
- There is no need to organise the Red Shirt Rally
- Red Shirt Rally does not represent the Malays
- Red Shirt Rally is not racist
- Red Shirt Rally's demands are questionable
- UMNO superiority over *Bersih* supporters

- Red Shirt Rally to show support for PM Najib
- Red Shirt Rally may be cancelled if Mahathir joined

### MCA

*These are frames that are related to the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) in response to Bersih 4.0 and the Red Shirt Rally.*

- MCA will defend Malaysia from racists
- MCA is doing good for the community
- MCA will deal with people who go against party lines
- MCA will still not get back the support from the Chinese following *Bersih 4.0*
- Someone from MCA joined the *Bersih 4.0* rally
- MCA is as "racist" as UMNO in *Bersih 4.0*
- MCA still has not gone soft on issues such as *Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt Rally*
- MCA has gone soft on issues such as *Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt Rally*

### Mahathir

*These are frames that are related to Former Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, because of his presence at the Bersih 4.0 rallies.*

- Mahathir was forced to join the *Bersih 4.0* rally
- Mahathir is going against his principles by attending the *Bersih 4.0* rally
- Mahathir has an agenda coming to the *Bersih 4.0* rally
- Mahathir is still unable to attract the Malays to come to *Bersih 4.0*
- Mahathir is now pro-Opposition for joining *Bersih 4.0*
- Mahathir joined *Bersih 4.0* because he wants to save UMNO
- Grudges against Mahathir for attending *Bersih 4.0*
- Mahathir joined *Bersih 4.0* because he is angry

### Government

*These are frames that are related to the government and/or Barisan Nasional in regards to the Bersih 4.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers.*

- Government will take action against *Bersih 4.0* rally goers
- Government's reaction to *Bersih 4.0* was excessive
- Government should not take action against *Bersih 4.0*/not biased

- Government politicians sowing hatred following *Bersih 4.0*
- Government is not listening to the people's demands
- Sarawak Government willing to engage with *Bersih 4.0* organisers democratically
- Questionable government moves

### PDRM

*These are frames that are related to the Royal Malaysian Police (better known for its acronym in Malay, PDRM – Polis DiRaja Malaysia) in regards to the Bersih 4.0 rally, its demands, its organizers and/or its rally goers, as well as its actions against the Red Shirt Rally.*

- PDRM were cooperative with *Bersih 4.0* organisers and supporters
- PDRM will take/are taking action against *Bersih 4.0* organisers and demonstrators
- PDRM will decide if the Red Shirt Rally is illegal
- PDRM will be ready for the Red Shirt Rally
- PDRM are acting according to SOP
- PDRM are taking excessive action against *Bersih 4.0* supporters
- PDRM were forced to act against *Bersih 4.0*
- PDRM should not be biased when taking action
- PDRM will take/are taking action against Red Shirt Rally organisers/supporters

### Demonstrations

*These are frames that are related to various points of views of demonstration culture in Malaysia.*

- Demonstrations are "not our culture"
- Demonstrations has always been part of our culture
- Every citizen has a right to demonstrate

### DBKL

*These are frames that are related to DBKL's views on Bersih 4.0.*

- DBKL cannot prove *Bersih 4.0* dirtied the streets



**APPENDIX F**

**List of *The Star* and *Malaysiakini* news articles and opinion columns analysed between 31 August 2015 to 13 September 2015 for *Bersih 4.0*.**

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>The Star</i>				
31/8/2015	News	<i>Bersih 4</i> ends as it began – peacefully	Positive	No author
		<i>Bersih</i> cries sabotage after 13 down with food poisoning	Neutral	No author
		Brisk sales for businesses during rally weekend	Positive	No author
		Dr Mahathir: I came to show solidarity	Positive	No author
		Hisham: Dr M shouldn't go against his own principles	Negative	No author
		Hundreds turn up for 'ambang merdeka' event	Neutral	No author
		Nur Jazlan thanks cops and participants	Positive	No author
		Rally goers given food and water at church	Neutral	No author
		Thousands rough it out on city streets after first day	Neutral	No author
2/9/2015		Actions in rally uncalled for	Negative	No author
		<i>Bersih</i> to get RM65,000 bill	Negative	Neville Spykerman, Zazali Musa, Andsarban Singh
		<i>Bersih</i> to sue if slapped with clean-up costs	Positive	Rashvinjeet S. Bedi
		Cops ask Abdul Hadi picture 'stompers' to surrender	Negative	No Author
		Cops summon seven rally organisers to take statements	Neutral	No Author
3/9/2015		Cops question <i>Bersih 4</i> organisers	Neutral	Farik Zolkepli, Hemananthani Sivanandam, Allison Lai, Rahimy Rahim, Chong Kah Yuan, Royce Tan, Stephanie Lee, Andn. Trisha

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>The Star</i>				
3/9/2015	News	Cops start probes into <i>Bersih</i> rally	Neutral	Farik Zolkepli, Hemananthani Sivanandam, Allison Lai, Rahimy Rahim, Chong Kah Yuan, Royce Tan, Stephanie Lee, Andn. Trisha
		Guan Eng to sue Malay daily	Neutral	No author
		IGP denies detainees forced to change pads in front of cops	Neutral	Allison Lai
		Liow: Stepping on a person's photo not part of Malaysian culture	Negative	Adrian Chan
		Mahathir to return from Jordan on Sept 9, says aide	Neutral	Farik Zolkepli, Hemananthani Sivanandam, Allison Lai, Rahimy Rahim, Chong Kah Yuan, Royce Tan, Stephanie Lee, Andn. Trisha
4/9/2015		Don't make <i>Bersih</i> 4 a racial issue, says Liow	Negative	Foong Pek Yee And Simon Khoo
		Police to analyse videos and images of protesters at <i>Bersih</i> 4	Negative	Austin Camoens
		Rally fails to shake PM and Umno	Neutral	Ng Si Hooi And Rahimy Rahim
6/9/2015		20 NGOs lodge reports against <i>Bersih</i>	Negative	No author
		DAP hijacked <i>Bersih</i> , says Liow	Negative	No author
		Rafidah Aziz to red-shirts: Just what are you trying to prove	Neutral	No author
		Umno members free to join Sept 16 rally	Neutral	R.S.N.Murali

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>The Star</i>				
7/9/2015	News	Liow: Express views legally	Negative	No author
		Muslim group: 'Red shirts' do not represent Malays	Neutral	Victoria Brown
8/9/2015		Chew: MCA does not condone Sept 16 rally	Positive	No author
		Police: We have not received any notice for Sept 16 rally	Neutral	No author
		Red shirts don't represent Malay Muslims, say NGOs	Neutral	Farik Zolkepli, Hemananthani Sivanandam, Allison Lai, Rahimy Rahim, Chong Kah Yuan, Royce Tan, Stephanie Lee, And N. Trisha
		Red-shirt rally a no-go	Neutral	No author
		Ti: DAP should take responsibility for <i>Bersih</i> antics	Negative	No author
9/9/2015		'Rally fallout could be catastrophic'	Neutral	No author
		'Red shirt rally must be stopped'	Neutral	No author
		<i>Bersih</i> 2.0 head among nine charged over unlawful assembly	Negative	No author
		DPM Govt leaving it to cops to handle rally matters	Neutral	No author
		Saifuddin Rally proves that we can hold peaceful protests	Positive	No author
10/9/2015		Dr M to cooperate with cops	Neutral	No author
11/9/2015		30,000 NGO members expected at Sept 16 rally	Neutral	No author
	Association: Business as usual at the Golden Triangle	Neutral	Simon Khoo, Natasha Joibi, Firdaus Fadzil, Rahimy Rahim, R.S.N. Murali, Andoh Chin Eng	
	<i>Bersih</i> vows to give rally accounts in a month	Neutral	No author	

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>The Star</i>				
11/9/2015	News	MCA: Cabinet told of people's concerns over impact of assembly	Neutral	No author
		Non-Malays welcomed to join "red-shirts" rally	Negative	Nadirah H. Rodzi
		Planned red-shirt rally giving traders, cabbies and hoteliers the jitters	Neutral	Simon Khoo, Natasha Joibi, Firdaus Fadzil, Rahimy Rahim, R.S.N. Murali, Andoh Chin Eng
12/9/2015		'Hold rally in Pdg Merbok'	Neutral	Neville Spykerman And T.Avineshwaran
		MCA: Go for programmes that boost M'sia's growth	Negative	No author
		Red-shirt banners removed	Neutral	No author
13/9/2015		Cops close Low Yat entrances following rally rumour	Neutral	No author
		No need for red-shirt rally, says MIC chief	Negative	No author
		Only one rally on Sept 16	Negative	Rahmah Ghazali And Sira Habibu
2/9/2015	Opinion Column	National Day not disrespected	Positive	Azmi Shahrom
4/9/2015		Focus on the march, not on the race	Neutral	Dorairaj Nadason
6/9/2015		For goodness sake, I saw good, felt good	Positive	Zainah Anwar
		Red or yellow, rallies add colour to democracy	Positive	Shahanaaz Habib
9/9/2015		It was really a clean outing	Positive	June HI Wong
10/9/2015		Protest not for protest's sake	Positive	Marina Mahathir
13/9/2015		Disquiet over Malay rally	Neutral	Joceline Tan
		Stand up as Malaysians	Positive	Wong Chun Wai
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
31/8/2015	News	11 held over <i>Bersih</i> rally in Sungai Petani	Negative	Bernamea

