

**A STUDY ON IRAQI IMAGES IN MALAYSIAN MAINSTREAM
ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS**

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Abstrak

Media dan imej telah menjadi bidang kajian yang penting dalam hubungan antarabangsa dan pengajian media. Penaklukan Iraq oleh Amerika Syarikat telah membentuk berbagai imej tentang Iraq di pelbagai negara. Walaupun terdapat kajian yang agak menyeluruh tentang Iraq, terutamanya semasa tempoh penaklukan, kajian lepas menunjukkan masih wujud jurang berkaitan dengan imej Iraq dari perspektif media Timur. Oleh yang demikian, kajian ini bertujuan meneliti imej Iraq melalui penerbitan berita dan rencana dalam akhbar Malaysia yang dianggap sebagai negara Islam dengan komuniti multi-etnik. Kajian ini juga berhasrat untuk memperlihatkan imej Iraq dengan memberi tumpuan terhadap dua akhbar berbahasa Inggeris di Malaysia, *News Straits Times Press* (NSTP) dan *the Star* berlandaskan dua teori, iaitu Teori Pembingkaian dan Teori Penentuan Agenda. Kajian ini meneliti analisis kandungan secara longitudinal sejumlah 535 rencana dan berita melalui tiga tempoh (sebelum, semasa dan selepas penaklukan Iraq). Analisis statistik deskriptif, Crosstab, ujian Binomial, khi kuasa dua dan Cramer's V digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Hasil kajian menunjukkan NSTP memberikan lebih banyak penekanan terhadap isu dasar unipolar Amerika Syarikat dan merangka isu dasar tersebut dengan berfokuskan kepada tanggungjawab dan menggambarkan imej Iraq secara neutral. *The Star* pula menekankan isu berkaitan penderitaan penduduk Iraq dan merangka isu ini menerusi unsur kemanusiaan dengan imej yang negatif. Tambahan pula, isu penentuan agenda dalam NSTP mempunyai hubungan yang besar terhadap imej manakala *the Star* menunjukkan bahawa kategori pembingkaian mempunyai hubungan yang lebih besar terhadap imej Iraq. Kajian ini menyokong andaian teoretikal bahawa media tidak berjaya untuk memberitahu audiens apa yang difikirkan, tetapi berjaya dalam memberitahu audiens tentang apa yang sepatutnya difikirkan (tahap pertama Teori Penentuan Agenda). Kajian ini juga menyokong andaian teoretikal bahawa perbezaan dalam organisasi media mempunyai kesan yang besar terhadap cara isu yang penting dibingkaikan.

Kata kunci: Iraq, Akhbar Malaysia, Teori Penentuan Agenda, Teori Pembingkaian, Imej.

Abstract

Media and image have become important research areas in international relations and media studies. The occupation of Iraq by the United States has created many images of Iraq among other countries. Although there has been quite an extensive research on Iraq, especially during the period of occupation, reviews of literature reveal that there are still certain gaps on understanding its image from the Eastern media perspective. Thus, the main purpose of the study is to investigate the image of Iraq through the publication of news stories and articles in Malaysia that is considered as Islamic country with multi-ethnic community. The study also aims to reveal the image of Iraq by focusing on two Malaysian English newspapers - *the New Straits Times press* (NSTP) and *the Star* by applying both Framing Theory and Agenda Setting Theory. This study examines a longitudinal content analysis of 535 articles and news stories through three periods (before, during and after the occupation of Iraq). Descriptive statistics, Crosstab, Binomial test, Chi-square and Cramer's V are used to analyze the data. The result of this study shows that NSTP gave more emphasis to the issue of the policy of unipolar for the United States and framed it to focus on responsibility and reflected a neutral image of Iraq, while *the Star* gave more emphasis to the issue of Iraqi suffering and framed it through human interest with a negative image. Furthermore, the agenda setting issues in the NSTP has a bigger association on the image of Iraq while *the Star* proves the framing categories have a bigger association on the image of Iraq. Thus, this study can shed some light on how Eastern country views Iraq and this perhaps could help Iraq reform its image by expanding the scope of diplomatic, business and cultural actions. This study provides support to the theoretical proposition that the media are not successful in telling the audience what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling the audience what to think about (first level of Agenda Setting). This study also provides support to the theoretical proposition that differences in media organizations have profound impact on how the important issues are framed.

Keywords: Iraq, Malaysian newspapers, Agenda Setting Theory, Framing Theory, Image.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the present study's background, problem statement, research questions, research objectives, research scope, the significance of the research, conceptual and operational definitions, conceptual framework of the study, outline of the research, and chapter conclusion.

1.2 Background of the Research

The media are important sources of knowledge. Many values, principles and behaviors come from the media (McCombs, 2002). The media have the ability to portray individuals, groups of individuals or nations in a negative, positive or neutral light (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee & Ahmad, 2011). Thus, the reliance on mass media in composing a mental image is a good entrance to studying the relationship dimension of the audiences' reliance on the mass media in composing a mental image.

Walter Lippmann (1922) said that the main source of images in our minds is the media because most people do not have the opportunity to see the world. What we know about the world is based on what the media has decided to tell us. More specifically, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public. Elements prominent to the media agenda become prominent as well in the public mind (McCombs, 2002).

Thus, the media also has played an important role in publishing different images of Iraq after the US occupation of the country. The history of Iraq shows the ongoing conflict for control of this strategic land because of its strategic position in the heart of the Middle East and its enormous resources.

According to Kelly (2007), Saddam Hussein was in power since 1979 and he was executed on 30 December 2006. Under his reign and ruling, Iraq had been involved in three wars, the first being the one with Iran in 1980-1988 (Al-Khafaji, 2000). This war lasted for eight years and one of the causes of the war was the ownership of the Shatt Al-Arab. According to Razi (1988), this war had created a lot of casualties and material damage. The second war was “Mother of All Battles”. On 2 August 1990, Iraq forces invaded Kuwait. Within hours, they managed to control it and Saddam announced it to be Iraq’s nineteenth province. However, on 26 February 1991, Kuwait was freed by the coalition forces led by the United States (Dawisha, 2009). The coalition forces were formed by 30 countries, but the United States retained its high profile as the dominant partner in the coalition. The war occurred because Saddam considered Kuwait as part of Iraq (Rose, 2005; Warbrick, 1991). The result of this war was the imposition of economic sanctions against Iraq pursuant to United Nation (U.N) resolution NO 661/1990.

The third war was the occupation of Iraq in 2003. The war began on 20 March 2003 and ended in the occupation of Iraq on 9 April 2003. The rationale for the US occupation of Iraq was Saddam’s possession of the weapons of mass destruction and his relationship with terrorists (Dawisha, 2009). The occupation continued until 28 June 2004 and the person in charge during the period of occupation was Paul Bremer, the Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (Roberts, 2005).

The relationship between Malaysia and Iraq is based on the foundations of understanding, respect and common interests, and this can only be realized when the two countries have positive images of each other. If the images reflect the reality of the two countries, this can easily create a good relationship between both countries. This study analyzes the news stories and articles in the Malaysian press about events in Iraq for three periods (before the occupation {the period of 15 January 2002 until 8 April 2003}, during the occupation {the period of 9 April 2003 until 28 June 2004} and after the occupation {the period of 29 June 2004 until 18 September 2005}) as present by the New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star. The main purpose of the study is to investigate the image of Iraq and the portrayal of the images of the country (Malaysia) through publication of news stories and articles in the Malaysian press.

