THE USE OF PROPAGANDA IN MALAYSIAKINI ONLINE NEWS PERTAINING TO POLIS DIRAJA MALAYSIA (PDRM)

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Abstract

Online news has become a newly favoured option among the current society for it suits the fast paced lifestyle nowadays. The latest development in any news around the world can be retrieved anywhere and anytime by just a single click. Malaysiakini as one of the most popular online news portal in our country which capitalises on this opportunity by publishing interesting news and stories including those involving provocative and sensitive issues that have indeed created an overwhelming pattern of response amongst its readers. Not only that, the persuasive words and propaganda techniques

lies in between its persuasive language in the news report, have dragged the government bodies, particularly Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM) into a negative perception perceived by the public. This study is conducted to analyze the different types and techniques of propaganda applied by Malaysiakini which will emphasize on the use of persuasive language by propagandists in gaining trust of its readers and audience into believing their ideas and opinion. This study uses qualitative research methodology which consists of four elements; research framework, research design, research sampling and research procedure. Relevant recommendations and suggestions are proposed followed by a comprehensive and detailed conclusion on the issues highlighted in this study. After the process of analyzing all data in 51 selected online news from Malaysiakini throughout the month of August 2013 until October 2013, the study has notices the involvement of three types of propaganda namely white propaganda, black propaganda and gray propaganda, as well as all seven different types of techniques of propaganda applied in all articles such as card stacking, testimonial, name calling, plain folks, glittering and generalities, transfer and bandwagon. Through the three months period, the study finds that the most widely applied type of propaganda in the content of the online news is gray propaganda with 31 articles using this type out of 51 articles altogether. White propaganda is next with 15 articles applying this type in its content, while the least used type of propaganda is black propaganda with only 5 articles applying it. The difference in ratio among all three types of propaganda is obvious in number although the issues highlighted revolve around the almost similar issues throughout the period. In terms of techniques of propaganda, the most popular technique used throughout August 2013 up to October 2013 is 'Name Calling' and followed by Glittering Generalities. Next, Card Stacking and Testimonial fall in third most used technique with both consist of nine articles using those techniques. Plain Folks and Bandwagon however, with both carrying two articles makes them the fourth most used technique throughout the period. Lastly, Bandwagon remains as the least applied propaganda technique with only one article found using this method throughout August 2013 up to October 2013.

Keywords – *Propaganda, Malaysiakini, PDRM.*

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to highlight the issue of propaganda that has been used by 'Malaysiakini', one of the online news portals in Malaysia. This study focuses on the propaganda techniques used by the online news portal to influence its readers on the news related to Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM). The propaganda is to manipulate the readers' perception and to influence their thinking towards issues brought forward by this portal. This study focuses on Malaysiakini's reports with regards to the current state of political and social issues surrounding Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM).

Malaysiakini is one of the popular news portals chosen by Malaysians as a news source on daily basis. Launched on November 20th, 1999, Malaysiakini offers daily news and views in English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil, delivering over 40 million page views and 1 million hours of reading time to over 2 million absolute unique visitors. As of July 2012, Malaysiakini became the most read news website and the most popular Malaysian website. The editorial stage of Malaysiakini is created on accurate and independent news. Apart from that, it is also fast, well informed and has different diversion of news. In fact, an active involvement of readers from different background and races including various types of propaganda in its letters section has invited a firm debate as its readers own different interesting ideological background. A new perception and understanding on many sensitive subjects such as Islam, racial quota issues, AIDS, and even issues on migrant workers have been created due to its open discussion online. Malaysiakini is owned by Steven Gan and Premesh Chandran, its founders, and also a few of its current and former employees. Malaysiakini is also not subject to government licensing because it is an online newsportal. With a low subscription fee of RM150 per year, their daily news contents are accessible to its readers. On the other hand, if readers wish to access to its archived content, readers will have to pay RM450 per year. Malaysiakini seems to be recognized internationally when it has been awarded by International Press Institute, Reporters without Borders, Committee to Protect Journalists, Asiaweek, as well as Businessweek.

Meanwhile, Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM) or also known as Royal Malaysia Police (RMP) is one of the most important security forces structure

in Malaysia. The responsibilities of PDRM are vast, ranging from traffic control to the intelligence gathering. With its headquarters located in Bukit Aman, Kuala Lumpur, the PDRM is currently led by Tan Sri Khalid Abu Bakar as the Inspector-General of Police. All constitution, recruitment, funding, discipline, duties and power of the police force are governed by the Police Act 1967.There are at least eight main departments structured in the PDRM namely (i) Management Department is a department to manage all matters involving recruitment, service records administration, confirmations, promotions, transfers, salaries, allowances, retirement, training and counselling. (ii) Logistics department manages the operation of budget and PDRM's development, maintain communications, information technology, transport, weaponry, buildings, properties and general equipment and assets. (iii) Criminal Investigation Division deals with not only the investigation, but also the arrest and prosecution of both hard crimes (murder, robbery, rape etc.) and petty crimes (theft, house-breaking etc.). This department also specializes in gambling, vice and secret societies (triads). (iv) Narcotics Criminal Investigation Division is to fight against the misuse of drugs. It enforces the law to stop and reduce the demand and supply of dangerous drugs. It also keeps tracks of records and statistics related to drugs distribution and other drug-related matters. (v)Internal Security and Public Order Department (KDN/KA) is responsible to the maintenance of public security and order. It is tasked for traffic control and search & rescue (SAR) operations.

In fulfilling its role, this department has to cooperate closely with other agencies such as the army, Maritime and Navy to secure the national borders. (vi) Special Branch is responsible for collecting information on intelligence for national security. Its essential role is to collect security intelligence related to both domestic and external threats, intercept subversive activities by any extremist both groups and individuals which are believed to be a threat to the nation's stability. This department has several branches such as Technical Intelligence, Social Intelligence, External Intelligence, Political Intelligence, Economic Intelligence and Security Intelligence. (vii)Commercial Crime Investigation Department whereby, its major function of this department is to investigate, arrest, and prosecute offenders committing white collar crimes

such as fraud, breach of trust, cyber-crimes, forgery, counterfeiting etc. The Commissioner of Police (CP) is the head of the Commercial Crime Department. (viii)Counter-Terrorism Special Operations Team is responsible to coordinate the government efforts to improve counter-terrorism and participates in the development of the country's development, coordination and implementation of policies.

Hence, the two objectives of this article are to identify the types of propaganda used by Malaysiakini to influence its readers as well as to examine the techniques of propaganda employed by Malaysiakini to influence its readers.

2.0 Problem Statement

The media has a vast function to the society. It can be regarded as a medium to convey messages and information to the society. The function of social media is very critical including providing important information, and endless entertainment to the people. Looking at its positive side, media has a special role in instilling good values and positive traits amongst the young generation. Social media, in particular refers to any form of communication transmitted virtually or online. This includes any ideas, discussion, message or text sent and shared online with another party or a group of virtual community is known as social media. Online news on the other hand, refers to newspaper online which contains stories and information on the internet. Such medium can be obtained independently or to be subscribed periodically with a fixed sum of fee. In the current fast-paced lifestyle, online news has become more and more popular amongst readers.