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
31/8/2015	News	500,000 were at <i>Bersih 4</i> , says organiser	Positive	Shakira Buang
		' <i>Bersih 4</i> Kuching ended abruptly due to safety concerns'	Neutral	Bernama
		Chinese flexing muscles at Malays, says Tunku Aziz	Negative	No author
		Cops question woman for 'insulting PM' with balloons	Neutral	No author
		Liow: Putting racial spin on <i>Bersih 4</i> bad for country	Neutral	Bernama
		Main frontpages snub <i>Bersih</i> , Chinese press still yellow	Neutral	No author
		Malacca CM: Dr M influenced into attending <i>Bersih 4</i>	Negative	Bernama
		Najib dared to address scandals at anti-graft conference	Neutral	No author
		PAS rues 'stomping on leaders' pics' at <i>Bersih 4</i>	Negative	Bernama
		'Red shirts' at Dataran were from Umno	Negative	No author
		Rights NGO slams Zahid's post- <i>Bersih</i> arrest warning	Positive	No author
		Salleh: Dr M at <i>Bersih 4</i> implies he is with opposition	Negative	Bernama
		Yellow balloons dropped on PM's event	Neutral	Anne Muhammad
		Zam: Dr M feels Najib more dangerous than DAP	Negative	No author
1/9/2015		After RM2.6b lawsuit, Anina loses Umno membership	Negative	Zulaikha Zulkifli & Anne Muhammad
		Apologise to PAS swiftly, Zaid tells <i>Bersih</i>	Negative	No author
		Back no-confidence vote against Najib, Dr M implores Umno, BN MPs	Positive	No author
		<i>Bersih</i> mulls suing MCMC, Home Minister for crackdown	Neutral	No author
		BN MP: Najib will survive no-confidence vote	Negative	Alyaa Azhar
		Cops summon Maria, six others over <i>Bersih 4</i>	Neutral	Koh Jun Lin
		Don't arrest over <i>Bersih 4</i> T-shirt, Suhakam urges cops	Neutral	No author
		Don't let racial conflict ruin this nation, says ex-IGP	Negative	No author
Feet on Hadi's photo – <i>Bersih</i> 'outraged' but won't apologise	Neutral	Alyaa Azhar		

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
1/9/2015		It's okay for old men to attend rallies, says Nazri	Neutral	Alyaa Azhar & Zulaikha Zulkifli
		Listening to music not a crime, cops told	Neutral	No author
		'Mahathir flexing muscle against Malays, too_ '	Neutral	Susan Loone
		Mahathir: Some ask if I now back DAP, and Chinese	Neutral	No author
		Nazri: Go ahead and have <i>Bersih</i> 4 every year	Negative	Zulaikha Zulkifli
		PAS wants apology over Hadi stomping at <i>Bersih</i> 4	Negative	No author
		Perkasa: Stomping on Hadi's photo a 'racist act'	Negative	No author
		Prove you're not afraid of colour yellow, Najib told	Neutral	No author
		Rahman Dahlan_ Don't prevent rally to support Najib	Negative	Alyaa Azhar
		Salleh: Dr M's bid to remove Najib will bring down gov't too	Neutral	No author
		Security 'sorry' after Mat Sabu with women pics go viral	Neutral	No author
		Stop boasting, Rafizi Ramli tells the PM	Positive	Kow Gah Chie
		S'wak DAP: Why fear urging Najib to resign?	Neutral	No author
		Syed Ali: <i>Bersih</i> 4 a slap for the Malays	Negative	No author
		Umno veteran: Najib pushed Dr M into going for <i>Bersih</i> 4	Neutral	No author
		Wait for DBKL's cleaning bill, Rahman tells <i>Bersih</i>	Negative	Alyaa Azhar
	Wife confirms ex-MCA chief at <i>Bersih</i> 4, says nothing to fear	Neutral	No author	
2/9/2015		Anwar welcomes former nemesis Dr M's presence at <i>Bersih</i>	Positive	No author
		<i>Bersih</i> defends Dr M after police open probe	Neutral	Shakira Buang
		<i>Bersih</i> rally a mini 'Arab Spring', says Paul Low	Negative	Alyaa Azhar
		<i>Bersih</i> won't fork out single sen for DBKL's cleaning bill	Neutral	Shakira Buang
		Bung sees May 13 spectre in <i>Bersih</i> 'brooms'	Neutral	No author
		Cops likely pressured to act on <i>Bersih</i> , says PKR	Neutral	No author
		Cops told not to lose new, professional image earned at <i>Bersih</i>	Neutral	Susan Loone

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
2/9/2015	News	Guan Eng to go after Utusan for <i>Bersih 4</i> report	Neutral	Susan Loone
		IGP denies 'sanitary pads' accusation in Rumah Api case	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		IGP: Mahathir will be investigated over <i>Bersih 4</i> rally	Negative	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Jakarta Post likens <i>Bersih 4</i> to uprising against Soeharto	Positive	No author
		Kula: Protest marks clear line of demarcation	Positive	Terence Netto
		Maria urges photo stomp duo to co-operate with cops	Neutral	Shakira Buang
		MCA boss: DAP spreading racial hatred	Negative	No author
		MCA clueless over ex-president's <i>Bersih 4</i> Down Under stint	Negative	No author
		'MCA to decide Liong Sik's fate for joining <i>Bersih 4</i> '	Neutral	Yap Jia Hee
		More quizzed by police over <i>Bersih 4</i> rally	Neutral	No author
		MP: Charge <i>Bersih</i> firecracker thrower with attempted murder	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
		Obligatory Utusan rant on <i>Bersih 4</i> published	Negative	No author
		Rafidah Aziz: Is no one listening to the public	Positive	No author
		Sanusi: Najib responsible for <i>Bersih 4</i> turnout	Positive	No author
		Submit your best photo of <i>Bersih 4</i> and win cash	Positive	No author
		Tuan Ibrahim: <i>Bersih 4</i> 's 'minimal impact' proves PAS still major player	Neutral	No author
		'We had to change sanitary pads in front of cops'	Neutral	Geraldine Tong
		'What about those who defile opposition leaders' photos_ '	Neutral	Susan Loone
		<i>Bersih 4</i> – Thanks but we'll still come after you, say cops	Negative	Zikri Kamarulzaman
3/9/2015		Amnesty Int'l: Arab Spring guaranteed if free speech curbed	Neutral	Geraldine Tong
		<i>Bersih 4</i> - Nazri tells cops not to waste time on Dr M	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
		' <i>Bersih 4</i> Chinese numbers no indication of MCA rejection'	Neutral	No author
		Cops scanning <i>Bersih 4</i> videos, pix to spot who to call in	Negative	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		DAP: Liow dancing to Umno's 'racist' tune	Neutral	No author

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
3/9/2015	News	Dr M to be investigated for criminal defamation	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Get off the national centre stage, PM tells Dr M	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
		Guan Eng: No difference between MCA and Utusan	Neutral	Susan Loone
		IGP: Don't turn <i>Bersih</i> 4 into racial issue	Negative	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Khairuddin roasts IGP for going after Dr M but not PM	Neutral	No author
		Liow denies MCA under him has gone limp	Neutral	No author
		MCA grassroots reportedly unhappy Liow too soft in BN	Neutral	No author
		Muhyiddin, Mukhriz, five others to be axed from Umno	Neutral	No author
		Paul Low lambasted for shielding Najib from IACC delegates	Neutral	Susan Loone
		Police: Claim by Rumah Api women detainees baseless	Neutral	No author
		Rudeness not a crime, says law group on photo trampling	Neutral	No author
		S'wak CM pledges cooperation with civil society, including <i>Bersih</i>	Neutral	Koh Jun Lin
		Umno man urges counter to 'Chinese' <i>Bersih</i> rally	Neutral	No author
4/9/2015		<i>Bersih</i> chief, MP and two others to be charged	Neutral	No author
		<i>Bersih</i> : IGP should investigate poisoning, not poke fun at it	Neutral	No author
		Dr M setting bad example, says Azalina	Negative	Anne muhammad
		FT Umno Youth adamant on rally to counter 'Chinese' <i>Bersih</i>	Negative	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Iron Lady tells police don't waste time questioning demonstrators	Neutral	No author
		Up to universities to act on students involved in <i>Bersih</i> 4	Neutral	Bernamea
		We're watching you on 'no impunity' pledge, TI tells Zahid	Positive	No author
		250 reports lodged on stamping of leaders' photos	Negative	No author
		Asia's top debater flays DPM's daughter	Positive	Zulaikha Zulkifli
5/9/2015		Amnesty: Malaysia's human rights record on downward spiral	Neutral	No author



Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
5/9/2015	News	Cops offer reward for Najib-Hadi photo stompers	Neutral	No author
		Group wants cops to stop rally inciting 'bloodbath'	Neutral	Nigel Aw
		'If Umno were rude, we'd thrash <i>Bersih</i> pix stompers'	Negative	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Kuala Langat Umno Youth lodge police reports against <i>Bersih</i> 4	Negative	Bernama
		Minister blames poor <i>Bersih</i> signage for billing boo-boo	Negative	N.Faisal Ghazali
		Minister sends <i>Bersih</i> 4 clean-up bill - to the wrong address	Negative	No author
		Muhyiddin prepares defence against rumoured sacking	Neutral	Hafiz Yatim
		'People power' can't decide when gov't retires, says minister	Negative	No author
		Rewards for pix stomping info, but what of IMDB scandals	Neutral	No author
6/9/2015		Azalina raps Ambiga for 'unpatriotic' urgent sitting petition	Negative	No author
		DAP rep tells IGP to stop behaving like a politician	Neutral	No author
		MCA: Sept 16 rally threat to racial harmony	Neutral	Bernama
		Paramedic goes 'white to black' to lead medic team at <i>Bersih</i> 4	Neutral	Koh Jun Lin
		Police open sedition probe over Sept 16 rally posters	Neutral	No author
		Wan Azizah joins call for emergency session over Najib criticisms	Positive	No author
		Foreign Ministry monitoring M'sians involved in global <i>Bersih</i> 4	Negative	Bernama
		7/9/2015		<i>Bersih</i> stomping duo surrender to Bukit Aman police
<i>Bersih</i> : Stop distracting our fight for democratic reforms	Positive			No author
Cops summon Tian Chua over <i>Bersih</i> 4	Neutral			Kow Gah Chie
DBKL finally delivers cleaning bill to <i>Bersih</i>	Neutral			No author
Ex-IGP's son: Independent panel needed to appoint IGP	Neutral			No author
Hadi: PAS to contest in DAP dominated seats next GE	Neutral			No author