1.3 Problem Statement

According to Lippmann (as cited in Saleem, 2002), more than seventy five years ago, people received information about the world outside their community through the mass media such as radio, television and newspaper. The mass media played a crucial role in constructing the images of various societies and their people (Saleem, 2002). Latif, Ahmad and Mustaffa (2012) believed that "the accumulated perceptions and views will form an opinion which is called image. And subsequently, the impression of an image can be positive or negative" (p. 161). Latif, Ahmad and Mustaffa also believed that image will be formed by "an array of factors such as human nature, behaviors, social and cultural richness, economic structure, democracy, human rights, international relations, technical developments, business, globalization, history, responsibilities and environment

among others" (p.161). Similarly, Gartanti, Sunarsih and Setiawati (2012) explained that images is "a thing that an individual, company, organization, or a country needs. The image built in the society can affect the relationship between individual, company, or a country" (p.269).

Mass media news on certain country itself can affect their image on society. The image that will appear could be positive, negative or neutral depending on the content in it. Although there has been quite an extensive research on Iraq, especially during the period of occupation, by the Western media, reviews of literature revealed that there are still certain gaps and weaknesses in the present literature regarding the issue.

First, reviews of the literature have shown that the occupation of Iraq in 2003 had resulted in the emergence of some images about Iraq in the media (Mockaitis, 2007). For example, George W. Bush mentioned, "a liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions". Stover, Megally and Mufti (2005) stated that Iraqis would rush to the streets to welcome American soldiers as they rode triumphant into the Iraqi capital as liberators. In addition, President George W. Bush told America on 22 March 2003 that, "Our mission is clear, to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction, to end Saddam's support of terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people" (Cramer & Thrall, 2012, p.2).

As for the view of Williams (2009), the United States invasion in March 2003 and the subsequent collapse of Iraq's political structures market were a turning point after which organized crimes expanded into a formidable problem for the United States and the Iraqi nascent government. The organized crimes inhibited reconstruction and development and

became a major obstacle to state building; the insurgency was strengthened and sustained by criminal activities; sectarian conflict was funded by criminal activities and motivated by the desire to control criminal markets; and more traditional criminal enterprises created pervasive insecurity through kidnapping and extortion. Organized crimes also acted as an economic and political spoiler of an oil industry that was expected to be the dynamo for growth and reconstruction in post Ba'athist Iraq. Such an example indicates that the occupation of Iraq has created many images of Iraq among other countries (Fried, 2005; Zeidan, 2005; Largio, 2004; Diamond, 2004; Griffin, 2004; Hiebert, 2003). Due to this issue, media and image have become an important research area in international relations and media studies because whenever media transfer a positive image of Iraq, it will help to strengthen the relationship and cooperation of Iraq with other countries. In other words, positive portrayal of the image of Iraq by the Malaysian media will have a positive impact in cooperation between Iraq and Malaysia in various fields.

Second, even though there are studies that had looked at the image of Iraq, it is still worth noting that these studies had focused on the major role played by the Western media in shaping the issues of Iraq. Issues such as saving the Iraqi people, weapons of mass destruction, the connection of Iraq to Al Qaeda and terrorism were the focus of news in the Western media. In addition, issues regarding the soldiers of war and their victories, the effects of war on the Iraqi people, Iraq war as part of the war on terror, and pictures of crowds cheering US troops in Iraqi cities were highlighted by the Western media. Besides that, some other Western media also were not objective in reporting the issues of Iraq. (Dittmer, 2009; Lindner, 2009; Zheng, 2006; Griffin, 2004; Hiebert, 2003). For example there are consistent arguments pertaining to the media's conformity to foreign policy.

The media's advocacy of Bush administration policy towards Iraq was at the expense of basic journalistic principles and media credibility and quite a few scholars labeled them as lies (Zheng, 2006; Largio, 2004; Hiebert, 2003). This was evident especially after the Bush administration had justified that the war was necessary because of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program and Iraq's link to terrorism (Zheng, 2006). This can be attributed to the recent development where Arab and Muslim World had most of the news published linked to terrorism such as the bombing of Afghanistan, Iraq war in 2003, the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict, Al Qaeda, the Iranian threat and general human rights violations, especially against women, and many more, regardless of whether they are accurate and objective (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee, & Ahmad, 2011; Vicente, Otero, López and Pardo). Also, after the September 11 attacks, the US media was dominated by the government agenda. The arrest of an individual in Pakistan who was member of Al Qaeda was highlighted, although the person was not an important member of Al Qaeda. It seemed that the US media portrayed him as a key member of the Al Qaeda in its coverage because the Bush administration needed to winning in the war on terrorism before going to Iraq. Similarly, the US media, when reporting about Iraq, seemed to put it focus on news about the threat of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and the threat of Iraq to the US interests in the Middle East (Zerbisias as cited in Ahmad, 2008). In addition to the misrepresentation of Muslims and Muslim countries due to lack of understanding the Islamic culture, tradition and values by the Western media, American media consider Islam as potential threat after the fall of communism; the Western media presented Islam as an extremist religion and a potential danger to the West as it is seen as a rival to Christianity and Judaism; and misinterpretation of concept of freedom of

women (Saleem, 2002). Thus, this phenomenon has prevented the public from obtaining accurate information about Iraq. If no distinction is made between the Western media and Eastern media, findings of research are unlikely to provide accurate presentations of Iraq. Thus international image study was developed with the aim of predicting and understanding states' behaviors in the international arena (Bilali, 2010).

Generally, studies on the differences of news coverage of Iraq between CNN and Al-Jazeera centered on war. Abdallah (2007) investigated how CNN and Al-Jazeera represented their national interests in their coverage of Iraqi war. Overall, the results suggested that CNN had a more pro-war tendency while Al-Jazeera reflected a more anti-war stance. Wicks and Wicks (2004) analyzed news reported by Al-Jazeera, CNN and Fox News during the days leading up to the fall of Baghdad. They found that Al-Jazeera showed the horrible and horrific side of the war. At the same time, it also attempted to get close to the ordinary Arab citizens as its target audience. On the other hand, Fox News and CNN appeared to favor the war to rally support for the American action in Iraq. Caney (2006) found that Arab channels identified Iraqi war as an occupation, while CNN referred to it as liberation. Moreover, Iraqi soldiers were referred by CNN as Republican Guards which is one of the branches of the Iraqi armed forces, whilst they were called resistance by Al-Jazeera (Ruslan & Hussein, 2011).

Lang and Lang (as cited in McCombs and Shaw, 1972) claimed that the mass media pays attention to certain issues. It builds up public images of political figures and it constantly presents objects suggesting what individuals should think about, know about and how they should feel. Perhaps, this hypothesized Agenda Setting Function of the mass media

is most succinctly stated by Cohen (1963), that a successful press tells the readers what to think, so the media sets the Agenda Setting for issues.