Systematic propaganda is required in order to realise these roles [1]. [2] stated that the existence of propaganda would not be possible without the modern day mass media, since they were symbiotically dependent. Media particularly social media and online news are considered as not only mediator, but a transmitter and formulator of propaganda. Malaysiakini as one of the widely viewed news portal in Malaysia has its own method and ways to attract the attention of readers via its persuasive news and content.

Many got influenced with its stories and reacted in various acts towards the news including any news involving the police force [3]. The strategies and techniques of propaganda used by Malaysiakini managed to get some parties carried away, and this is the issue which this study will address. As one of the leading non-government owned paid news agency, Malaysiakini is not bonded by government regulations. It has also attracted more than 10,000 readers in 1999; which shows how strong the influence of this online news portal has over its consumers [4]. The ability of Malaysiakini to publish its news in various languages such as English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil, makes it more easily accessible by all walks of lives regardless of race and religion.

Because of its known status of being free from the government rules and regulation, Malaysiakini is regarded as pro opposition. Therefore, its content attracts a lot of attention of those who protest as well as those who want to know more about what is believed not being told by the government to the community. Whether or not their content is true, successful propaganda techniques have taken its place. Alongside with its controversial news, Malaysiakini has gained both praise and notoriety [5]. The fact that the government still permits it to operate portrays the tolerance of Malaysian government with regards to Internet censorship regulation, although, some of the issues covered are considered as taboo. The increasing exposure of issues related to PDRM, online news such as Malaysiakini may raise the threat level against the law enforcement body by painting negative views on them. This negativity, if left unchecked, may affect public's perception management towards PDRM. In line with this complicated situation, PDRM has been alerted with the details being reported in Malaysiakini involving cases handled by the police. The police force has been be bombarded with continuous unacceptable accusations and negative perceptions. This, in a way or another has tarnished the high integrity image which PDRM has to uphold. Besides, the reports also put the trust amongst the community against PDRM in jeopardy. Therefore, this study focuses on the propaganda techniques used by the online news portal Malaysiakini to influence its readers especially on the news on Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM). For the purpose of this study, content analysis is applied. The study of the types and techniques of propaganda employed by Malaysiakini with regards

to PDRM is to provide some guideline to national forces onhow to strategized for better images of national force. It is also to give some recommendation on howto devise proper strategies for the government to counter the negative reports hurled against national forces.

3.0 Research Scope and Limitations

The research scope emphasizes on online news particularly on Malaysiakini news portal. The subject is confined to topics related to the police force and the samples are taken from August-October 2013 (three-month period). The study conducts focus on Content Analysis and the types and techniques of propaganda used by the news portal. Here, the study analyses the propaganda techniques used by the Malaysiakini news portal, the police reaction after the news was published and the remedy taken to pacify the public. This study faced a number of constraints. Among such constraints was information gathering. The limited availability of information was due to the short review period.

4.0 Literature Review

This section is organized into five parts. The first examines research about online news, such as the practice of online news among the society and how it benefits its users. The second part addresses the history of Malaysiakini; the most read online news portal in Malaysia. The third part looks into the history of PDRM (Polis DiRaja Malaysia) including the role and function of its different divisions. The fourth focuses on types of propaganda in media, and the final part deals with propaganda techniques in media.

i. Online News

On March 1995, a bold salutation on the front cover of Time magazine was 'Welcome to Cyberspace'. This issue explored what cyberspace is as a concept having to offer an overview of the level of Internet technology as well as its impact to human's daily life. This issue discussed many areas such as from different perspectives, addressing topics accordingly for example global village, net-based commerce, computer crime, online relationships, dating to

digital television. However, Internet was not a common thing during that time. A very small number of people were expected to own first-hand experience of using the Internet. Throughout those times, the unique issue in this magazine was recognized as a memorable occurrence which represented a formative moment when cyberspace was only known and understood by a small group of people during that particular of time. Therefore, it summoned a great attention to be published in the mainstream news. According to [6], the concept of cyberspace could be traced back in a dystopian novel by William Gibson entitled, 'Neuromancer'. This novel was originally written in 1984 with its scary depiction of a reality virtual existence off the computer screen.

Malaysiakini is a non-government social news portal which was launched in November 1999. Steven Gan and Premesh Chandran who both created Malaysiakini are young journalists who started their career in print journalism with The Sun newspaper in Kuala Lumpur. According to [7], both Gan and Chandran planned to bring independent news, investigative reporting, and in-depth analysis to the Internet as they believe the political control had corrupted the good values of journalism in the mainstream media. In fact, it was launched less than a year after the former deputy prime minister, Anwar Ibrahim's arrest. Malaysiakini has become a popular news source widely subscribed by readers, particularly Malaysian citizens. It has captured a huge attention of people from all over the country, especially those who actively follow the political development in Malaysia. Its advantage of not being tied up to the government's regulations has granted it to publish sensitive issues contradicting to the government's own policy and principle. Hence, Malaysiakini is widely marked as pro-opposition as it daringly publishes sensitive news and raises provocative issues which may initiate a negative impression towards the government administration as a whole. However, since in Malaysia all publications are supposed to be licensed, all journalists have to adhere to the restriction of Internal Security Act, a Sedition Act, and an official Secrets Act. According to [8] and [9], Malaysia journalists are highly constrained by the law.

In 1998, Printing Presses and Publications Act (PPPA) (1984) was amended. All mass circulation was compulsory to obtain a permit before

publishing any news and stories. In order to do so, media had to apply for the permit, and it has to be renewed annually. This amendment was regarded as a strict action imposed by the government in the effort to control as well as to discipline the media. The government had to be serious about the reporting of news by the media since it could jeopardize the government's ideas and support. According to [10], the former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad had made a pledge during a speech in California in 1997 that there will be a no-censorship policy for the Internet. Online journalists and bloggers do not have to fear of losing a license to publish in the meantime, because according to [9] they are not recognized as journalists officially.

Since the establishment of Malaysiakini, it has received a sufficiently great attention. A huge reformation occurred when the Deputy of Prime Minister then; Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, was arrested. He was accused of sodomy and also corruption. Many did not believe, and definitely did not agree with the arrest and chaos took place. Media played the major role in portraying the negative influence against this case. The Malay society has split to another fraction and created more confusion amongst them. The 'Reformasi' has brought down thousands of Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim's extreme supporters to the street demanding justice for him. The Prime Minister's drastic action was seen as a cunning political strategy in maintaining and keeping his power. It was in this context in the call for greater transparency and accountability from the government that Malaysiakini, Malaysia's first web-based newspaper [11] was, according to its CEO and co-founder, conceived in 1998. The mainstream media's coverage of the Anwar trial, regarded as unbalanced and unfair, dismayed Malaysians, who called for a boycott of the pro-establishment media. With the 1999 general elections looming, Malaysians were clamouring for viewpoints that the mainstream media declined to report. Malaysiakini was to fill that void. [7] argued that publishing content online would allow the daily to bypass applying for printing permit from the government as well as keep costs down. Besides, the Home Ministry 'would not have approved the setting up of a new daily with 'no political backing' and no assurances of support for the government' [7].