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
7/9/2015	News	Identify yourselves, Dyana dares Sept 16 rally organisers	Neutral	Koh Jun Lin
		Let the red shirts rally, PKR veep urges police	Positive	No author
		MP vows to put up legal battle if charged over <i>Bersih</i> T-shirt	Neutral	Radzi Razak
		Muslim group: Anti- <i>Bersih</i> red shirts don't speak for Malays	Neutral	No author
		Rahman: I'll dump the trash at <i>Bersih's</i> doorstep next time	Negative	No author
		Police won't allow Sept 16 rally to take place	Neutral	No author
8/9/2015	News	Be wise, Nancy advises Sept 16 rally-goers	Positive	Koh Jun Lin
		<i>Bersih</i> offers legal help to Najib-Hadi photo stompers	Neutral	No author
		<i>Bersih</i> roadshow to push for Najib no-confidence vote	Positive	Kow Gah Chie
		<i>Bersih</i> : Rahman stooped so low for suggesting to dump trash	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
		Get your brother to deal with govt's 'stupidity', Najib told	Neutral	No author
		Khairy keeps mum on 'red shirt' rally, for now	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Make clear your intentions for Sept 16 rally, red shirts told	Positive	Alyaa Azhar
		Maria, eight others charged over Kita Lawan rallies	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
		MCA: Don't hold red shirt rally at Bkt Bintang, Petaling St	Neutral	No author
		Mystery surrounds organiser of 'red shirt' rally	Negative	Hafiz Yatim
		NCCIM: Economy can't afford provocative rallies	Neutral	No author
		PAS says won't be joining in 'red shirts' demo	Neutral	No author
		Saifuddin: Peaceful public assemblies the new normal	Positive	Geraldine Tong
		Tian: Nine charged to scare rakyat from attending rallies	Positive	Kow Gah Chie
		Umno members will back 'red shirts' for Malay dignity	Negative	Low Chia Ming
		Zahid gives Umno members green light for red shirt rally	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		PAS MP: Let's not have rallies based on race	Neutral	Geraldine Tong
		9/9/2015	News	1,000 Sri Gading Umno members expected at Sept 16 rally
Cops probe Rafizi over 'Tangkap Najib, Rosmah' call	Neutral			No author

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
9/9/2015	News	Dr M: No need for red shirt rally to counter <i>Bersih</i>	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		'It's best for non-Muslims to avoid red shirt rally'	Neutral	Alyaa Azhar
		Jamal confirms Pesaka organising Sept 16 rally	Neutral	Alyaa Azhar
		Mahathir: Go ahead, arrest me	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Malay NGOs slam labelling of <i>Bersih</i> 4 as 'Chinese'	Positive	No author
		Najib won't stop Umno members from joining red shirts rally	Neutral	Radzi Razak
		Najib: <i>Bersih</i> hypocritical in asking me about RM2.6b	Negative	Radzi Razak
		PKR: Zahid, tell us if you support the racial Sept 16 rally	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
		Rafidah slams 'shallow' critics over 'red shirt' rally	Neutral	No author
		'Up to police to act against Dr M on <i>Bersih</i> rally'	Neutral	Bernamea
		We won't arrest Mahathir, says IGP	Neutral	Susan Loone
		Why gung-ho on <i>Bersih</i> , no opinion on 'red shirt', Zahid asked	Neutral	No author
		Siti Hasmah: I can't say I'm ready for Dr M to be jailed	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
10/9/2015		'Dr M colonised by opposition so he attended <i>Bersih</i> rally'	Negative	Anne muhammad
		G25, 68 NGOs join forces for reforms amid RM2.6bil scandal	Neutral	No author
		KL cops blast calls for Bkt Bintang rally	Neutral	No author
		MCA sees red over red shirts rally, calls it racist	Neutral	No author
		Post- <i>Bersih</i> witch hunt by police stinks of RM2.6b cover up	Neutral	No author
		'Red shirt' organiser keeps mum, less than a week before rally	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
		S'gor PAS bans members from red shirts protest	Neutral	No author
		Umno Youth members can join rally of red shirts	Neutral	Alyaa Azhar
		Websites promoting red rally risk MCMC block 'if illegal'	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
11/9/2015		Go red if you're Malay enough, Jamal dares Dr M	Neutral	Shakira Buang
		Jamal now invites Chinese, Indians for 'red shirt' rally	Neutral	Shakira Buang
		Not all 'red shirt' rally participants love Najib, says NGO leader	Neutral	Hafiz Yatim

Date	Type	Title	Slant	Author
<i>Malaysiakini</i>				
11/9/2015	News	Red shirt rally will be illegal if police don't get notice	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Rights group: Kita Lawan charges retaliation for <i>Bersih</i> 4	Positive	No author
		Wedding dinners cancelled over red shirt rally concerns	Neutral	No author
		Malacca Umno denies mobilising members for 'red shirt' rally	Neutral	Kow Gah Chie
12/9/2015		Ex-minister: Red shirt rally may be aborted if Dr M turns up	Neutral	No author
		Hadi: If a leader turns thief, people will turn robbers	Neutral	Adrian Wong
		Jamal: Only one Sept 16 rally, we'll follow silat group	Neutral	Zikri Kamarulzaman
		Silat group: Our rally is different from red shirt march	Negative	Zikri Kamarulzaman
13/9/2015		DAP: Umno man's admission on anti- <i>Bersih</i> rally shocking	Positive	No author
		Interfaith body prays for peace as anti- <i>Bersih</i> rally looms	Neutral	M. Krishnamoorthy
	PM: Street rallies not the way to show love for nation	Negative	Adrian Wong	
31/8/2015	Opinion Column	The irony of Najib's '1Malaysia'	Positive	Mariam Mokhtar
1/9/2015		Do idiots run Malaysia	Positive	KJ John
5/9/2015		<i>Bersih</i> yellow beats BN yellow	Positive	Dean Johns
7/9/2015		Is Umno Baru the Malays	Positive	Mariam Mokhtar
9/9/2015		Post- <i>Bersih</i> 4, human rights still a long way to go	Positive	Andrew Khoo
11/9/2015		World envy turns to enmity	Neutral	Dean Johns
12/9/2015		PM Najib seems to be drawing all the bad vibes	Positive	Stephen Ng'

## APPENDIX G

### Themes and Coding Categories found for *Bersih 4.0*

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
<i>Bersih 4.0</i>	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is disruptive/has caused disharmony in the country	3		1	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are rude	9	2	16	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is illegal	3	1	3	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is a peaceful rally	8	4	6	1
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> victims of a few/saboteurs	2	1	7	1
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> has damaged the city	3	1	3	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> are responsible organisers and supporters	4	2	2	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is transparent and clear with its goals	7	4	10	1
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> has brought good business to nearby traders	2	1	1	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> has wide support	5	3	18	2
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is not racist	5	3	14	2
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is pro-Opposition/has been hijacked by the Opposition	4		4	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> needs to do something else rather than to demonstrate	1			
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters are hypocrites	1	1	1	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> was predominantly Chinese/is racist	8	6	9	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is also a call to get PM Najib Razak to step down	3	1	30	2
<i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are patriotic	2	2			

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
<i>Bersih 4.0</i>	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> shows change is possible in Malaysia	2	2	1	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is not hijacked by the Opposition	1		1	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is not disruptive	1		1	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are threatened by anarchists	1			
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> 's efforts to topple government or initiate reforms will be futile	1		4	
	Anwar is no longer a factor for <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	1			
	PAS was a major contributor to previous <i>Bersih</i> rallies	1		2	
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> will take action against the government	1		5	
	Malays are scared to join <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			1	1
	<i>Bersih 4.0</i> will not apologise for the actions of a few			6	
	PM Najib Razak should heed <i>Bersih 4.0</i> 's demands			2	
	Questionable motives in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			2	
UMNO can be negatively affected by <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			1		
Red Shirt Rally	Red Shirt Rally is disruptive	9	1	5	
	Red Shirt Rally to demonstrate "Malay Unity"	2	1	5	
	Red Shirt Rally has strong grassroots support	4		9	
	Red Shirt Rally is racist/against the Malaysian spirit of national unity	7	2	14	
	Red Shirt Rally will be peaceful and will follow the rules	2		3	
	Red Shirt Rally is illegal/has not obtained the necessary permits	4		5	

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Red Shirt Rally	UMNO supporters will be joining/not stopped from joining the rally	3	1	8	
	Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective	5	2	10	
	UMNO can be negatively affected by the Red Shirt Rally	1	1		
	There is no need to organise the Red Shirt Rally	4		2	
	Red Shirt Rally does not represent the Malays	2		2	
	Red Shirt Rally is not racist	2		4	
	Red Shirt Rally's demands are questionable	1			
	UMNO superiority over <i>Bersih</i> supporters			1	
	Red Shirt Rally to show support for PM Najib			3	
Red Shirt Rally may be cancelled if Mahathir joined			1		
MCA	MCA will defend Malaysia from racists	3		1	
	MCA is doing good for the community	1			
	MCA will deal with people who go against party lines	1		2	
	MCA will still not get back the support from the Chinese following <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	1		1	
	Someone from MCA joined the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally			1	
	MCA is as "racist" as UMNO in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			2	
	MCA still has not gone soft on issues such as <i>Bersih 4.0</i> /Red Shirt Rally	1	1	1	
	MCA has gone soft on issues such as <i>Bersih 4.0</i> /Red Shirt Rally			2	

Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Mahathir	Mahathir was forced to join the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally			1	
	Mahathir is going against his principles by attending the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally			1	
	Mahathir has an agenda coming to the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally			2	
	Mahathir is still unable to attract the Malays to come to <i>Bersih 4.0</i>	1		1	
	Mahathir is now pro-Opposition for joining <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			3	
	Mahathir joined <i>Bersih 4.0</i> because he wants to save UMNO			2	
	Grudges against Mahathir for attending <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			4	2
	Mahathir joined <i>Bersih 4.0</i> because he is angry			5	
PDRM	PDRM were cooperative with <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters	5	3	10	
	PDRM will take/are taking action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and demonstrators	10		29	1
	PDRM will decide if the Red Shirt Rally is illegal	1		1	
	PDRM will be ready for the Red Shirt Rally	4		2	
	PDRM are acting according to SOP	1		4	
	PDRM are taking excessive action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters			9	1
	PDRM were forced to act against <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			3	
	PDRM should not be biased when taking action			10	
	PDRM will take/are taking action against Red Shirt Rally organisers/supporters	1		3	
Government	Government will take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally goers			3	



Themes	Coding Categories (Frames)	<i>The Star</i>		<i>Malaysiakini</i>	
		News articles	Opinion columns	News articles	Opinion columns
Government	Government's reaction to <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was excessive			10	3
	Government should not take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> /not biased			3	
	Government politicians sowing hatred following <i>Bersih 4.0</i>			2	
	Government is not listening to the people's demands			3	1
	Sarawak Government willing to engage with <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers democratically			1	
	Questionable government moves			9	1
Demonstrations	Demonstrations are "not our culture"	3	2	3	
	Demonstrations has always been part of our culture		2	1	
	Every citizen has a right to demonstrate		2	16	1
DBKL	DBKL cannot prove <i>Bersih 4.0</i> dirtied the streets	1			

## APPENDIX H

**The most identified coding categories, similarities and differences in coding categories found.**

### **Authorities (*Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*)**

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorities should take action against troublemakers</li> </ul> <p>Opinion Columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DBKL cannot proved <i>Bersih 4.0</i> dirtied the streets</li> </ul>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorities are possibly biased against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goers.</li> <li>• Authorities should take action against the brutality imposed onto <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers.</li> <li>• Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers</li> </ul> <p>Opinion Columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers</li> <li>• Authorities are possibly biased against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goers.</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers – used in both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> opinion columns	
<u>Differences</u>	“Authorities are possibly biased against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goers” and “Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers” absent from <i>The Star</i>	

### **Bar Council (*Bersih 3.0*)**

Analysis	Findings
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	“Bar Council is partisan and has lost credibility” – applies to both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles
<u>Similarities</u>	The frame “Bar Council is partisan and has lost credibility” was used in both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles.
<u>Differences</u>	The frames "Bar Council is inconsistent in its probe report" and "Bar Council does not accept dissent" not found in <i>Malaysiakini</i>

### ***Bersih 3.0 and Bersih 4.0***

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u></p> <p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers.</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has been hijacked by political parties who may or may not want to topple the government.</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers should have compromised with the government</li> </ul>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u></p> <p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has wide support</li> <li>• A reiteration of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>'s 8 demands</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers.</li> </ul>

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories (cont')</u>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u></p> <p>News Articles (cont')</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers has a political agenda</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions</li> </ul> <p>Opinion Columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is a peaceful and festive event</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers are troublemakers</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers are victims of some troublemakers</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <p>News articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are rude</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is a peaceful rally</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is disruptive/has caused disharmony in the country</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is illegal</li> </ul>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u></p> <p>Opinion Columns (cont')</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is a peaceful and festive event</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has wide support</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions</li> <li>• Justifications on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> Kuala Lumpur rally being held in Dataran Merdeka</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <p>News articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is also a call to get PM Najib Razak to step down</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are rude</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> has wide support</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is transparent and clear with its goals</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was predominantly Chinese/is racist</li> </ul>

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories (cont')</u>	<p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <p>News articles (cont')</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are responsible organisers and supporters</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is transparent and clear with its goals</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is pro-Opposition/has been hijacked by the Opposition</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was predominantly Chinese/is racist</li> </ul> <p>Opinion columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was predominantly Chinese/is racist</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is transparent and clear with its goals</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is a peaceful rally</li> </ul>	<p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <p>Opinion columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> has wide support</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is not racist</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is also a call to get PM Najib Razak to step down</li> </ul>

Analysis	Findings
<p><u>Similarities</u></p>	<p><u>Bersih 3.0</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The frames “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has wide support” and “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers has tarnished Malaysia’s image” were used in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>’s news articles and opinion columns</li> </ul> <p><u>Bersih 4.0</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The frames "<i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are rude", "<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is transparent and clear with its goals" and "<i>Bersih 4.0</i> was predominantly Chinese/is racist" were used in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>'s news articles.</li> </ul> <p><u>Both <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Both <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> coverage covers frames like "<i>Bersih</i> is disruptive", "<i>Bersih</i> is a peaceful rally", "<i>Bersih</i> has wide support", "<i>Bersih</i> has been hijacked" and "Questionable elements in <i>Bersih</i>"</li> </ul>
<p><u>Differences</u></p>	<p><u>Bersih 3.0</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>The Star</i> had far more instances of the frame “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has been hijacked by political parties who may or may not want to topple the government” than <i>Malaysiakini</i></li> <li>“A reiteration of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>’s 8 demands” was not found on <i>The Star</i> ’s news articles, but was found on one of the opinion columns, while there were 11 instances of the frame found in <i>Malaysiakini</i>’s news articles.</li> <li>“A reiteration of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>’s 8 demands” was not found on <i>The Star</i> ’s news articles, but was found on one of the opinion columns, while there were 11 instances of the frame found in <i>Malaysiakini</i>’s news articles.</li> </ul>

Analysis	Findings
<p><u>Differences (cont')</u></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The frames “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has questionable elements such as communists”, “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers a victim of Rapid KL’s actions”, “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers does not intend to overthrow government”, “A reiteration of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>’s 8 demands”, “Justifications on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> Kuala Lumpur rally being held in Dataran Merdeka”, “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is against Islam”, “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is not against Islam” and “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> is not wrong in breaching PDRM barrier to go to Dataran Merdeka” were not found in <i>The Star</i> ’s news articles.</li> <li>• The frames “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> has lost support from Malaysians” and “<i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally-goers has tarnished Malaysia’s image” were not found in <i>Malaysiakini</i>’s news articles.</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>The Star</i> had more frames of "<i>Bersih 4.0</i> is disruptive/has caused disharmony in the country" than <i>Malaysiakini</i></li> <li>• Several frames were absent from <i>The Star</i>, including " Malays are scared to join <i>Bersih 4.0</i>", "<i>Bersih 4.0</i> will not apologise for the actions of a few", " PM Najib Razak should heed <i>Bersih 4.0</i>'s demands", " Questionable motives in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>" and " UMNO can be negatively affected by <i>Bersih 4.0</i>"</li> </ul> <p><u>Both <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In both <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i>, frames that generally critique the government's actions over <i>Bersih</i> is absent from <i>The Star</i>. Such frames include "PM Najib Razak should heed <i>Bersih 4.0</i>'s demands" and "Questionable motives in <i>Bersih 4.0</i>"</li> <li>• Frames that generally critique <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> are absent in <i>Malaysiakini</i>. Such frames include "<i>Bersih 4.0</i> needs to do something else rather than to demonstrate" and "<i>Bersih</i> has divided Malaysians "</li> </ul>

### Election Commission (*Bersih 3.0*)

Analysis	Findings
<u>Similarities</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EC does not want to be associated with <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> <li>• EC has taken action to meet <i>Bersih 3.0</i>'s demands</li> <li>• EC is victim of Pakatan/<i>Bersih 3.0</i>'s tactics</li> </ul>
<u>Differences</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "EC is partisan/biased towards the government" was not identified in <i>The Star</i> ; present in <i>Malaysiakini</i>'s news articles and opinion columns</li> <li>• "EC people should resign" was also not found in <i>The Star</i> while it was present in <i>Malaysiakini</i>'s news articles</li> </ul>

### Mainstream Media (*Bersih 3.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainstream media journalists are victims of PDRM's actions during the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally</li> </ul>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro is controlled by the government</li> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro were unbalanced and unfair to <i>Bersih</i></li> </ul>



Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories (cont')</u>		News Articles (cont') <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro portray <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goers as villains</li> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro are the government's propaganda machine</li> </ul> Opinion columns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro is controlled by the government</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainstream media journalists' victim of government's actions</li> </ul>	
<u>Differences</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Almost no frames on the mainstream media and Astro in regard to <i>Bersih 3.0</i>; <i>Malaysiakini</i> has 8 frames.</li> </ul>	