The media greatly affects the image in the minds of people from the outside world. The Agenda Setting Theory effects also have significant implications beyond the images that have been created in people's heads. Originally, the Agenda Setting Theory focused on the salience of issues (McCombs, 2002). On the other hand, Framing Theory highlights some bits of information about an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience (Entman, 1993). Thus, this study focuses on the image of Iraq perceived by Malaysia which is a multi-ethnic country. Malaysia consists of the indigenous Malays (a little over half the total population), Chinese (almost one third the total population), and Indians (slightly less than one tenth of the total population) (Firdaus, 2006). The researcher examines the differences in the portrayal of Iraq in Malaysia by studying two English newspapers, NSTP and the Star, which belong to two different political parties. The United Malays National Organization (UMNO) consists of a majority of Malays (Singh, 1995), while the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) consists of a majority of Chinese. UMNO dominates the political system (Zanuddin, 2010; Humphreys, 2010), while MCA is the second largest political party in Malaysia (Lim, 2007). UMNO owns 80% of NSTP shares while the MCA owns 58% of the Star's shares (Nain and Kim, 2004; Zhong, 1984). In addition, the New Straits Times Press and the Star have the highest circulations in the country (Idid & Kee, 2012). On the whole, in Malaysia the media reflect the policy of the government and the society in which they operate (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee, & Ahmad, 2011). Firdaus (2006) explained that the Malay political party, UMNO, and the Chinese political party, MCA, are components of

the ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional (Table 1.1). However it cannot be denied that each party cares for its ethnic interests. A cursory look at the different newspapers should indicate different agenda. These agenda are then relayed back to their readers, “for example, the Malay Mail and the New Straits Times are both owned by the News Straits Times Press but cover different types of stories with the Malay Mail running more human interests and sensationalistic stories. Utusan Malaysia is closely linked to the Malay political party (UMNO), while the Star is closely affiliated to the Chinese political party (MCA)” (Firdaus, 2006, p.13). Kiang, Ahmad and Kee (2011) see the differences of interest and the upholding the rights of the community served by the ethnic newspapers can be seen from its focus and suggest that future researches should consider English newspapers. In conclusion, the ownership of newspapers probably influenced to a greater degree the Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory about the image of Iraq.

Table 1.1

Characteristics of NSTP and the Star

	NSTP	the Star
Date of first publication	1845	1971
Circulation	293,440	618,513
Readership	285,780	1,143,120
Language	English	English
Owner	UMNO 80%	MCA 58%

Sources of (NSTP online, 2012; Idid & Kee, 2012; Nain & Kim, 2004; Kim, 2001).

Third, the lack of comparative studies with regard to the periods before, during, and after the war which constitutes a major gap in the academic literature (Dimitrova & Connolly Ahearn, 2007). Thus, this study was conducted with the aim to fulfill this research gap by taking into consideration the three periods (before, during and after the occupation, because it was found that during the pre-war period (from September 2002 and from the first issue of January 2003 to the 24 March 2003), the media linked Iraq to terrorism and portrayed the country as a threat of the United States. Furthermore, according to the poll of the CNN/ USA Today /Gallup 2002 and 2003, in the pre-invasion period, many Americans believed that Iraq had a connection with terrorists and this was seen as a big threat to the country (Fried, 2005). While Ahmad (2008) see the significance of the period of the Study (from March 1, 2003 to April 15, 2003), due to after the attack on Afghanistan in 2001, the US increased pressure on Saddam Hussein to cooperate with the U.N. sponsored weapon inspectors. In 2003, the US and its allies invaded Iraq to change the regime because it declared Saddam a threat to US interests in the Middle East. The majority of nations were in favor of giving more time to weapons inspectors instead of invading Iraq, despite political polarization in the world. These developments made this period important because (1) the majority of Muslim countries stood against US invasion of Iraq. (2) This attack motivated millions of people to protest against the US and it created the feelings of anti-Americanism among the Muslims around the world. (3) Iraq war strengthened the role of the US as a super power in the new Millennium. (4) Iraq war also caused many countries which had conflicts with the US to feel threatened. In addition, it is important to explore whether and how the war coverage changed after the mission accomplished announcement by President Bush on 1 May 2003 (Dimitrova &

strömbäck, 2005). Dittmer (2009) found the officials framed Iraq's insurgency as part of the war on terror and the insurgency frame emerged in print during the periods of study (May 2003-April 2004 and Nov. 2005-Oct. 2006).

Fourth, despite the fact that the literature on Agenda Setting Theory focused more on political agenda, very little research is found about the role of Agenda Setting Theory through the study of images, (Zhang & Meadows III, 2012; Idid & Kee, 2012; Wirth and Matthes, 2010; Hayes, 2008) especially Agenda Setting function of print media (Besova, 2008) and specifically the research in Agenda Setting's influence on image is in its infancy (Zhang & Meadows III, 2012). There can be some doubts about the fact that there is more news everyday than the media can possibly accommodate. It is equally true that there could be a dearth of news, not too much so that what is on a good day would not even merit a mention that could make a headline. However, because the former scenario was the reality, media gatekeepers use news judgment criteria to pick and choose what should constitute the day's news. The fact that the choice is subjective is clearly shown in the different headlines and orders of news items (Akpabio, 2005).

These picking and choosing activities "establish the salience of issues or images in the minds of the public" (Akpabio, 2005, p.174). In other words, if the media decides to impose news blackout, as it sometimes happens, any event or person at the receiving end would not be reckoned within the public consciousness of the audience served by the media except of course if there are present alternative media that would convey this news. This is because in today's world, many people have come to rely on the media for news and information which lubricates interpersonal interactions. A conversation can be

started off among strangers based on the front page of news or headlines. This is because the mass media as Cohen noted, “May not be successful in telling us what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling us what to think about” (as cited in McCombs, 2004, p.71). This means “what to think about” is the main issue in the first level of the Agenda Setting Theory.

This research focuses on the first level of Agenda Setting Theory because there are similarities between the second level of Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory. Both are more concerned with how issues or other objects (people, groups, organizations, countries, etc.) are depicted in the media than with which issues or objects are more or less prominently reported. Both theories also focus on the most salient or prominent aspects or themes or descriptions of the objects of interest and are concerned with ways of thinking rather than objects of thinking (Kensicki, 2000).

Fifth, over the past 25 years, an impressive literature has contributed to our understanding of frames and Framing effects (e.g. McLeod, Kosicki & McLeod, 1994; Gamson, 1992; Zaller, 1992; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Entman, 1993,1991; Iyengar, 1991). Framing analysis and Agenda Setting research focused on the relationship between public policy issues in the news and the public perceptions of these issues. However, Framing analysis “expands beyond Agenda Setting research into what people talk or think about by examining how they think and talk about issues in the news” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 70).

The Framing Theory argues that issues covered by the media will later affect the way the public interpret the issues, and thus help people to make judgment on these issues.

Therefore, it can be said that the effects of Framing can be substantial (Ruslan & Hussein, 2011).

Political communication research has shown that the media tells us what the issues of the day are and focuses on the public agenda for specific events (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997; Wanta, 1997). According to the Framing Theory, the media also plays an important role in Framing public issues and events by making certain aspects more salient than the others while putting a specific news angle or “spin” on these elements (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; Entman, 1993,1991; Iyengar, 1991). The Framing Theory posits that the media transfers the salience of specific attributes to issues or events. Given that the media has a key position in the communication process, so the Framing Theory, can give assistance to a further understanding of processes and activities involved in the production, distribution and cross-cultural perception of war coverage in the media (Wilhelm, 2004). There is still much to be learned about the Framing of the Iraq War such as examine the period from the transfer of limited sovereignty to the provisional Iraqi government on July 2004 to another benchmark event (Schwalbe, 2013). Knowing that if the study could be expanded will allow additional conclusions about directions in which frames change overall (Schwalbe, Silcock & Keith, 2008). Also of interest is how the newspapers from the other countries that were not involved in the war framed the Iraq war (Ju, 2007). Despite the large number of Framing Theory studies, there are still gaps in what we know about Framing Theory, especially in the context of image study (Jha-Nambiar, 2002).