By the time it began its operations just before the 1999 general elections, Malaysiakini was riding on the crest of an anti-government sentiments, an emerging Internet boom, a growing demand for political transparency, democracy, accountability, and press freedom, and a rebounding economy. The portal was providing an alternative perspective of local news. Believing Malaysiakini as independent, the journalists are more driven and motivated to introduce changes and differences what the mainstream media doesn't offer. According to [12], the journalists of Malaysiakini share the same value of professionalism, nonpartisanship and the most important is to comprehend on how to make Malaysiakini independent. Apart from that, [13] also described the journalists would follow the rules which were known as 'strategic ritual of objectivity''. This includes the possibilities of conflict, evidence to support the news they reported and not forgetting quotations by selected individuals in the news report. This element is essential and critical to gain the trust of its readers. Besides that, journalists of Malaysiakini take accuracy very seriously. Accuracy, independent and balance are serious matters which resulted into taking corrections badly, especially when it involves the spelling of names. All corrections are marked in red to show how open they are about their own mistakes. This strategy is to prove how different Malaysiakini is as compared to other news portal, and also a way for them to show their responsibility and credibility. Malaysiakini had always wanted to be different, factual, nonpartisan and of course not being controlled by the government.

ii. Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM)

Royal Malaysian Polis (RMP) or better known locally as Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM) has a vast responsibility ranging from the control of traffic to intelligence gathering [14]. With the strength of a 102,000-strong police force, PDRM consists of eight specialized law enforcement departments.The centre of administration of PDRM is located in Bukit Aman, Kuala Lumpur. It is the headquarters for all departments throughout the country. Bukit Aman is where the Inspector-General of Police head and directs all operations. However, each contingent has their own headquarters within its region, so as the 148 police districts in the country. Police is the pulse to every country,

and Malaysia is not excluded. Polis DiRaja Malaysia (PDRM) in Malaysia is a dedicated troop of force whom actions will always attract the attention of the public. In almost every case, the way police respond to the case, from their actions to their verbal response will create either a significant favorable or unfavorable reaction among the community. Police are expected to serve well, fast and full of integrity. But under certain unforeseen circumstances they are forced to take immediate drastic action that may look harsh to the eyes of the public [15]. Such situation will widen the room for criticism by the media. Facts are easily manipulated, and persuasive words can be used to attract readers to believe what is being reported in their news.

Media, on the other hand has a different goal. Although they are bonded with certain etiquettes in publishing news, they also need to sell their newspapers and magazines. There is no other way in selling other than a good marketing. As there are many different newspapers reporting almost the same stories every single day, publisher needs to find a way in making sure they become the readers' first choice in reporting latest and highlighted news particularly. Photos and headlines are normally the main weapons used by the media to steal the personal attention of the readers. As the globalization become a common thing nowadays, what one reads on newspapers and magazines, are also readily available online. In the recent years, the trend of accessing the online news has developed from free access to subscription service. With a reasonable fee, more news can be obtained with the click of the mouse. But nevertheless, the online news has its pros and cons especially when the news are reporting on cases involving the police. One of the main reasons online news is the first choice among the readers is the news reported are fresh and well updated. Using some applications, readers can alerted through emails or mobile phones of the latest news of their preferences. Some of the newspaper company would add more details online as compared to what was reported in their conventional newspaper. This makes their websites more popularly visited by readers. Looking from another perspective, the competitive existence of online news may offer a dreadful set of disadvantages to the police force at the same time. the content of the news could be exaggerated with untruth. Such situation invites two possibilities; a feeling of sympathy from the community, and/or a feeling of hatred towards the police.

iii. Types of Propaganda in Media

Propaganda has its own agenda no matter in which method it is used by the media. The utmost purpose is always to strike the emotion effect rather than logical thinking. In any advertising purposes, the idea is to highlight the product or services, regardless if the truth is carried or not in its messages [16]. This will later reconstruct what people think towards the product, organization and the quality of the promoted ideas and product it carries. Generally, propaganda is more familiar in political strategy, as well as weapon to gain trust amongst the community. Propaganda exists in all types of electronic media and printed media. In the current situation of information technology with unlimited access, online news has become one of the major sources of information in which a strategic method of propaganda has been used. It can be further expanded by journalists as they have the power to promote or on the other hand, sabotage certain forms of behavior.

Propaganda can manipulate people's mind and influence people's actions. Propagandist would go to some extend to interpret any issue up to their own understanding and perception regardless whether it is the truth or not. The reason for doing so is to get their followers to understand the issues concerned the way they understand it. Their aim is to get their messages to be understood in their point of perception by a target group of people with one purpose; that is to change their mind and actions towards it. Propaganda in this context serves as a tool to achieve certain desired purposes of the propagandists. However it in a way also fences the people from questioning the constructed idea and perception built by them. In terms of psychological warfare, propaganda is also one of the methods used to propagate relevant information, which may also involve false flag operations, which are covert military or paramilitary operations designed to deceive in such a way that the operations appear as though they are being carried out by groups, entities, or nations other than those who actually planned and executed them [16]. Peacetime operations carried out by civilian organizations, as well as covert government agencies, may by extension be called false flag operations if they seek to hide the real organization behind an operation.

From the warfare psychological point of view, propaganda is seen as false information. This particularly brings the meaning of reinforcing the thoughts of others; especially people who already accepted and trust the propagandists' ideology and information the way how they want their audience to believe. It is important to gain this trust as to avoid any doubt among the people. Once the people could sense any possibility of untruth fact, room of opposing will grow wider. Continuous pressure will be faced by the propagandists initiated by the people. To avoid this unpleasant scenes and situations, propaganda normally is directed to a group of people who already have sympathy against the issue. To keep the situation in control, the propagandists will use the strong tendencies possessed by their audience to accept the information highlighted by them. As mentioned in this study earlier on, there are white, black and gray propaganda. Making a public awareness with the intention to influence people is what white propaganda all about. White propaganda is correctly attributed to its true source [17] and generally uses facts and truthful messages in a persuasive manner. Although it relies on truth, it is often presented in a biased manner [18]. A clear example would be a typical public relations strategy. A public relation officer for instance, will use persuasive words to influence his or her clients to believe what he or she deems right or wrong. It is more of a one-sided conversation on an issue without any opposing statement from the clients or audience. This is why individuals involved in politics prefer to use this method to persuade others to achieve their goals and intention. Typically, this type of propaganda are used by opponents – for example, political parties, and generally the purpose is to persuade people, for reasons that essentially the source is known and its aim and intentions are identified. Apart from that, white propaganda is also used to deceive black propaganda especially in open campaigns. This is very evident as white propaganda carries correct information, and true facts. However, still it can be challenged, questioned, altered, and to some extend omitted.