### Government (*Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<p><u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u></p>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government is responding to the people's demands</li> <li>• Government is able to hold peaceful gatherings</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <p>No frames were found in regards to "government" .</p>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government is superior to <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i></li> <li>• Government supporters are calling for action taken against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers and organizers</li> <li>• Government is inferior to <i>Bersih 3.0</i>, <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> and the people</li> <li>• Government is cracking down on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goers</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u> News articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government's reaction to <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was excessive</li> <li>• Questionable Government Moves</li> <li>• Government should not take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i>/not biased</li> <li>• Government will take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally goers</li> </ul>

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories (cont')</u>		<u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u> <u>Opinion columns (cont')</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government's reaction to <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was excessive</li> <li>• Government is not listening to the people's demands</li> <li>• Questionable Government Moves</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<u><i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> have frames in regards to "Questionable Government Moves" and how the government will take action against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally goers.</li> </ul>	
<u>Differences</u>	Not found in <i>The Star</i> 's news articles: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government is afraid of clean and fair elections,</li> <li>• Government has established probe panel on how PDRM tackled <i>Bersih 3.0</i>,</li> <li>• Government impacted negatively over <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> <li>• Government is playing dirty politics</li> <li>• Government has labeled its critics as politicians</li> <li>• Government is insincere in reforms</li> <li>• Government did not handle the matter well</li> <li>• Government is inferior to <i>Bersih 3.0</i>, <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> and the people</li> <li>• Government is democratic</li> <li>• Government is cracking down on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goers</li> </ul>	

Analysis	Findings
<u>Differences</u>	<p>Not found in <i>The Star</i> 's news articles (cont'):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government should apologise over how it handled the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally.</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <p>Not found in <i>The Star</i>'s news articles and opinion columns:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government's reaction to <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was excessive</li> <li>• Government should not take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i>/not biased</li> <li>• Government politicians sowing hatred following <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• Government is not listening to the people's demands</li> <li>• Questionable Government Moves</li> <li>• Government will take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally goers</li> </ul>

### ***Pakatan Rakyat (Bersih 3.0)***

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> should not fool people that the election process is not clean and fair</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> cannot accept dissent</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is not the instigator of barricade breach</li> </ul>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is helping and supporting <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is not the instigator of barricade breach</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> has questionable elements</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> intends to change government via <i>Bersih 3.0</i>.</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka</li> </ul>	
<u>Differences</u>	<p>Not found in <i>The Star</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is prioritising other issues such as <i>Bersih 3.0</i> instead of other more pressing issues</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> has questionable elements</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is helping and supporting <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> </ul>	<p>Not found in <i>Malaysiakini</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is not fit to rule the country</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> should not fool people that the election process is not clean and fair</li> </ul>

### PDRM (*Bersih 3.0* and *Bersih 4.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<p><u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u></p>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM victims of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goer's provocation</li> <li>• PDRM is brutal or used excessive force</li> </ul> <p>Opinion Columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM is brutal or used excessive force.</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM will take/are taking action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and demonstrators</li> <li>• PDRM were cooperative with <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters</li> <li>• PDRM will be ready for the Red Shirt Rally</li> </ul>	<p><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM is brutal or used excessive force</li> <li>• PDRM interfered with journalists' work</li> <li>• PDRM's actions not justified</li> <li>• PDRM is taking action against rally goers</li> </ul> <p>Opinion Columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM used by the government to make <i>Bersih 3.0</i> violent</li> <li>• PDRM's actions not justified</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u> News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM will take/are taking action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and demonstrators</li> <li>• PDRM should not be biased when taking action</li> <li>• PDRM were cooperative with <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters</li> </ul>

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories (cont')</u>	<u>Bersih 4.0 (cont')</u> Opinion Columns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM were cooperative with <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters</li> </ul>	<u>Bersih 4.0 (cont')</u> Opinion columns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM will take/are taking action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and demonstrators</li> <li>• PDRM are taking excessive action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<u>Bersih 3.0</u> Found in both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles and opinion columns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM is brutal or used excessive force</li> <li>• PDRM's actions not justified</li> <li>• PDRM victims of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organizers and rally goer's provocation</li> </ul> <u>Bersih 4.0</u> Found in both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PDRM were cooperative with <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters</li> <li>• PDRM will take/are taking action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and demonstrators</li> <li>• PDRM will take/are taking action against Red Shirt Rally organisers/supporters</li> <li>• PDRM are acting according to SOP</li> <li>• PDRM will decide if the Red Shirt Rally is illegal</li> <li>• PDRM will be ready for the Red Shirt Rally</li> </ul>	

Analysis	Findings
<u>Similarities (cont')</u>	<p data-bbox="535 461 1050 488"><u>Found in both <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <ul data-bbox="583 500 1669 727" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="583 500 1402 527">• Frames revolving around the PDRM taking excessive action</li> <li data-bbox="583 537 1430 565">• Frames revolving around the PDRM managing the crowd well</li> <li data-bbox="583 574 1419 602">• Frames revolving around the PDRM acting according to SOP</li> <li data-bbox="583 612 1604 639">• Frames revolving around the PDRM taking action against <i>Bersih</i> supporters</li> <li data-bbox="583 649 1640 677">• Frames revolving around how the PDRM should not be biased in taking action</li> <li data-bbox="583 686 1669 714">• Frames revolving around the PDRM were forced to act against <i>Bersih</i> supporters</li> </ul>
<u>Differences</u>	<p data-bbox="535 769 672 797"><u><i>Bersih 3.0</i></u></p> <p data-bbox="535 807 821 834">Not found in <i>The Star</i></p> <ul data-bbox="583 844 1814 1185" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="583 844 1314 872">• PDRM did not recognise the Bar Council as monitors</li> <li data-bbox="583 881 1062 909">• PDRM infringed on human rights</li> <li data-bbox="583 919 1140 946">• PDRM interfered with journalists' work</li> <li data-bbox="583 956 953 984">• PDRM's actions justified</li> <li data-bbox="583 993 1199 1021">• PDRM did not learn from previous mistakes</li> <li data-bbox="583 1031 1381 1058">• PDRM used by the government to make <i>Bersih 3.0</i> violent</li> <li data-bbox="583 1068 1362 1096">• PDRM will take action against unruly police/set up panel</li> <li data-bbox="583 1105 1814 1133">• PDRM is insincere in apologising for its mistakes at the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally in Dataran Merdeka</li> <li data-bbox="583 1143 1115 1170">• PDRM should be fair in taking action</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="535 1227 672 1255"><u><i>Bersih 4.0</i></u></p> <p data-bbox="535 1265 821 1292">Not found in <i>The Star</i></p> <ul data-bbox="583 1302 1451 1411" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="583 1302 1451 1330">• PDRM are taking excessive action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters</li> <li data-bbox="583 1339 1241 1367">• PDRM should not be biased when taking action</li> <li data-bbox="583 1377 1199 1404">• PDRM were forced to act against <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul>



### Probe Panel (*Bersih 3.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Former IGP Hanif Omar is joining the probe panel</li> <li>• Suhakam and Bar Council are not included in the probe panel</li> <li>• Explanation on the purposes of setting up the probe panel</li> </ul>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Former IGP Hanif Omar should be replaced/resign/not accept position in the probe panel</li> <li>• Probe panel is allegedly one-sided</li> <li>• The probe panel should bring in United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue.</li> <li>• Someone else should be leading the probe panel instead</li> <li>• Probe panel has no power</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<p><i>Malaysiakini</i> and <i>The Star</i> news articles has similar instances in having the following frames:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Former IGP Hanif Omar is joining the probe panel</li> <li>• Probe panel has freedom to choose panelist</li> <li>• Suhakam and Bar Council are not included in the probe panel</li> <li>• Former IGP Hanif Omar should be replaced/resign/not accept position in the probe panel</li> <li>• Royal Commission of Inquiry should be set up instead of a probe panel.</li> </ul>	

Analysis	Findings
<u>Differences</u>	<p>Not found in <i>The Star</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Probe panel is allegedly one-sided</li> <li>• Probe panel promises to be unbiased</li> <li>• The probe panel should bring in United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue.</li> <li>• Someone else should be leading the probe panel</li> <li>• Probe panel has no power.</li> <li>• Not found in <i>Malaysiakini</i>, found in <i>The Star</i></li> <li>• Explanation on the purposes of setting up the probe panel There is nothing wrong with Former IGP Hanif Omar joining the probe panel</li> </ul>

### **Suhakam (*Bersih 3.0*)**

Analysis	Findings
<u>Similarities</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The frame “Suhakam should conduct an inquiry was found in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles</li> </ul>
<u>Differences</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>The Star</i> had one instance of the frame “Suhakam should be on the panel”, but there was none in <i>Malaysiakini</i>’s news coverage.</li> </ul>

### Red Shirt Rally (*Bersih 4.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified frames</u>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is disruptive</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is Racist/against the Malaysian Spirit of Unity</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective</li> <li>• There is no need to organise the Red Shirt Rally</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally has strong grass root support</li> </ul> <p>Opinion columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is Racist/against the Malaysian Spirit of Unity</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective</li> </ul>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is racist/against the Malaysian spirit of national unity</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally has strong grass root support.</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<p>Both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles had these frames:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is disruptive</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally to demonstrate "Malay Unity"</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally has strong grass root support</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is racist/against the Malaysian spirit of national unity</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally will be peaceful and will follow the rules.</li> </ul>	