Past research (Zhou & Moy, 2007; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) had the tendency to look at limited political issues. It is therefore believed that more research is needed to

investigate the image of a country as perceived by to another country in a longer period of time. According to Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams and Trammel (2005), future research should follow the online news coverage over time such as during the war and perhaps in the aftermath of the war to determine the dominant frames and how they change during a certain period. That is why this study focuses on the Agenda Setting and Framing Theories through three periods (before, during and after) the occupation of Iraq, to determine what people think about image of Iraq and how the newspapers frame the issue.

A study on image is necessary for studying developments in the news over time and the similarities and differences in the ways in which political and other topics of national and international importance are framed in the news in different countries (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Based on this argument, there is a need for studies to attempt to bridge the gaps that exist in the present literature, and the arguments pose important justifications for the present study to be conducted. Comments, critiques as well as suggestions from previous studies have also been carefully considered as they provide a strong basis for the development of the present research. The research is also seen as an effort made towards understanding the issue by studying the image issue from longitudinal perspective that is the news stories and articles coverage of Iraq before, during and after the occupation of Iraq.

Based on the above discussion, this study focuses on a longitudinal content analysis of Iraq's image in the Malaysian press through three periods (before, during and after the occupation of Iraq) to further understand whether the image about Iraq was transferred positively, negatively or neutrally. Ruslan and Hussein (2011) suggest that future

researches should take a longitudinal study to identify the disparities between the images. The researcher chose the New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star newspapers as these two newspapers are the ruling – party owned local English dailies in Malaysia and both have their own websites. Both newspapers are owned by different political parties (Kim, 2001). Malaysia’s mainstream newspapers are still regarded by the Malaysians as an important channel to provide information for decision-makers and the public, despite the emergence of new media such as the Internet (Salman, 2009). Besides, this study also seeks to identify the role of the media and mental image by applying both the Framing Theory strategies used, and Agenda Setting Theory function of NSTP and the Star. The Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory have the potential to better answer exactly how powerful media’s influence is on the images inside the minds of the public (Kensicki, 2000).

1.4 Research Questions

This study focuses on a longitudinal content analysis of Iraq’s image in Malaysian press through three periods (before, during and after the occupation of Iraq) by using the theories of the Agenda Setting and Framing Theories. Hence, this study explores the following questions, which are divided into five parts:

With respect to the total of articles:

RQ1: Are there any significant differences in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP and the Star?

RQ1a: Are there any significant differences in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP by the three periods?

RQ1b: Are there any significant differences in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in the Star by the three periods?

RQ1c: Are there any significant differences in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP and the Star by each period?

With respect to the Agenda Setting Theory:

RQ2: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period?

RQ2a: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation?

RQ2b: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation?

RQ3: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period?

RQ3a: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation?

RQ3b: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation?

RQ3c: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation?

RQ4: Are there any significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq?

With respect to the Framing Theory:

RQ5: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period?

RQ5a: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation?

RQ5b: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation?

RQ6: Are there any significant differences among prominent Frames categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period?

RQ6a: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation?

RQ6b: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation?

RQ6c: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation?

RQ7: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq?

With respect to the Image Categories:

RQ8: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period?

RQ8a: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation?

RQ8b: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation?

RQ9: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period?

RQ9a: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation?

RQ9b: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation?

RQ9c: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation?

RQ10: Are there any significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq?

With respect to the Association:

RQ11: Are there any association between Agenda Setting issues and Image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods?

RQ11a: Are there any association between Agenda Setting issues and Image categories in NSTP about Iraq through the three periods?

RQ11b: Are there any association between Agenda Setting issues and Image categories in the Star about Iraq through the three periods?

RQ12: Are there any association between Framing categories and Image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods?

RQ12a: Are there any association between Framing categories and Image categories in NSTP about Iraq through the three periods?

RQ12b: Are there any association between Framing categories and Image categories in the Star about Iraq through the three periods?

1.5 Research Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- i. To examine the significant differences in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP and the Star.
- ii. To identify the significant differences among the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period.
- iii. To discover the significant differences among the prominent Agenda Setting issues constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period.
- iv. To determine the significant differences among the prominent Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq.
- v. To examine the significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period.
- vi. To identify the significant differences among prominent Frames categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period.

- vii. To describe the significant differences among the prominent Frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq.
- viii. To discover the significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period.
- ix. To describe the significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period.
- x. To determine the significant differences among the prominent Image categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq.
- xi. To identify the association between Agenda Setting issues and Image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods.
- xii. To examine the association between Framing categories and Image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods.

1.6 Scope of the Research

There are several aspects that are included in the scope of the present study which are very important to highlight. It is noted that a number of Muslim organizations are constantly attempting to improve the image of Islam, particularly in the West (Karim, 2006). However, this study will focus on the study of the image of an Islamic country as seen by another multi-ethnic and multi-religious country. Therefore, it is predicted that a study of the image of Iraq in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country, may lead to different results due to the different policies practiced by the press.

The researcher opted to study the Malaysian newspapers as Malaysia had a better standing compared to other countries in the east in terms of press freedom since Malaysia

arrived in the press freedom index in 2003 at 104 among 166 countries. As for Indonesia, it arrived at 110, while in 2011-2012 Malaysia had moved to 122 among 179 countries, and it was ahead of regional countries like Singapore (135), Thailand (137), the Philippines (140) and Indonesia (146), (Press Freedom Index, 2003).

The selection of the two Malaysian English newspapers namely NSTP and the Star was because these two local English dailies are the mainstream newspapers owned by Malaysian ruling party. The United Malay National Organization (UMNO) which is the largest political party in Malaysia owns NSTP, and the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) which is the second largest political party in Malaysia owns the Star. Besides, the NSTP is the oldest English newspaper, while the Star is the rival newspaper to the NSTP and they also have their own websites.

It is important to mention that this study is limited only to the published news stories and articles in the NSTP and the Star. The selected period can be divided into three periods the first being 15 January 2002 until 8 April 2003. The second period is from 9 April 2003 to 28 June 2004, whereas the third period is from 29 June 2004 until 18 September 2005. The occupation lasted 15 months and in view of this, the researcher chose a period of 15 months for the first and the third period. Besides, two theories were selected for this research: Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory. There are two levels of Agenda Setting Theory but in this research, the researcher focuses on the first level of Agenda Setting Theory. The implication is that it will only describe the image of Iraq from the first level of Agenda Setting Theory while the second level is covered in Framing Theory.

1.7 Significance of the Research

The study of Iraq's image as presented by the Malaysian press and a political issue that media studies should focus on needs attention. Consequently, the importance of this research can be shown. Thus, the research tries to provide a complete investigation on the subject in a specific mass media (press) and this will lead to the following advantages:

First, it further shifts the focus from the Western media which portray negative image of Iraq to the Eastern media. The findings will help enrich the knowledge about the image of Iraq and extend it from the initial knowledge about the image of Islamic country in the media of a multi-ethnic country. Second, the knowledge will help the media planners and researchers design studies on a wider scale, to better understand the factors that help facilitate the formation of the image of other countries. Third, the study will help to provide accurate information about the way a country's image is being portrayed by a different country and also provide a greater understanding between the two countries: Iraq will know how another country (Malaysia) views it and this perhaps could help Iraq reform its image through expanding the scope of diplomatic action, stimulating business activity between the two countries and increasing the number of scholarships and cultural exchanges as well as exchanging experience in various fields.