The second type of propaganda is black propaganda, which is determined being rooted from one particular source, but in reality it is not. The reason this happens is to deceive the original source of that propaganda. This bad intention can be initiated by local enemies or enemies from abroad. Either source, the

information is still false information. According to [19], the initial function of black propaganda is to make the opponent looks less important, and less valuable. This type of propaganda also shows false information. The writer further claims that black propaganda have a negative agenda to humiliate the opponent. It can also create an unfavourable image of its opponent. Those politicians who used this method normally has a hidden and complicated agenda which is not easily disclosed to others. Black propaganda has a main element in it; that is when the people do not realize they are being directed towards a specific idea. Black propaganda is falsely attributed to a source other than the true originator. It can also describe the use of disinformation [18] which spreads false information as truth to an audience with the intent that the audience does not realize it is being propagandized [20]. When the audience begins to have the trust, they tend to believe every information spread by an individual regardless whether they know the source of the information is true or not. According to [20] the source of black propaganda is sometimes unknown or closed, involving the false authority. This will cause further untrue information, lies and deceptions to be told to the audience.

However, to what extent the audience of black propaganda will accept the credibility of the information is very much depending on the audience themselves. They hold the power to continue believing or start questioning and leave the propagandists involved. If at any point the propagandists fail to convince their audience, or create any considerable doubt, the information spread might be misinterpreted. But black propaganda is intended to persuade the audience to achieve whatever is desirable by the propagandists, therefore, the actions taken might be unclear, and sometime brings harm to the foreign rules and regulations. If for any reason, the audience becomes extreme, an unfavourable disturbed situation might occur. This type of propaganda will cause enemies to believe in lies, deception and forgery via arguments. It can be classified as one without an identifiable source or author [21]. The aim is to expand its information to as many audiences as possible and to make it persuasive enough to gain trust. This originated from the fact that although propaganda can come from a known propaganda agency, but things attracts its audience is the same opinion and ideas shown by the neutral outlets.

This would further convince the audience. To determine the various types of propaganda, the tendency if the information is correct or true can also be seen. It is not difficult to tell as white propaganda is usually readily found. Besides that it is discredits the propaganda source a little bit. Gray propaganda on the other hand, if revealed – usually by an inside source, might end up with public disapproval or anger, does not have a specifically identified source, and conceals its originators [17] whilst black propaganda's source is usually unknown and might be harmful to reveal. This is because, according to [21] public awareness of black propaganda tactics and sources would undermine or backfire the very campaign the black propagandists supported.

iv. Propaganda Techniques in Media

Based on the recognition given by the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, seven tools of propaganda which is relevant to be used in this study are 1) name-calling, 2) glittering generality 3) transfer, 4) testimonial 5) plain folks 6) card stacking 7) bandwagon. All these techniques will be used as a guideline in this study.

'Name-calling', as the term sounds, it functions as to give ideas which carry a bad connotation or a bad in meaning so to make the audience critic and soon reject that idea. The impact of name-calling could be to an extent where the audience will not check the evidence before rejecting. Name-calling appears in politics and other areas of public discourse. An easy way to comprehend the function of name-calling is through two current examples – terrorists and terrorism. *"One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter"*, - is a perfect example to show the old maxim of interpretation [22]. What to call a person is determined by purpose, projections and evaluation. However, it is important to emphasize that the person we call doesn't change although the name-calling is changed from time to time.

The next common technique is 'glittering generality'. This propaganda is also acknowledged by IPA. Based on what is written by [23], glittering generality is associating something with a virtue word. – which is applied in order to get the audience agree with the idea without questioning the truth behind it. Normally glittering generality can be seen in advertisements besides

in politics and business. Persuasive words and phrases are used to capture the attention and later to make the audience believe whatever being said about the product or organization. As widely advertised, brands use inviting words of persuasion in their effort to catch the attention. It is common to see 'Sparkling Detergent', 'Luxury Spread Buttercups' and 'Active Manuka Honey' are some of the examples how brands use words of persuasion to catch the attention. People who are very concerned about brand and products would most likely be the first to get attracted to words used by brands as such. But glittering generality method does not always portray the real self and quality the product carries. It might be just a mask or a deception which to some extent could drag to legal action in court. Propaganda had always existed in politics, so as glittering generality. Smart politician would use this method to promote the good of his party. Nonetheless, the use of this technique is connected to a highly valued concept in politics. There are times when the words are used, it brings positive meanings for individuals. But those words need to be approved without much thought as it this concept is a very essential concept. Democracy plays an important role in glittering generality. As cited by [22], when someone is asked to do something in "defense of democracy", the audiences are likely to have the same opinion, in general. Most of the audiences agree with that position because the concept of democracy has a positive connotation. It is because, for them, the concept is linked to something which is of some value. This study observes that the virtue words of glittering generality which is commonly used in the concepts of democracy are honor, glory, love of country, and freedom.

'Transfer' technique is the third propaganda technique acknowledged by the IPA. Generally, this technique is about the authority, sanction and prestige of something respected being revered to something else in order to make the latter better accepted. According to [23], transfer usually works through a process of association. Transfer is generally akin to "admiration by association" rather than "guilt by association". This technique can also be seen to take place through the use of symbolic objects [22]. For example, those who wear black shirts in a riot or rally organized by a non-government organization represent a strong objection towards the government's idea or

policy. 'Black' shows rejection, unacceptable and disagreement. Another situation where transfer is used as a propaganda technique can also be seen in television commercials. This technique with or without our knowledge is already used in many advertisements. In Malaysia, the successful actress Maya Karin is always associated with hair care product such as L'Oreal shampoo. Because of her strong and beautiful hair, she has built a strong image in the hair care world. L'Oreal is using her image as a brand ambassador to make others believe it is true that L'Oreal could offer quality hair care for woman's hair. In this context, catchy phrases and words are used to catch the audience's attention which indirectly has built a strong connection between the product and the ambassador.

The fourth technique is 'testimonial'. This technique is when it involves some respected or hated individuals refer to a given idea, program, product or even another individual is good or bad. The propagandists in this context play a very critical role in influencing his audience's judgment. This author further wrote that this form of propaganda also exists in advertisements. Apart from that, testimonials technique can be regarded as testimonials. This is because whatever being said by the propagandists can be connected to the quality of the person or the product concerned. Next propaganda technique is 'plain folks'. Unlike the previous propaganda mentioned earlier, a plain folk is normally used in politics as compared to advertising. Plain folks can be seen as the method by which a propagandist encourage their audience that his or her ideas are good because they are the people of the plain folks, cited by [22]. For this, the propagandists will make effort in using only selected words and phrases that suits the specific group of audience. Not only that, they also keen to use specific jokes and expression to attract the attention of the group. This is more to make the people feel more comfortable, which later will gain them trust in return. For instance, more than 40 percent of voters did not like the nominated candidates, as found by the political professionals in their effort to get Bill Clinton elected as the President, as cited by [22] in their book *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods and Uses in the Mass Media.* Bill Clinton was perceived as a "wishy-washy", fast-talking career politician, who did not try to "talk-straight" with the voters. His wife, Hillary Clinton was

liked even less for being in the race for herself, "going for power", and for her intent on "running the show" [24]. The chief strategist and Clinton's polling experts thus agreed to create a new image for both Mr. and Mrs. Clinton as "an honest, plain folk's idealist and his warm and loving wife", [24].