Analysis	Findings
<u>Similarities (cont')</u>	<p>Both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles had these frames (cont'):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is illegal/has not obtained the necessary permits</li> <li>• UMNO supporters will be joining/not stopped from joining the rally</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective</li> <li>• There is no need to organise the Red Shirt Rally</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally does not represent the Malays</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is not racist</li> </ul>
<u>Differences</u>	<p>Not found in <i>The Star</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UMNO superiority over <i>Bersih</i> supporters</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally to show support for PM Najib</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally may be cancelled if Mahathir joined</li> </ul> <p>Far more instances in <i>The Star</i> than <i>Malaysiakini</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is disruptive</li> </ul> <p>Not found in <i>Malaysiakini</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UMNO can be negatively affected by the Red Shirt Rally</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally's demands are questionable</li> </ul>

### MCA (*Bersih 4.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MCA will defend Malaysia from racists</li> </ul> <p>Opinion columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MCA has not gone soft on issues such as <i>Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt Rally</i></li> </ul>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MCA is as "racist" as UMNO in <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>MCA will deal with people who go against party lines.</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<p>Both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles had these frames:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MCA will defend Malaysia from racists</li> <li>MCA will deal with people who go against party lines</li> <li>MCA will still not get back the support from the Chinese following <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>MCA still has not gone soft on issues such as <i>Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt Rally</i>.</li> </ul>	
<u>Differences</u>	<p>Not found in <i>The Star</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Someone from MCA joined the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally</li> <li>MCA is as "racist" as UMNO in <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>MCA has gone soft on issues such as <i>Bersih 4.0/Red Shirt</i></li> </ul> <p>Far more instances in <i>The Star</i> than <i>Malaysiakini</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MCA will defend Malaysia from racists.</li> </ul> <p>Not found in <i>Malaysiakini</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MCA is doing good for the community</li> </ul>	

### Mahathir (*Bersih 4.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mahathir is still unable to attract the Malays to come to <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul>	<p>News Articles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mahathir joined <i>Bersih 4.0</i> because he is angry</li> <li>• Mahathir is now pro-Opposition for joining <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul> <p>Opinion columns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grudges against Mahathir for attending <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<p>Both <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles had this frame:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mahathir is still unable to attract the Malays to come to <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> </ul>	
<u>Differences</u>	<p>Not found in <i>The Star</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mahathir was forced to join the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally</li> <li>• Mahathir is going against his principles by attending the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally</li> <li>• Mahathir has an agenda coming to the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally</li> <li>• Mahathir is now pro-Opposition for joining <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• Mahathir joined <i>Bersih 4.0</i> because he wants to save UMNO</li> <li>• Grudges against Mahathir for attending <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• Mahathir joined <i>Bersih 4.0</i> because he is angry</li> </ul>	

### Demonstrations (*Bersih 4.0*)

Analysis	Findings	
	<i>The Star</i>	<i>Malaysiakini</i>
<u>Most Identified Coding Categories</u>	News Articles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrations are not our culture</li> </ul>	News Articles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Every citizen has a right to demonstrate/take part in democracy</li> </ul>
<u>Similarities</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>'s news articles all feature the frame "Demonstrations are 'not part of our culture'"</li> <li>• <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>'s opinion columns all feature the frame "Every citizen has a right to demonstrate"</li> </ul>	
<u>Differences</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>The Star</i>'s news does not feature the frames "Demonstrations have always been part of our culture" and "Every citizen has a right to demonstrate". They were only featured in the opinion columns of <i>The Star</i>.</li> </ul>	

## APPENDIX I

### Steps in Content Analysis

No.	Steps in Content analysis	Methodology
1	Deciding to use content analysis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) Research objective<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Determine coding categories found in <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> for the immediate aftermath of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> and identify their similarities and difference.</li></ul></li><li>2) Data available<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- News articles and opinion columns available from <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i>; retrieved from their websites</li></ul></li><li>3) Kinds of Analyses<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Clustering the coding categories</li><li>- Determining the frequency of those coding categories</li><li>- Determining the frequency of the news articles and opinion columns</li></ul></li></ol>
2	Determining what materials should be included in content analysis.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) Quantitative sampling of <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i> news articles and opinion columns based on a set of criteria.</li><li>2) After filtration, 457 articles will be analysed<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- <i>The Star</i><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 95 news articles and 15 opinion columns</li></ul></li><li>- <i>Malaysiakini</i><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 334 news articles and 13 opinion columns</li></ul></li></ul></li></ol>
3	Select units of analysis.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) Determining context units<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Anything related to <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Bersih 4.0</i> based on criteria</li></ul></li><li>2) Determining recording units<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- The sentences, paragraphs, or the entire context of analysis</li></ul></li></ol>



No.	Steps in Content analysis	Methodology
4	Develop coding categories.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Reading the entire article first</li> <li>2) Come up with a very loosely defined preconceptions of coding categories</li> <li>3) Place the coding categories into the various themes set by the researcher</li> </ol>
5	Coding the materials.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Coding categories are assigned to the recording units using QDA Miner</li> <li>2) Coding categories are re-checked with newly-identified ones and then coded if it was not identified the first time round</li> <li>3) All news articles and opinion columns are then re-checked to ensure no further overlapping of coding categories. If they are, they are removed or merged.</li> </ol>
6	Analysing and interpreting the results.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Quantitative content analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Size of total coverage</li> <li>- Number of articles sorted according to slant</li> <li>- Frequency of coding categories</li> </ul> </li> <li>2) Qualitative textual analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Coding categories that are identified the most</li> <li>- Similarities and differences in coverage between <i>The Star</i> and <i>Malaysiakini</i></li> </ul> </li> </ol>

## APPENDIX J

### Comparison Between Coding Categories Found and Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) Frames

Frames	Comparison with researcher's coding categories	
	<i>Bersih 3.0</i>	<i>Bersih 4.0</i>
Attribution of Responsibility		
<p>Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 9 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 1 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers</li> <li>• Authorities are possibly biased against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally goers.</li> <li>• Bar Council may take action against the government over the latter's reaction towards the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally</li> <li>• Government is afraid of clean and fair elections</li> <li>• PDRM is brutal or used excessive force</li> <li>• PDRM is at fault over violence and should apologise</li> <li>• PDRM will take action against unruly police/set up panel</li> <li>• Probe panel promises to be unbiased</li> <li>• Government did not handle the matter well</li> </ul>	<p>PDRM are taking excessive action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters</p>
<p>Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 5 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 1 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorities should take action against the brutality imposed onto <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers.</li> <li>• Authorities should have worked with <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers</li> <li>• PDRM is at fault over violence and should apologise</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers should be left alone</li> </ul>	<p>There is no need to organise the Red Shirt Rally</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorities should take action against trouble-makers</li> </ul>	
<p>Does the story suggest that some level of gov't has the ability to alleviate the problem?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 6 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 1 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EC has taken action to meet <i>Bersih 3.0</i>'s demands</li> <li>• Government has established probe panel on how police tackled <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> <li>• Government has met some or all of <i>Bersih 3.0</i>'s demands</li> <li>• Government responding to the people's demands.</li> <li>• Government will help journalists affected by <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> <li>• Probe panel promises to be unbiased</li> </ul>	<p>PDRM will take/are taking action against Red Shirt Rally organisers/supporters</p>
<p>Does the story suggest that an ind. (or group of people in society) is resp. for the issue-problem?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 6 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 2 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EC is partisan/ biased towards the government</li> <li>• Government is sincere in reforms but agencies not catching up</li> <li>• Government is a victim of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> and <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i>'s actions</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is the instigator of barricade breach at Dataran Merdeka</li> <li>• PDRM is brutal or used excessive force</li> <li>• PDRM is at fault over violence and should apologise</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is disruptive/has caused disharmony in the country</li> <li>• Police are taking excessive action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters</li> </ul>
Human Interest Frame		
<p>Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bar Council is partisan and has lost credibility</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is a peaceful and festive event.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is a peaceful rally</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> victims of a few/saboteurs</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was</li> </ul>

<p>sympathy, or compassion?</p> <p>Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 19 coding category</p> <p><i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 13 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is against Islam</li> <li>• Government is playing dirty politics.</li> <li>• Government is insincere in reforms</li> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro is the government's propaganda machine</li> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro are victims of PDRM's actions during the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> has questionable elements</li> <li>• PDRM is composed and managing the crowd well</li> <li>• PDRM is a victim of a minority of non-law abiding officers</li> <li>• PDRM is used by government to make <i>Bersih 3.0</i> violent</li> <li>• PDRM victims of <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally goer's provocation</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers are troublemakers</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> insincere in wanting election reforms</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers are victims of the authorities' actions</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers are victims of some troublemakers</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has questionable elements such as communists</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers a victim</li> </ul>	<p>predominantly Chinese/is racist</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are patriotic</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are threatened by anarchists</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally to demonstrate "Malay Unity"</li> <li>• MCA has gone soft on issues such as <i>Bersih 4.0</i>/Red Shirt Rally</li> <li>• Mahathir was forced to join the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally</li> <li>• PDRM were cooperative with <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters</li> <li>• PDRM were forced to act against <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• Malays are scared to join <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• MCA is doing good for the community</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> shows change is possible in Malaysia</li> </ul>
---	---	---

	<p>of Rapid KL's actions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EC is victim of Pakatan/<i>Bersih</i>'s tactics</li> </ul>	
<p>Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?</p> <p><i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 1 coding category</p>		<p>Red Shirt Rally does not represent the Malays</p>
Moral		
<p>Does the story contain any moral message?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 3 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 1 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has lost support from Malaysians.</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> failed to keep its promise</li> <li>• Middle ground voters will not support <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> because of <i>Bersih 3.0</i></li> </ul>	<p>Mahathir is going against his principles by attending the <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally</p>
<p>Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 13 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 3 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers should have compromised with the government</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> should have been disruptive to make an impact</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is not wrong in breaching PDRM barrier to go to Dataran Merdeka</li> <li>• People should not vote for Barisan Nasional because of how they treated <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers and organisers</li> <li>• Government should apologise over how it handled the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally</li> <li>• PDRM should be fair in taking action</li> <li>• The probe panel should bring in United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PM Najib Razak should heed <i>Bersih 4.0</i>'s demands</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is racist/against the Malaysian spirit of national unity</li> <li>• Government should not take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i>/not biased</li> </ul>