As for Malaysia (the side that produces the image), the study will supply Malaysia with new information that will make it able to treat the defects in its image of Iraq. Fourth, the knowledge gained from the study will also help the two countries to better understand the characteristics of media reporting. Thus it will enable Iraq to directing media toward the outside in different language and style accepted and understood. In addition, it will

enable Malaysia to select the most appropriate news to be printed and take the appropriate measure to build the right image. Fifth, although there has been much scholarly research in the area of mass media, the knowledge about the subjects is still discussed among scholars and researchers especially about the image. Furthermore, the integration of information obtained from the present study and the existing literature on image and mass media will provide a useful theoretical and applied knowledge on news reporting.

Thus, the findings of this study supported the Agenda Setting Theory that states the amount of coverage devoted to an issue by the media agenda translates into salience about that issue on the public agenda. A contribution is further made to the discussion concerning the time frame it takes for an issue to emerge, be covered by the mass media, and translate into public salience. The study also provided support to the Framing Theory that indicated that differences in media organizations have a profound impact on the way important social issues are framed in the newspapers. Foreign policy is another potential variable that influences the Framing process, especially in the international news. Ideology may share some overlapping meanings and implications with foreign policy. The research topic is interesting and significant as it ventures into international media relations discipline body of knowledge, and also thesis strengthens the Framing Theory and Agenda Setting Theory in the context of international relations or foreign policy and media. Furthermore, the longitudinal approach engaged by this study has contributed to some insights in methodology used in media and communication research.

1.8 Conceptual and Operational Definition

A conceptual definition is an important element of any scientific research process. This is especially important for a content analysis. In this research, there are three main elements, namely Image, Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory.

i. Image

With the emergence of globalization after the post-cold war, countries pushed their attention to building a positive image as that is kind of soft power. In this century, it is useful to build a positive image of the country and improve building relations with other countries (Li & Hitty, 2009). Thus, newspapers are important transmitters in image transfer for countries, people and individuals because the newspapers have the advantage of leaving strong impressions and lasting memories in the minds of readers through the printed words (Ibrahim & Hashim, 1996). However Henslowe (2003) say image is the impression gained according to the level of knowledge and understanding of facts (about people, products or situations). Wrong or incomplete information will give a wrong image. Hanan (2006) saw the image as "a representation of a country's positive or negative standing in the media, in terms of historical, political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious context" (as cited in Saleem, 2002, p. 136). Likewise, Noshina said that the "image of a country can be defined in the terms of political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious relations in the changing domestic, regional and international scenario and its effects on the thoughts, behaviors, feelings, and inclinations of the owners of the media organization" (as cited in Saleem, 2002, p. 136). Thus, the

media are a major barometer in constructing and deconstructing images and knowledge and promoting cultural understanding in today's world (Sati, 2009).

In this research, context image is defined as perception of Malaysian newspapers toward Iraq in terms of historical, political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious aspects, which will be measured as positive, negative and neutral as suggested by (Shabir, Ali & Iqbal, 2011; Küçükcan, 2010; Galal, Galander & Auter, 2008).

- a. Positive Image: All positive points and a good reputation to Iraq and its people, such as rejection of the occupation, and the reconstruction of Iraq.
- b. Negative Image: All negative points and a bad reputation to Iraq and its people, such as the emergence of the looters.
- c. Neutral Image: All neutral points to Iraq and its people, which are not positive or negative, such as the goal of the US invasion of Iraq for oil and its desire to control the world as the dominant power.

ii. Agenda Setting Theory

The Agenda Setting Theory of the media suggests that the more important the news of a particular issue presented by the media, or how salient its coverage of the issue is, the more important that issue becomes for the media towards the public. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) believe that Agenda Setting "refers to the emphasis of mass media on certain issues" (p.11). This means that Agenda Setting Theory seeks issue salience (Weaver, 2007). This Theory presupposes the existence of a relationship between media attention to certain issues and the degree of salience of these issues for people. In other

words, the increased media attention to particular issues leads to the thinking of society about the issues. Thus, the media constitutes the priorities of the community (Brown & Deegan, 1998). The Agenda Setting Theory assumes that "the transmission of object and attribute salience from the press to the public about issues, political figures and other topics-have significant consequences for people's attitudes and opinions" (McCombs, 2005, p. 549).

In this case, the Theory suggests that a large amount of news coverage related to Iraq could result in the public considering the issue as quite important (Agenda Setting). Thus the Agenda Setting Theory in this study focuses on a particular issue of Iraq, which means that Agenda Setting Theory refers to issue which the audience must think about Iraq.

This study investigates four issues because these were the most covered issues during the periods studied. The four categories are as follows:

- a. The US policy and the occupation of Iraq: This refers to the news that describes the US policy toward Iraq, world and invasion of Iraq, particularly the invasion of Iraq as an occupation, not liberation.
- b. Iraq's needs and suffering: This refers to the news that describes the Iraqi people and their tribulations, particularly the shortages resulting from the military disaster, such as food, shelter, medicine, sanitation, electricity, safety and security.

- c. The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq: This refers to the news about Malaysia's policy toward the Middle East, such as Malaysia's rejection on war and occupation of Iraq.
- d. The impact of war on Malaysia: This refers to the news about the potential war impact on Malaysia and its consequences towards the public.

iii. Framing Theory:

The Framing Theory suggests that the way news media presents a particular issue has the effect on influencing people's understanding of it, rather than simply the fact it is presented.

Entman (1993) believed that "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" (p. 52). The definition of frame depends on the work of Tankard et al. (1991) who said that "the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (as cited in Eun-Ho, Kyung-Woo, & Afifa, 2007, p. 3). In this case the public's understanding of the occupation of Iraq could be influenced by the way the information about the issue was presented to them in the news coverage as suggested by the Framing Theory.

In this study the definition that will be used is how Malaysian newspapers framed the issues of Iraq by highlighting on a particular aspect of the issue to describe and explain.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) introduced five generic frames that were common: Conflict, Responsibility, Economic consequences, Human interest and Morality, but this study will focus on four frames, because these frames were the most used frames during the periods studied. The four frames are as follows:

- a. Responsibility frame: This frame highlights the people, and the government responsible for causing certain issue.
- b. Conflict frame: This frame highlights the conflict between people, groups, and the government.
- c. Economic consequences frame: This frame highlights the economic effects following certain issues.
- d. Human interest frame: This frame highlights the humanity perspective.

1.9 Conceptual Framework for the Study

The conceptual framework for the study is presented in Figure 1.1 which is based the literature review of the media Framing Theory and Agenda Setting Theory. Figure 1.1 portrays research process in determining the Agenda Setting issues and the Framing categories about Iraq in Malaysian English newspapers (NSTP and the Star) to know the image of Iraq.