The sixth propaganda technique is 'card stacking' which is also recognized by IPA. According to [23], card stacking is a technique which involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or worst possible case for an idea, program person or product [23]. Similarly to general slanting technique, card stacking is about ignoring any argument that does not support the position. This is because; the concept of card stacking is to choose arguments of proves that could support the position taken. However, the argument or evidences selected, can either be true or false [22]. The author also wrote that it is most effective to use card stacking when dealing with true facts and information. Especially if the evident proves to be true, it is the best way to convince the public of a propagandist's idea and opinion. Because of this, card stacking normally is used in almost all types of propaganda. In television commercials, for example, the card stacking technique can be seen in the instances where interviews with ordinary citizens are shown. The television commercial randomly picks the interviewers who they come across in a shopping centre and asks if they would like to have a free cup of tea. Soon after the interviewer tastes it, they will ask, "Would you say it tastes as rich as it looks?" The interviewer then says, "It tastes as rich as it looks". Or perhaps, the interviewer would say something even more favorable. In this situation, these commercials would only show the people who were interviewed and who eulogized the product, but does not show or even reveal the number of interviews in which the people did not like or did not eulogize the product.

The 'bandwagon' technique is the seventh propaganda technique. Bandwagon is when the propagandists try to persuade the audience who are still not convinced with their ideas to just accept it as all the other members of the group have already agreed to accept it. This technique will target those who are still unsure or not confident with ideas brought forward by the propagandist, but at the same time they do not reject it totally. In simple words,

the bandwagon technique appeals to the subject to follow the throng and to join it because others are doing so as well [23]. Basically, the bandwagon propaganda is a method which involves an attempt to get a certain group of people convinced there is one winning side. Therefore, those who are in disagreement with the idea are expected to follow the majority audience who believe in it. They make it as if it is impossible not to agree when they are all in the same group. Since it is very natural for people to want to be on the winning side, somehow this group would finally join in. Automatically it will make them the 'victim' of bandwagon. By observing Malaysiakini news pattern, it can be seen that propaganda types and techniques were utilized by the online news portal as well. The direction of the news, the headlines, news content and language usage had influenced the public on issues related to PDRM. Malaysiakini uses the Internet as a medium to spread the propaganda about PDRM. In order to spread their ideology, Malaysiakini, being the propagandist will use the techniques and tools to manipulate the public's mind towards the police force. From this study's point of view, it is very impossible to avoid the use of propaganda in any of the technique mentioned earlier. Each organization or speaker will have only one aim, which is to win. Therefore, no party will ever agree to disclose information as their target objective is to fulfill their mission and vision of the organization, or individual.

5.0 Research Methodology

The study of the content analysis of propaganda in Malaysiakini involves five phases of research process. The first phase is a formulation of a systematic review which is linked to the focus of this study – propaganda on media, types and techniques of propaganda in online news (Malaysiakini). In this study, the researcher is able to provide a systematic way of a brief and comprehensive literature review. A thorough literature review is essential as to give a proper understanding of the use of propaganda by Malaysiakini. A systematic review on the other hand, serves as a method of presenting the research topic to the readers in a systematic way [25]. It provides the researcher with important understanding about the research topic relating to the types and techniques of propaganda used by Malaysiakini on issues related to PDRM. The second

phase is the formulation of research methodology. This stage clarifies further on the research design. Other elements of the research methodology are also discussed accordingly such as research sampling, research method, data analysis targets as well as its limitations. Analyzing and processing are utilized thereafter.

The third phase is where the study determines the collected data. News and stories reported in Malaysiakini articles which contain all the three types of propaganda – 1) white propaganda, 2) black propaganda, and 3) gray propaganda, and the seven techniques of propaganda namely 1) name-calling, 2) glittering generality, 3) transfer, 4) testimonial, 5) plain folks, 6) card stacking and 7) bandwagon. All are put together and rearranged from Malaysiakini. This process enables the researcher to single out the valid data whilst discarding irrelevant data in this study. In the fourth phase, content analysis in Malaysiakini is taken out from the collected articles by categorizing them based on the types as well as the techniques of propaganda related to the PDRM, from the period of August 2013 up to October 2013.

The study evaluates and identifies the articles that fall under the above-mentioned types and techniques of propaganda. This is to give way for a better understanding of the issues that were exaggerated and manipulated by Malaysiakini. To serve the purpose of the study, coding sheets are prepared by the researcher to enable the organization of the collected data to be categorized according to the types and techniques of propaganda. The study collects the data by using preset codes – coding sheets, with the descriptive examples. Each coding sheet is used to code according to the individual type and technique of propaganda utilized in the articles. After that the data coding and the analysis are performed. The content analysis of the data collection is formulated and organized within the three-month period given. The final phase is where all the collected data is analyzed and processed. Based on the coding system in the earlier phase, the collected data will be placed and evaluated accordingly. The content analysis is used to analyze and classify the collected data based on the types of propaganda – 1) white propaganda, 2) black propaganda, and 3) gray propaganda and the seven techniques of propaganda – 1) name-calling, 2) glittering generality, 3) transfer, 4) testimonial, 5) plain folks, 6) card-stacking

and 7) bandwagon. The study evaluates the information which is then written into the Findings and Discussion section according to the formation of the types and techniques of propaganda found in Malaysiakini.

The proposed research design for this study is Content Analysis. In content analysis, researchers examine artifacts of social communication. Content analysis is "any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages" [26]. According to [27], he suggests that content analysis can be a blend of both quantitative and qualitative analysis because qualitative analysis deals with the forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of form, while quantitative analysis deals with duration and frequency of form. [24] suggests that "content analysis can be fruitfully employed to examine virtually any type of communication, and may focus on either qualitative or quantitative aspects of communication messages. Selected data on Malaysiakini's news are studied and analyzed for the propaganda techniques used. For the purpose of this study, the seven techniques of propaganda identified and recognized by the IPA are used. [28] reviewed these discussed techniques used in this research. The techniques are relevant in examining the propaganda in the media, especially the one involving Malaysiakini.

This study follows the qualitative research guideline as the research procedure for document analysis from [29]. The first step of the procedure is to investigate and determine the specific problems of this study, which rests on how to identify the types of propaganda and techniques of propaganda employed in Malaysiakini online news which is related to PDRM. The researcher gathers literature as relevant to this study for review. To become familiar with the process and context of the literature, the study gathers articles found suitable for the topic of the study. Specific articles in Malaysiakini related to PDRM from August 2013 until October 2013 is identified. The study uses Malaysiakini online news within the three-month period of August 2013 until October 2013 as samples. The period identified was at the peak police bashing when putting the blame on PDRM was rife and at its most crucial. As one of the alternatives online news portal, Malaysiakini is updated 24 hours a day.