	<p>to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Someone else should be leading the probe panel</li> <li>• Royal Commission of Inquiry should be set up instead of a probe panel</li> <li>• Former IGP Hanif Omar should be replaced/resign/not accept position in the probe panel</li> <li>• Probe panel should be given a chance to carry out duties</li> <li>• Suhakam should conduct an inquiry</li> <li>• Suhakam should be on the probe panel</li> </ul>	
<b>Conflict</b>		
<p>Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 4 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 4 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bar Council does not accept dissent from its members.</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has divided Malaysians</li> <li>• EC people should resign</li> <li>• Government supporters are taking action against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> supporters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MCA will deal with people who go against party lines</li> <li>• MCA will still not get back the support from the Chinese following <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• Mahathir is now pro-Opposition for joining <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• Demonstrations are "not our culture"</li> </ul>
<p>Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 19 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 11 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers has a political agenda</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has been hijacked by political parties who may or may not want to topple the government.</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers has tarnished Malaysia's image</li> <li>• EC people should resign</li> <li>• Government supporters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> supporters are rude</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> is pro-Opposition/has been hijacked by the Opposition</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> needs to do something else rather than to demonstrate</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and supporters are hypocrites</li> </ul>

	<p>are calling for action taken against <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally goers and organisers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government is dictatorial</li> <li>• Mainstream media's reportage on <i>Bersih 3.0</i> is detrimental to the future of democracy in Malaysia</li> <li>• Mainstream media and/or Astro were unbalanced and unfair to <i>Bersih</i>.</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> should not fool people that the election process is not clean and fair</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> is prioritising other issues such as <i>Bersih 3.0</i> instead of other more pressing issues.</li> <li>• <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> cannot accept dissent</li> <li>• PDRM infringed on human rights</li> <li>• PDRM's action not justified</li> <li>• PDRM did not learn from previous mistakes</li> <li>• PDRM is taking action against rally goers</li> <li>• PDRM is insincere in apologising for its mistakes at the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally in Dataran Merdeka</li> <li>• PDRM tarnished the country's image</li> <li>• People overreacted to PDRM's approach in handling the <i>Bersih 3.0</i> rally</li> <li>• PDRM should be fair in taking action</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i>'s efforts to topple government or initiate reforms will be futile</li> <li>• MCA is as "racist" as UMNO in <i>Bersih 4.0</i></li> <li>• PDRM will take/are taking action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> organisers and demonstrators</li> <li>• PDRM should not be biased when taking action</li> <li>• Government will take action against <i>Bersih 4.0</i> rally goers</li> <li>• Government's reaction to <i>Bersih 4.0</i> was excessive</li> <li>• Government is not listening to the people's demands</li> </ul>
Does the story refer to winners and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 3.0</i> has wide support</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> has wide support</li> </ul>

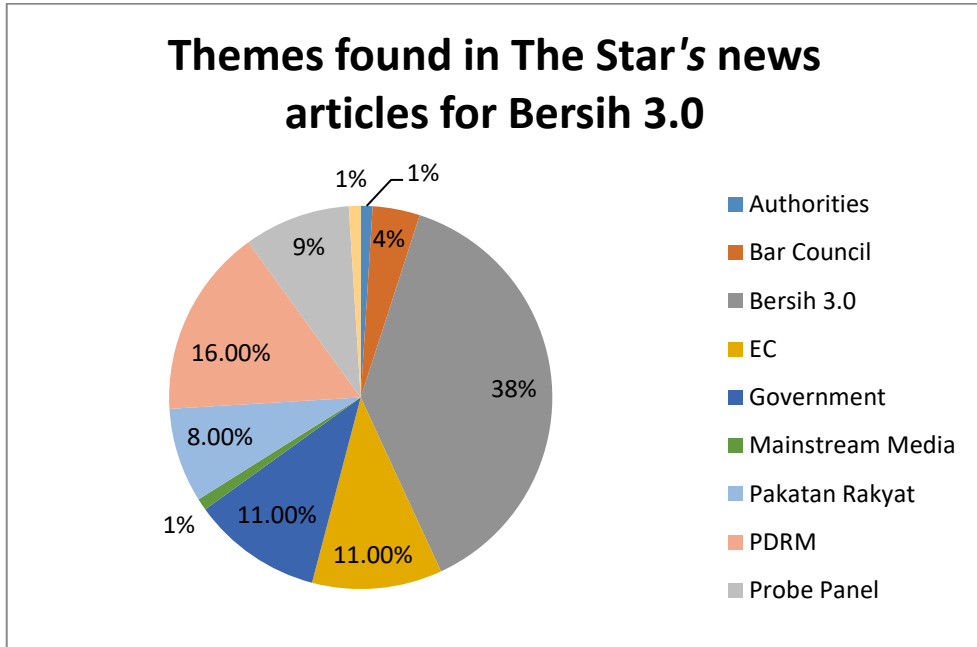
<p>losers?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 3 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 6 coding category</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government is inferior to <i>Bersih 3.0</i>, <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> and the people.</li> <li>• Government is superior to <i>Pakatan Rakyat</i>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Red Shirt Rally has strong grassroots support</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally does not have a clear organiser or objective</li> <li>• UMNO can be negatively affected by the Red Shirt Rally</li> <li>• UMNO superiority over <i>Bersih</i> supporters</li> <li>• Questionable Government moves</li> </ul>
<p>Economic frames</p>		
<p>Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 1 coding category <i>Bersih 4.0</i> – 3 coding category</p>	<p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers have caused traders losses</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> has damaged the city</li> <li>• <i>Bersih 4.0</i> has brought good business to nearby traders</li> <li>• Red Shirt Rally is disruptive</li> </ul>
<p>Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?</p> <p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> – 1 coding category</p>	<p><i>Bersih 3.0</i> organisers and rally-goers have caused traders losses</p>	



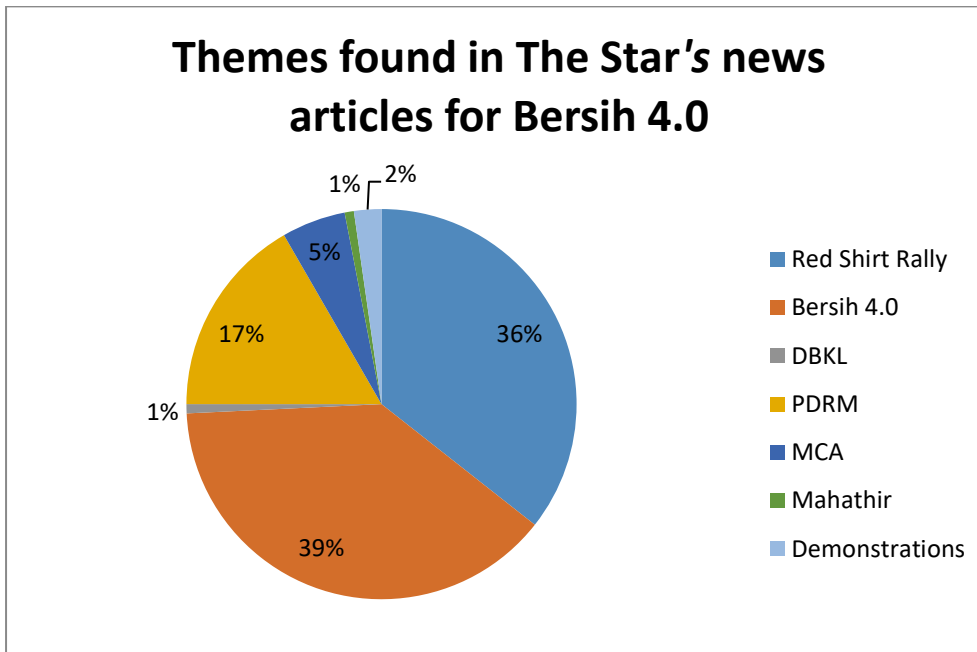
## APPENDIX K

### The entire coding category findings, broken down in figures

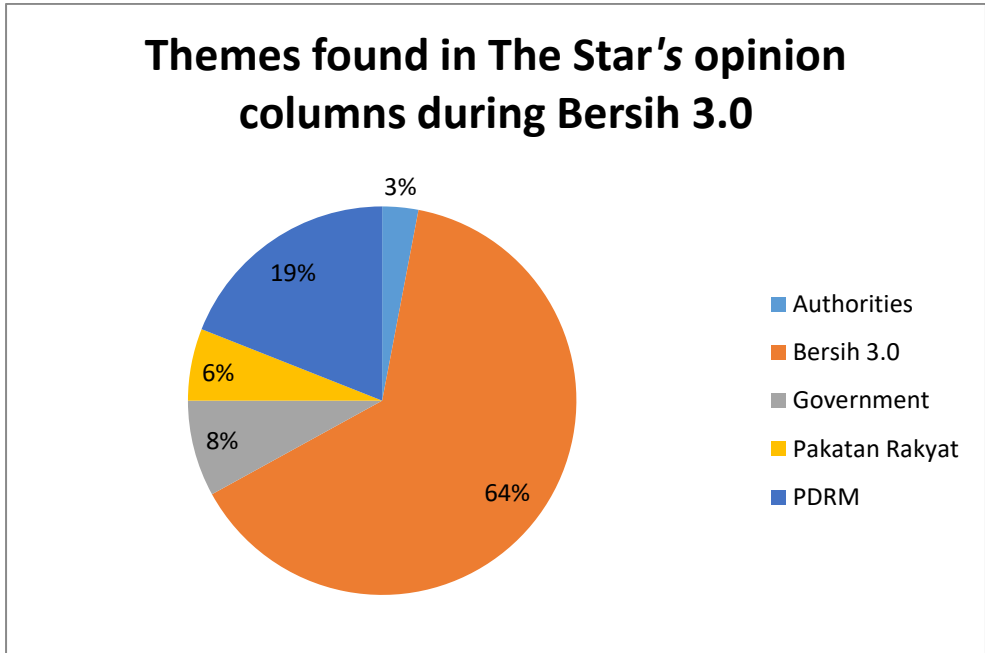
#### Themes found in *The Star* 's news articles during *Bersih 3.0*