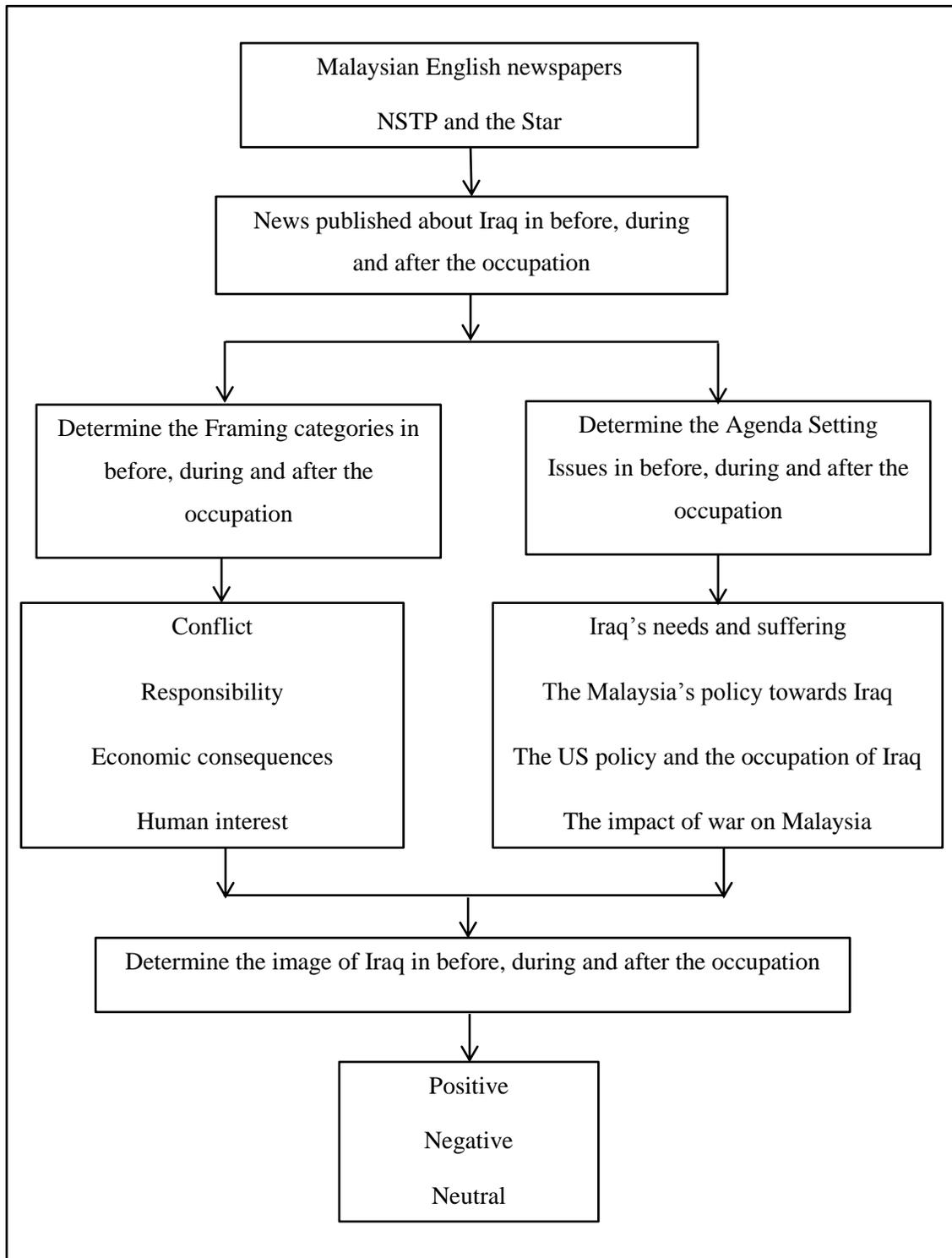


Figure 1.1. Conceptual Framework

1.10 Outline of the Research

This study is organized into five chapters including the introductory chapter (Chapter One). The details of the remaining chapters are described below:

Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework of the study as well as describes the history of Iraq, Malaysia-Iraq relationship, the policy of Malaysian press, the role of the media in shaping image, the role of the Malaysian media in shaping public opinion, studies on the image of Iraq, theories of the media (the Agenda Setting and Framing Theories), the history of New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star and hypotheses.

Chapter Three presents the review of the research methodology of the study, research design, content analysis, content analysis procedure including units of analysis, data analysis, categories, sampling and pre-test that includes two sections: reliability and validity.

Chapter Four discusses the findings of the study, describes data analysis and explains the procedures used to apply the theories in the study.

The last chapter which is Chapter Five focuses on discussions and conclusions of the major findings of the study.

1.11 Chapter Conclusion

The image of Iraq was extensively covered by the Western media. Overall, the Western media adopted a negative stance in the image of Iraq and Muslim countries. As the Western media gave immense coverage of the period of the occupation of Iraq,

but there are gaps of the coverage of the image of Iraq as portrayed by the Eastern media.

The study aims to reveal the image of Iraq as portrayed by the Eastern media through the two Malaysian English newspapers. The chapter also explains the problem statement, research questions, research objectives, scope and significant of the research, conceptual and operational definition, and conceptual framework that are based on Agenda Setting and Framing Theories. These theories will be discussed in detail in the second chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents how Malaysia depicted the image of Iraq through some past studies, the history of Iraq, Malaysia-Iraq relationship, the policies of the Malaysian press, the role of the media in shaping image, the role of the Malaysian media in shaping public opinion, the study on the image of Iraq, theories of the media (the Agenda Setting and Framing Theories) and the history of New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star.

2.2 The History of Iraq

According to Akoum, Zbib, and Ahmed (2007), Iraq was known as Mesopotamia, and often called the "cradle of civilizations". With a population of 27 million people, the country has a wealth of history and heritage, traditions and culture in addition to its strategic location in the Middle East, where it is surrounded by six countries: Iran in the East, Turkey in the North, Jordan in the West, Saudi Arabia in the South, Syria in the North-west and Arab Gulf and Kuwait in the South-east (Figure 2.1). It has two major rivers, namely the Tigris and Euphrates, which are relied on for agriculture. The percentage of farmland in Iraq is about 22% while the proportion of desert land is 38% of the country. Iraq has natural resources such as oil and natural gas, phosphates, sulfur, as well as oil reserves that is the second largest in the world (11% of world reserves). As for ethnic composition, Iraq consists of Arabs and Kurds. Arabs are the majority of the population of Iraq who constitute nearly 80%, while ethnic Kurds who live in mountainous areas in north-eastern highlands are 19% of the population.

Therefore, Arabic is the official language, with English, Turkish, Kurdish, and Assyrian as minority languages. Islam is considered as the official religion as the Muslims constitute about 97% of the population. The Shi'a Muslims constitute about 60%, while the Sunni Muslims about 35% of the population. The history of Iraq shows the ongoing conflict for control of this because of its strategic position which is in the heart of the Middle East. Since the country had the invasion of the Persian and then the Ottoman Empire and then the British occupation (Akoum, Zbib & Ahmed, 2007), and finally the American occupation in 2003, the Iraqi people witnessed the senseless killings and devastations that have caused the death of over 100,000 Iraqis who were mainly civilian men, women and children; the non-combatants that were so-called “collateral damage” (Chang, 2006). While Crawford (2013) stated that direct violence against civilians and the destruction of infrastructure and bad public health system will lead to more indirect deaths in Iraq, despite efforts by governments, international organizations, and international humanitarian organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Handicap International, to repair Iraq's infrastructure.