Through the content analysis method, the study examines and evaluates each of the current political, social, crime and economic issues which is related to PDRM. The specific articles containing current issues are identified from the Malaysiakini news portal. Each of the article's content used in this study is analyzed to determine the existing types of propaganda; white propaganda, black propaganda and gray propaganda; and techniques of propaganda – name-calling, glittering generality, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, card stacking and bandwagon, which are used as the guidelines for the study to identify and conduct an evaluation through content analysis.

Findings

There are 51 articles from Malaysiakini have been chosen and analyzed in this study. All articles taken revolve around issues on public security, social, economic and political news which involve the PDRM for the period of August to October 2013. Below is the result of the study. Nine gray propaganda articles were analyzed in the month of August 2013. In the same month, gray propaganda is the highest in number found in six articles taken that month. It is followed by two articles with black propaganda, and an article with white propaganda. For the month of September 2013 on the other hand, from the total of 28 articles, 16 were identified consisting gray propaganda, while 10 articles were found to carry white propaganda in its reports. Black propaganda was identified in two articles which makes it the lowest applied propaganda for that month. Next, out of a total number of 14 articles analyzed in October 2013, gray propaganda has again marked the highest number in its nine articles, followed by four articles with white propaganda and one article bearing black propaganda.

In terms of the techniques of propaganda analysis namely, card stacking, testimonial, name calling, plain folks, glittering generalities, transfer and bandwagon at least two important findings. Firstly, for the month of August 2013, nine articles are analyzed in order to determine the propaganda techniques used in each article. Phrases and words are thoroughly read through to indentify the characteristics of propaganda techniques applied before they are categorized accordingly. In August 2013, the most popular technique

is 'Name Calling' with four out of nine articles using this technique. The second most popular technique is 'Card Stacking'. Apparently, 'Plain Folks', 'Glittering Generalities' and 'Bandwagon' appear to be the third least used techniques in this month, with each found in one article throughout the month. However, there were no 'Testimonial' and 'Transfer' propaganda techniques identified in any of the articles in August.

Secondly, for the month of September, 28 articles were chosen and studied to identify the techniques of propaganda used. After the process of analyzing, the study identifies 'Name Calling' as the most applied propaganda technique as compared to the other techniques discussed earlier. There are 11 out of 28 articles applying 'Name Calling' technique, while 'Card Stacking' comes second which was found in six out of 28 articles being analyzed. The third most applied technique is 'Testimonial' with five articles using it, followed by 'Glittering Generalities' with four articles. In the mean time, 'Plain Folks' and 'Transfer' were identified to be the least technique applied with each found in one article only in September. However, the study does not find any element of 'Bandwagon' technique being applied in any of the 28 articles analyzed for this month. Lastly, for the month of October, 14 articles are gathered and analyzed to identify the techniques of propaganda used. Out of 14, five articles are identified applying 'Glittering Generalities' which makes it the highest number of propaganda techniques than the others. 'Testimonial' comes second where four articles bearing its technique, followed by 'Name Calling' with three articles and finally one article each for 'Card Stacking' and 'Bandwagon'. In terms of types of propaganda, all the three types namely gray, black and white propaganda exist in the articles throughout the period of August 2013-October 2013.

After the process of analyzing all data in 51 selected online news from Malaysiakini throughout the month of August 2013 until October 2013, the study has notices the involvement of three types of propaganda namely white propaganda, black propaganda and gray propaganda, as well as all seven different types of techniques of propaganda applied in all articles such as card stacking, testimonial, name calling, plain folks, glittering and generalities, transfer and bandwagon. Through the three months period, the study finds

that the most widely applied type of propaganda in the content of the online news is gray propaganda with 31 articles using this type out of 51 articles altogether. White propaganda is next with 15 articles applying this type in its content, while the least used type of propaganda is black propaganda with only 5 articles applying it. The difference in ratio among all three types of propaganda is obvious in number although the issues highlighted revolve around the almost similar issues throughout the period. In terms of techniques of propaganda, the most popular technique used throughout August 2013 up to October 2013 is 'Name Calling' and followed by Glittering Generalities. Next, Card Stacking and Testimonial fall in third most used technique with both consist of nine articles using those techniques. Plain Folks and Bandwagon however, with both carrying two articles makes them the fourth most used technique throughout the period. Lastly, Bandwagon remains as the least applied propaganda technique with only one article found using this method throughout August 2013 up to October 2013.

Discussion

Malaysiakini, being the alternative online news media on the Internet has the tendency to be bias and one-sided in their news reporting. The news and articles, although quoted from the same source, tend to reveal their side of the story rather than factual reporting. Malaysiakini is perceived to represent an ideology which is against the government and it is reflected in their articles. These articles are written in a bolder and highly critical on established ideologies, hence their negative view towards the Malaysian police force. It is an effect of unbridled freedom from government regulations experienced by Malaysiakini. If the view is not corrected, more readers will be easily swayed by the negativity towards the authority. This will impact the public's perception with regards to PDRM. The content of alternative media is politically and socially radical in nature. In terms of news distribution, the design of the web page and published interactive online tools, the online version of Malaysiakini also played a part in shaping the views of the readers through their news content. There is a growing importance on online news as a preferable choice among the readers. Alternative media caters to the need

of fast-paced and accessible news for the masses [30] although mainstream media still serves as the main news source. Today, readers are consistently fed with persuasive news, messages and ideas in their daily lives. They have easy access to mainstream media such as newspapers, television and radio. Online news especially played a big role in carrying the influencing messages. The words used in the Malaysiakini were manipulated according to the whims and fancies of the writer in order to create a negative view of the PDRM.

The manipulation of words in news is known to have desirable impact on the readers. The utilization of intentional words in headlines has the ability to condition reader's opinion. In writing the news headlines, the editors must take into account upon the use and also the misuse of the language or words. The projection of intelligent word-play in headlines has the ability to highlight favorable news, as well as diminishes the attractiveness on the unfavorable ones [31]. Malaysiakini, a trailblazing online news service with an impressive readership of 2.5 million per month, has for more than a decade published its news online. After so many years of online service, Malaysiakini will soon be able to offer its news to readers in print. Malaysiakini applied for a printing permit from the government in 2010 but the application was turned down. Malaysiakini challenged the decision, calling the ruling a violation of freedom of expression. The Malaysian High Court declared the government's decision was improper and against the principles stated in the Malaysian constitution. Government's decision not to allow Malaysiakini to publish its own newspapers can be contributed to Malaysiakini's hard-edged, propagandistic, and investigative reporting which is highly critical of the government. It was this kind Malaysiakini's anti-establishment reputation and critical style of reporting the government wanted to prevent, fearing more widespread penetration beyond the Internet.

Printing a newspaper still requires a large amount of capital. But many Malaysians, particularly those living in rural areas still rely on print, which is the market Malaysiakini is trying to tap. If Malaysiakini is allowed to proceed with its hardcopy version, Malaysiakini could challenge the dominance of the government-linked media in those areas. This would have a huge impact in terms of the kind of information people get, which has more diversity of

opinions. Of course, allowing more diversity means more liberalism which is something political actors and political parties are set to take advantage of. Greater media freedom and freedom of expression in Malaysia may or may not be good for the country. It can be seen as a positive step for a country which is ranked 144th out of 197 countries in Press Freedom Index in 2012. However, allowing more freedom means propaganda can be used by Malaysiakini to dabble in perception management and influence.