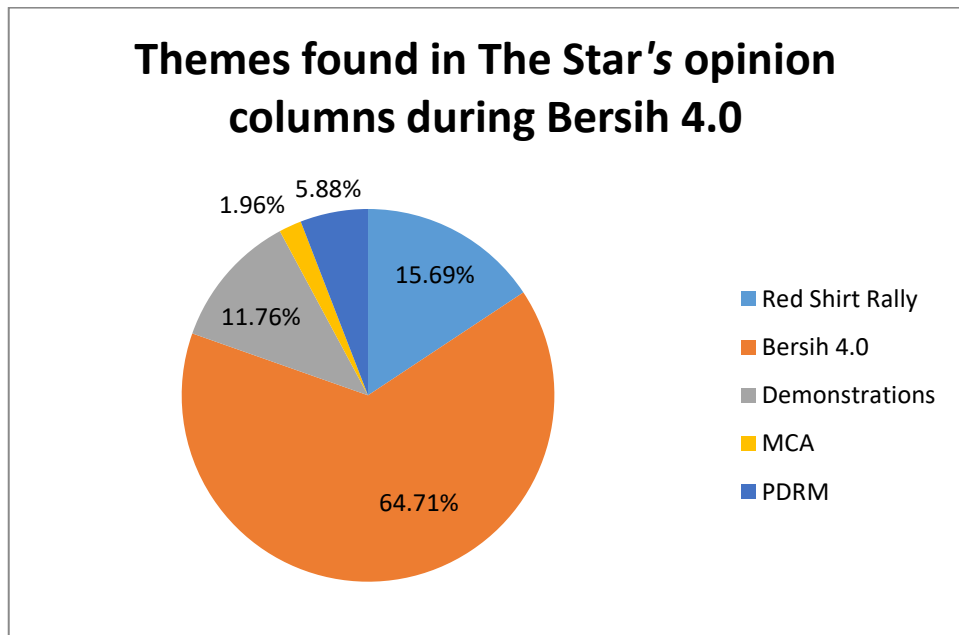
#### Themes found in *The Star* 's news articles during *Bersih 4.0*



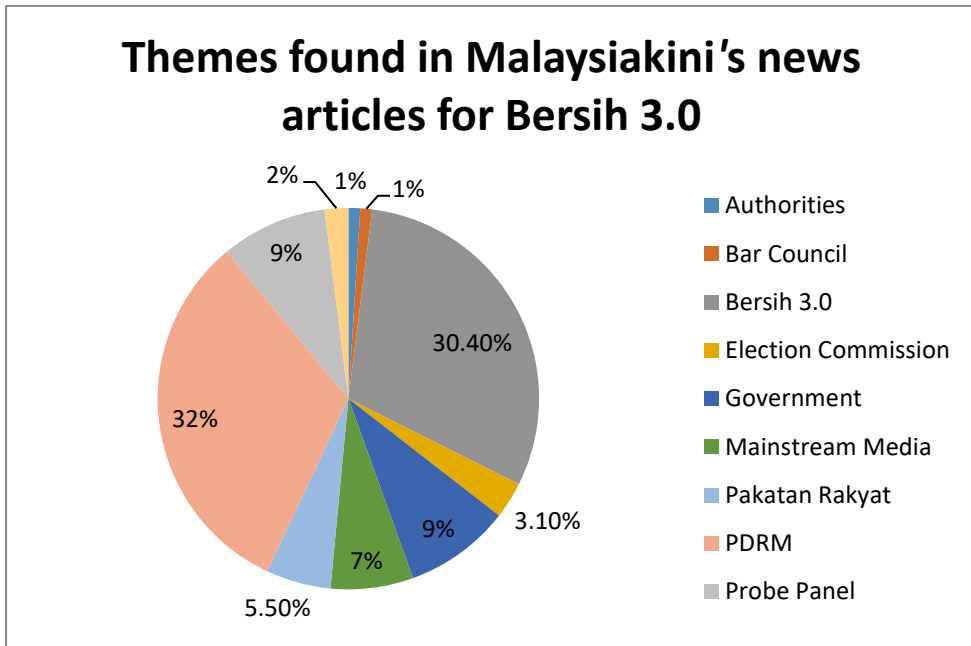
Themes found in *The Star* 's opinion columns during *Bersih 3.0*



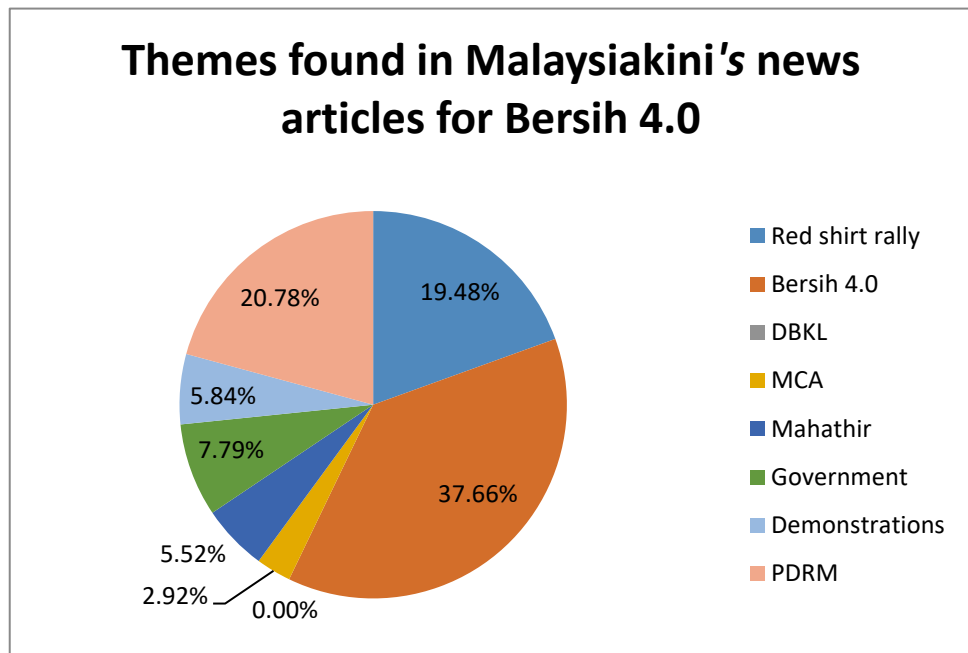
Themes found in *The Star* 's opinion columns during *Bersih 4.0*



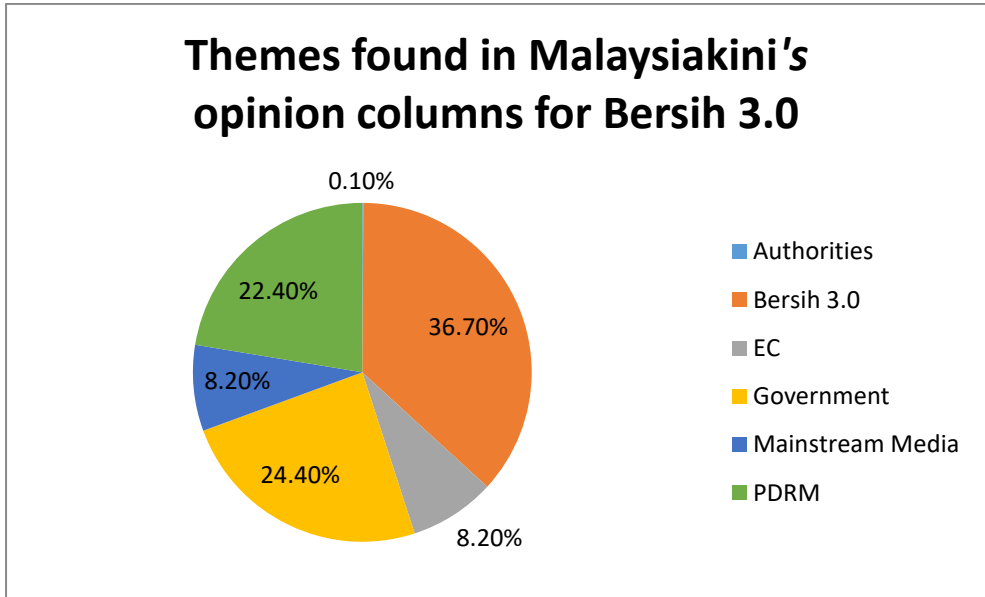
**Frames used in *Malaysiakini's* news articles during *Bersih 3.0*.**



**Themes found in *Malaysiakini's* news articles during *Bersih 4.0*.**



Themes found in *Malaysiakini's* opinion columns during *Bersih 3.0*.



Themes found in *Malaysiakini's* opinion columns during *Bersih 4.0*.