The US attack on Iraq, despite opposition from inside and outside of US, originated from its desire to control the world, after the end of the cold war, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1989, was followed by the establishment of a unipolar power bloc in the international system, which is led by the United States with the support of its allies in NATO. The center stage of the United States security policy shifted from Europe to the Middle East, and this shift is attributed to four reasons. Firstly, the Middle East is the nerve center of one of the world's largest religion- Islam, and considering Israel's territorial position and relation with the Islamic majority in the region, without the US

help, the security of Israel would be seriously jeopardized. Secondly, the Middle East provides a very important naval route which links the Indian Ocean to the North and South of America, and also the Mediterranean. Thirdly, its proximity to Russia is of strategic importance to the US-NATO alliance, and lastly, the Middle East held the world's largest oil reserves, making it an important economic interests of the United States (Ufomba, 2010).

Thus, the possible reasons in the American decision of invading Iraq were: First, the United States is and has been the hegemon since the collapse of the Soviet Union. US felt that their hegemony over the world are under threat because of the events of September 11, so the invasion of Iraq will prove its dominance. Secondly, wars and blockade experienced by Iraq caused its military capabilities to weaken compared to the military capabilities of Iran and North Korea. Therefore, the invasion of Iraq was made easier for the US regardless of whether the existence of weapons of mass destruction was confirmed or not. Thirdly, the US knew that if no actions were taken after the September 11 event, it would be devastating to their image. The consequence would be a new world order which wouldn't have been for the benefit of the USA. Fourthly, the US was adamant that the invasion of Iraq was necessary because Saddam was a threat to other countries. Therefore, US was acting to ensure other countries' safety as well as to bring democracy to Iraq (Özdemir, 2011).

Whereas Cramer and Thrall (2012) explanations behind the decision to invade Iraq were based on five reasons: first, geopolitical position; second, to put pressure on Saudi Arabia to eliminate Al Qaeda; third, to put pressure on Iran; fourth, to secure south west Asian

route to Central Asia; and fifth, to minimize Chinese and Russian position in Central Asia.

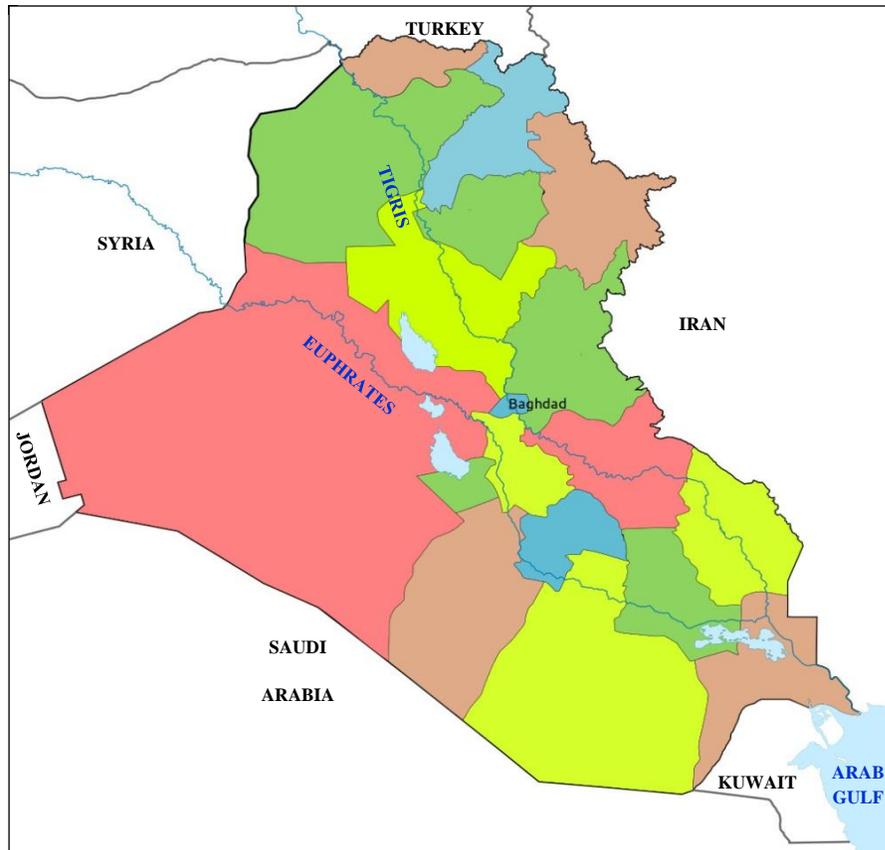


Figure 2.1. Map of Iraq

2.3 Malaysia-Iraq Relationship

According to Harun (2009), Malaysia's foreign policy has shifted from the staunchly pro-West position in the 1950s and 1960s to a policy of non-alignment in 1970 beginning with Tun Razak's administration. Since then Malaysia has continued with this foreign policy stance. The coming of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad into power in 1981 brought a significant change in Malaysia's foreign policy. It is said that TunDr Mahathir intended to keep foreign policy under his close control. He established an order of priority in

foreign policy which provided Malaysian foreign policy executives an ordered sense of priorities, hitherto not formally established. In this 'concentric circle' of things, ASEAN was ranked first, followed by the Islamic countries in the second position and thirdly by Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Malaysia established relationship with Iraq in the 1960s and the country became one of the more familiar polities to Malaysians. Many Malaysian students went to Iraq to study. On the other hand, Iraq was facing a total embargo from the United Nation and this did not favor facilitation of such effort. Malaysia and Iraq also negotiated for Iraq's purchase of Malaysia's palm oil which amounted to around 250,000 tons.

Ali (2002) stated that Malaysia continued to support the Iraqi people in the face of UN sanctions and US military strikes. The former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir condemned the plans of the United States and Britain to launch an attack against Iraq without a good reason.

Liow (2003) claimed that during a visit to Washington in May 2002, Mahathir was reported to have made a portentous comment as he said if America wanted Saddam's overthrow, they could get it, but they should not make the Iraqi people pay the price. The Malaysian government had opposed military action against Iraq by the US through the justification of war against terrorism in Iraq. The former Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir took a good advantage of Malaysia which chaired the Non-Aligned Movement in making the decision to reject the US attack on Iraq without the U.N permitting this action which constituted a violation of international law. There were criticisms towards the dual policy at the time when America launched its war on Iraq under the pretext of weapons of mass destruction, as it allowed North Korea's possession of it as well as the lack of

pressure on Israel to comply with Security Council resolutions on the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The other reason for Malaysia's opposition to the war in Iraq was because it viewed Washington's policy as the one that represented war against Islam.

Smith (2003) argued that both Malaysia and Indonesia agreed that Iraq needed to dismantle weapons of mass destruction and complete the work of the inspectors, but they opposed the war. The majority of the population of Malaysia and Indonesia who are Muslims claimed that the US invasion of Iraq would lead to public discontent.

According to Vaughn (2003), the relationship between the US and Malaysia is positive, specifically in the area of trade. Malaysia is a major partner of the US in trade, as well as regional cooperation in the war against terrorism, but their strained relationship is caused by the disagreements on issues such as the Iraq War, the Israeli and Palestinian conflict and globalization. In addition to the remarks made by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, added that the United States is the new imperialist power under the influence of the Zionist Jews. This caused the threat to pass a resolution calling on Mahathir to resign or apologize. The continued tension with the United States that condemned the statements of Dr. Mahathir who claimed that the Jews ruled the world. President Bush responded in 2003 to Tun Dr Mahathir saying that such comments were wrong. He said to Tun Dr Mahathir that the war against Iraq led to earning the hatred towards America by 1.3 billion Muslims around the world.