Propaganda has become one of the main and indirect weapons to be used by some parties and also individuals in order to get their intention understood and accepted by the rest of the community. Propaganda is a form of communication aimed towards influencing the attitude of the community towards some cause or position by presenting only one side of the argument, has various types and techniques. It can be obviously seen, and can also be blurry in factual. According to the IPA's guidelines, there are three types of propaganda being applied and they are white propaganda, black propaganda and gray propaganda. They are classified according to their source and nature of messages. Some propaganda has confirmed and identified sources, while some do not. IPA also recognizes seven techniques of propaganda namely, name calling, card stacking, testimonial, plain folks, glittering and generalities, transfer and bandwagon. These tools exist and hidden in words, phrases and language used in the propaganda itself. The IPA also recognizes these tools as a relevant method in examining the propaganda applied in news and reports by electronic and printed media.

Readers are not aware of the different types and roles of these propagandas to ensure their intelligence and wisdom are well directed whenever they are fed with any of it. The image of the PDRM, or any other authority for that matter, can easily be tarnished by propagandas. Name calling, for example involves baseless accusations which gives negative impact against the image of PDRM when certain individuals irresponsibly accusing the police to be violent, trigger happy and many more. Immature readers, besides the oppositions will directly absorb the content as a fact, although no evidence was posted together with the statement. The tendency of reader to swallow the news without any effort in finding the truth or checking on the validity of the source of the

information makes these propagandas a strong and solid tool to influence the audience to believe whatever intentions lies within the propagandists. Bias is what happened when editors and journalists choose to support the use of such propagandas with or without them realizing it. In conclusion, propagandas have a major role in holding the image as well as tarnish it. It can contribute to a more positive image, thus promote peacefulness within the society if it is well propelled and directed. At the same time, disastrous future might rise if propaganda is used without supervision and manipulated without control by the government and the people.

i. Government Initiatives

In 2000, it was Malaysia's largest military weapon heist that turned deadly. The heist turned into an emergency hostage crisis and a 5-day standoff with the police and army. In the early hours on 2nd July 2000, 15 men disguised as high-ranking army officers stole weapons and ammunition rounds from two Malaysian army camps. Police believed the weapons were used for regional terrorist groups. Two police officers from the Special Branch unit were sent to investigate the Sauk area in Bukit Jenalik, where the incident happened but they were arrested by the group and ended up as hostages instead. More hostages were taken in the unfolding crisis; the two police officers were tortured before being executed. Police intelligence revealed the group responsible for the heist was Al-Ma'unah, an Islamic deviationist cult. Their mission was to overthrow the Malaysian government through the use of armed conflict, an insurgency. The group was responsible for the heist and hostages. Psychological warfare was used to persuade the cult to surrender peacefully. An ultimatum from Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad to end the hostage crisis by the fifth day, lead the police-army confrontation with Mohamad Amin, the leader of the Al-Ma'unah. The police commando, Deputy Superintendent (DSP) Abd Razak bin Mohd Yusoff negotiated with Mohamad Amin for almost two hours and persuaded the cult to surrender. For waging war against the King, Mohamad Amin, the leader of the militant group, was sentenced to death by hanging in the judgment made in 2000. Mohamad Amin was later hanged at the Sungai Buloh prison in Selangor on 4th August 2006.

Opposition leader Lim Kit Siang tried to downplay the police-army operation success in the Al-Ma'unah heist by questioning and propagating the shocking laxity in military discipline and the security whereby weapons could be robbed from two military camps, citing unacceptable degree of irresponsibility and negligence. Lim Kit Siang also questioned the Government's action in using the preventive law to detain the members of the Al-Ma'unah group. According to the opposition leader, "Using the Internal Security Act to detain the 27 Al-Ma'unah members arrested at Bukit Jenalik on 6 July 2000 after the five-day arms heists and hostage taking and killings instead of charging them for robbery, kidnapping, firearms and murder is a major and multiple blow to the reputation and credibility of the police, could the government be staging the tragedy?" [32]. Up until today, in the advent era of social media, online news and the Internet, PDRM is still not able to counter all the negative issues and propaganda that surrounds the police force. More often than not, the police is being made the scapegoat and always at the receiving end. Perhaps the government, especially PDRM can learn from the United States (U.S) institutions on ways to inform and influence the public, be it domestically or internationally.

Propaganda can also be defined as a communication technique that is geared towards influence. In America, it is utilized by the U.S. Department of State, Broadcasting Board of Governors, Department of Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency. These institutions also have wings for Public Affairs (PA), which is to inform the public and international audiences in support of combatant commander public information needs at all operational levels. The U.S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force all have units that is dedicated to the delivery of propaganda. These units are knows as Military Information Support Operations (MISO). Before this, MISO was previously known as Psychology Operations (PSYOP). MISO is a subset of Information Operations (IO) or Inform and Influence Activities (IIA). Its planned operations are to convey selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately the behavior of foreign governments, organizations, groups, and individuals [33]. IO also serves to influence their foreign counterparts using psychological

operations capabilities [34]. Historically, the Central Intelligence Agency has been involved in a number of initiatives designed to influence public opinion domestically and also internationally [35]. What the researcher can see from the department setup by the Americans, they have special units dedicated to the dissemination of propaganda, in which the Malaysian government is lacking. The Central Intelligence Agency, the federal agency that coordinates the U.S. intelligence activities (in Malaysia, this agency is equivalent to the Special Branch department, a subset of the PDRM but smaller in strength) has historically been involved in disseminating propaganda, portraying the government in a positive manner in the process.

Thus, PDRM should set up their own special unit to support the government's policy goal and objectives, advance national interests, enhance national security by informing and influencing domestically and by expanding and strengthening the relationship between the police, the community and the people of this country. The police can make a recommendation to the government to set up specific units dedicated to help with the dissemination of propaganda and also public affairs. This will ensure transparency and integrity of the unit to the eyes of the public. In turn, the police will be seen in a positive manner and improve the reputation of the police force. Law enforcement always has been a dangerous profession because officers risk their lives to form a barrier between criminals and society. In the past, police could to some extent protect themselves from threats. But today, these risks have slightly changed. The power of social media has brought danger to the police, unable to shield themselves as easily from the repercussions of their jobs defending the community. The Internet has been available for widespread public use since the early 1990s. It has become an integral part in everyday life. Social media, which started in 2003 can be individually accessed and modified by adding commentary, photos and videos. Users may add their own content to any social media site that allows it [36]. The influence of social media is recognized by the police. While PDRM is concerned with the negative impact that social media can have on the public, they sometimes may neglect their responsibility to protect their own officers. Social media itself encourages self-promotion [37]. Individuals who have a desire for attention can achieve

a feeling of connection not available in reality. They often post provocative messages online to get noticed.

There are no constraints for social media. Virtually anybody can post anything online with little fear of repercussion. The online environment can promote inflammatory and shocking behavior. Anonymity hampers efforts to control these actions [38]. Social media can engender a mob mentality whereby only one small, unrelated stimulus is needed to spur a wide-scale reaction that may grow out of control [39]. Incidents develop faster and spread more rapidly than anything society has dealt with before. In this public profession, there is no privacy for the police officers. Social media significantly has increased officers' community exposure. Police nowadays is far more exposed, surrounded by telephone cameras and amateurs who broadcast every action and their opinion to it, telling it to the worldwide audience the way they see it no matter whether it is right or wrong. To the public, policing is an easy topic for discussion. Law enforcement is fascinating because it involves drama, intrigue and excitement that society finds captivating. The police officer's role however, may be ambiguous to the public. Any member of the public who flaunts the law hates the police and may resent them. Police can represent controversial figures to some people.

The relationship between the social media and the police can be volatile. There is potential for police to be impacted by attacks on their credibility. Credibility is essential to the law enforcement, more so for the police. An officer's integrity can easily be attacked through social media. If the integrity of the police officer is compromised, testimony and investigations may be in jeopardy. Police officers can find their honor under attack online at any time through social media. Erroneous information can reach a significant audience, possibly causing irreparable damage to the reputation of the officer. Law enforcement officers have become public figures because of social media, and their actions are scrutinized almost every day.

Social convention, which is a set of agreed and generally accepted criteria can find its place on the social network. Erroneous, false truth can be manipulated and be made believable each time somebody posts on the Internet. This false information, especially concerning police officers may find its way

on the cyberspace, passed around like wildfire. This of course will impact the law enforcement's credibility online when untruths are seen as truth.

Online postings by the public, which no police departments have control over can be damaging. Regardless of their level of truth, negative comments can have a lasting impact. Empowered by social media, negative postings can present a crisis for law enforcement. Questionable videos of police officers are popular on sites such as YouTube and Facebook, and can be financially motivating who likes to file claims or lawsuits. Police officer may never know whether they are facing a legitimate, staged or exaggerated situation for somebody else's benefit. This puts officers' personal and professional wellbeing at stake. To protect their officers, PDRM can implement internal management mechanisms to minimize this potential threat. A social media manager may be appointed to handle specific core functions. Ongoing training on the hazards of social media is a must. Due to the web's rapidly changing environment, continuous training must be ongoing. The social media manager must guarantee consistency and able to facilitate the elimination of officer's data from social media sites. PDRM can perform at its best by protecting officers from dangers easily propagated through social media. Police departments are often impacted by lawsuits, compromised personnel and damaged public image associated with plausible personal threats. The relationship between the police and social media is volatile. Social media provides momentum, and PDRM provides the stimulus for that energy. PDRM must take responsibility for protection from this threat before they become blindsided by a sudden viral attack on their officers.

ii. National Security

The terrorist group Al-Ma'unah conducted Malaysia's largest military weapon heist in July 2000 using all available networks in terms of political, economic, social and military which were the characteristics of fourth generation warfare. Al-Ma'unah uses information society to maximize the power of insurgency. Insurgency like Al-Ma'unah relies on society and has become networked, transnational, and even trans-dimensional. Fourth-generation warfare continues to evolve along with the society as a whole,

thus making it increasingly dangerous and difficult for the police to deal with. But thanks to the excellent police intelligence, the police managed to foil the terrorist group and convicted them in court. Ideology gives birth to the dangerous armed group like the Al-Ma'unah. Ideological groups like Al-Ma'unah or Al-Qaeda is far more dangerous compared to reactionary and opportunistic groups because of their no-limits approach to conflict. Ideological groups are hard to contain and almost impossible to deter. Their cause and the dissemination of propaganda provide moral justification and moral requirement to use any available weapon, just like the incident in Bukit Jenalik. Ideological groups always believe in the higher power guiding their acts, especially for the Muslim terrorist groups. They believe their actions will either protect their members or call them home for their reward.

The subject of police and national security in Malaysia often conjures fears of aggressiveness and overbroad sweeps of political dissidents. Given total freedom, Malaysiakini may possibly use the news portal to disseminate propaganda which may influence the public to retaliate against the government, putting the country's security at risk. Politicians especially are very fond of using the online news portal to champion their cause in order to get support from public. Politicians have been using online news portal to publicly bash the police based on the techniques of propaganda. When actions are taken against them by the police, they blame the force for abusing its power which is never the case to begin with. In the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York, local police were mobilized in support of nationwide efforts to combat national security threats. Some observers see this as a necessary precaution but some see it as somewhat past law enforcement abuses [40]. Terrorism within the United States was not a priority issue in the government, until the September 11 attacks. It was placed as secondary importance to fighting federal crimes such as white-collar and other offences. Former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, David Cohen who now works as Deputy New York Policy Commisioner for Intelligence, mobilized the entire resources of the New York Police Department (NYPD) to conduct investigations into political activity and intelligence-related issues [41]. Civil liberties groups expressed outrage and brought suits against the city alleging widespread rights abuses and political harassment [42].

This tension between civil liberties and state security measures lies at the heart of national security law. National security law means the regulation of coercive government powers wielded to protect the state such as external threats and also internal efforts to undermine the present government. The issue of U.S. policing and national security is complex because of the decentralized nature of most law enforcement in America. The September 2001 attacks generated new urgency in counterterrorism efforts and stimulated information-sharing throughout the U.S. government system. Changed threat perceptions also resulted in major federal and state bureaucratic restructuring. The government created the new Department of Homeland Security, which consolidated nearly two dozen federal agencies and assumed responsibility for protecting U.S. territory from internal, external threats and responding to natural disasters (Homeland Security Act of 2002). The 2001 attacks pushed the agenda down to local levels of government, including to within the police agencies. Government at all levels – federal, state and local worked together to piece all information and neutralize terrorist plots. As a result of this, the police roles have expanded. They now handle criminal law enforcement, public protection, public education, awareness, emergency response and intelligence gathering. Perhaps the most important national security role for the police is intelligence collection. Intelligence includes the use of undercover officers, electronic surveillance and the use of informants. These are part of routine police crime investigation. The line between these activities and national security intelligence is not clear, though the latter is more likely to intrude on political and religious activities.

Conclusion

This article has conducted a systematic content analysis on Malaysiakini propaganda with issues related to PDRM. Through the three months of data collection and analysis, the findings depict that Malaysiakini used gray propaganda in the content of the online news. While, there are 15 articles out of 51 articles used white propaganda and only 5 articles used black propaganda. Meanwhile in terms of the proganda technique, the findings of this article show that the most popular technique is 'name calling' followed by 'glittering

generalities'. While 'card stacking and 'testimonial' have equal frequency as the third most used techniques. 'Plain folks' and 'bandwagon' are the least techniques used by Malaysiakini. Therefore, it is proven that Malaysiakini uses propaganda in its news reporting especially gray propaganda.

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