According to Khalid (2003), the events of September 11 (2001) led to changes in the relationship between the United States, Malaysia and South-East Asia in general, despite the fact that Malaysia was an ally of America. However, the relationship between

Malaysia and America soured as a result of Dr. Mahathir's anti-Western position. The United States' aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq led to the situation of pressure on Malaysia and the relationship between the two countries. The statement "that you are either with us or with them the terrorists"(p. 98) made by Bush after the September 11 event did not go down well with the ruling elite and the public in Malaysia. Clearly, to many people in Malaysia, America emerged as the only superpower since the collapse of the Soviet Union which led to a change in foreign policy. The evidence could be seen in Bush's decision to liberate Iraq without having to consult the United Nations. Therefore, America has become the policy of unilateralism, an exciting international concern, even among America's allies like both France and Germany had criticized the US decision on Iraq's war.

So the majority of Malaysian Muslims had become more critical of US since the launching of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq because it is seen as a war against Islam and Muslim. This domestic imperative clearly has endured beyond Mahathir. This was evidenced by his successor Abdullah Badawi's US policy from 2003 until 2009, which was characterized by a continuing ambivalence, albeit in a much softer and gentler tone (Chwee, 2012).

US-Malaysia relations improved since Abdullah Badawi came to power, that during Badawi's visit Washington 2004, President Bush expressed his opinion that "the United States and Malaysia enjoy strong bilateral ties, ranging from trade and investment relationships to defense partnerships and active cooperation in the global war on terrorism. As a moderate Muslim nation, Malaysia offers the world an example of a modern, prosperous, multi-racial, and multi-religious society. However, there are aspects

of US-Malaysia relations that periodically raise tensions between the two nations, such as the invasion of Iraq; Malaysia critiques the US approach to counterterrorism as lacking balance (Martin, 2008).

The US relationship with Malaysia, under the Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi, continued to be relatively smooth, solidifying a more civil version of the combination of criticism and cooperation that had characterized relations under Badawi's colorful predecessor Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. Badawi has maintained Malaysian criticism of US policies in Iraq and the Middle East, though not with the same edge as Mahathir (Baker, 2004).

In conclusion, the foreign policy turned Malaysia from having a pro-Western stance in the fifties and sixties to the policy of Non-Aligned Movement in the seventies and after the advent of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad in 1981, it changed again because he put some priorities in the policy of Malaysia. Tun Dr. Mahathir criticized the US policy as being selective, especially with regard to the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the bombing of Iraq, as both are seen as a war against Islam and Muslim this domestic imperative clearly has endured beyond Mahathir. This was evidenced by his successor Abdullah Badawi's US policy from 2003 until 2009, which was characterized by a continuing ambivalence, albeit in a much softer and gentler tone. The relationship between Malaysia and America is sometimes tensed, but positive especially in the area of trade and Malaysia's effective role in war against terrorism.

2.4 The Policy of the Malaysian Press

The role of the media in Malaysia is shaped not only to disseminate information and to educate as envisaged in the government's policy, but also to guide the people to walk hand in hand with the government's aspiration and policy, to be able to be sustained and survive in the media industries (Ahmad, Kee, Mustaffa, Ibrahim, Wan Mahmud, & Dafrizal, 2012). In Malaysia, the function of the media is to support the goals of the government, as well as assist in promoting the spirits of friendship and unity among the people (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee, & Ahmad, 2011).

Sani (2004) argued that the Malaysian government prohibits stories that are related to race, religion or the problems of foreign countries because of the religious and ethnic composition of the mixed population of the country and their sensitivity, as well the relationship with neighboring countries.

The Malaysian government began to control the media gradually since the declaration of Independence in 1957, because it is not ready for the freedom of expression, which leads to political instability and unrest between the races and this consequently leads to the obstruction of economic development. There has been a restriction in the freedom of the press in Malaysia. According to Sani (2004, p. 345), media freedom criteria in Malaysia included:

- i. Mass media control through laws that cover allegation, compensation, confidentiality, security and licensing.
- ii. Favouritism in choosing and broadcasting or publishing any public news.
- iii. Permission to use international of foreign news agency services.
- iv. Licensing rights of printed publication.

- v. Distribution and dissemination of publications.
- vi. Freedom to criticize issues in relation to the government, government agencies, regional agencies, and civil servants.

According to Kim (2001), The New Economic Policy (NEP) led to the state control of the media in the country, due to the goal of NEP which was "national unity" (Hwang, 2003). The rationale behind the NEP is based on the recognition that national unity in Malaysia is the pre-requisite for development in all aspects of life. Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamed introduced Vision 2020 in 1991. His Vision 2020 stresses on development in terms of national unity and social cohesion, economy, social justice, political stability and system of government, quality of life, social and spiritual values, national pride and confidence (Saad & Jacob, 2012), and Malaysia was to reach NEP goal through two ways: First, to reduce and eradicate poverty; Second, to restructure Malaysia's economy (Hwang, 2003). This indicates that the state controls the media to achieve national unity. Thus, with regard to news coverage on Iraq, the media in Malaysia reflects the stand of the government and also its views on international issues.

Sani (2004) believes that in Malaysia, the scenario can be traced from the ownership of the press again soon after the independence of Malaysia in 1957. Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad in his speech in the 48th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1993 showed his clear support of the theoreticians of social responsibility when he said Malaysia believes in freedom of the press, but should come with responsibility, but this does not mean that Malaysian ignore supervision of responsibility. Given that Malaysia has experienced fairly rapid growth since independence, and the media industry's expansion has been a close reflection of this. The

media's commercial growth has been matched by the progressive introduction of stricter legislation controlling its output, with most of the media owned by interests close to the government. These conditions have led to more censorship and shrinking democratic space for the media (Wong, 2000).

Lent (1981) claimed that the amendments in 1974 to the Malaysian press laws also disallowed foreign ownership and forced newspapers to go to public ownership. The ownership of press in the 1970s shifted in growing numbers to political parties and government agencies, especially among English and Malay newspapers. In the mid 1970s, the New Straits Times Group (three dailies plus magazines) was reportedly eighty percent owned by Pernas (the state trading corporation which had ties with the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the predominant political party. Thus, the Malaysian media is controlled by the government through a series of enactments and laws, as well as the control through ownership of the media itself (Lim, 2007)

Hamzah (2008, 2009) identified four varieties of rotating media; the first type is in the dominance of the economic elite on the media, such as Russia, while the second type is regarding controlling the political elite on the media such as South Korea, Taiwan and Malaysia. The third type is a system and the media in some countries like in Latin America, while the fourth type is the traditional dominance of liberalism in contemporary Europe such as Sweden and Britain.

Malaysia also has witnessed a rapid development in the field of communication technology, which supports the development of the media. The media is now an educational tool that provides knowledge and scientific research and promotes the needs of the society for information and knowledge that the media must continue supporting the

cause towards the development of Malaysian society and the transition to a society of information and communication.

According to Idid (1996), the Freedom of Information Center is one that believes that the press is not only an index but a predictor of political change in the nations of the world. As for rules and regulations, there are various rules and regulations governing the operation of the press in the country. Haji Adnan (1988) listed 47 pieces of legislations and ordinances that affected press freedom in Malaysia but in review, some of the laws were common to other countries. Defamation and Criminal laws are to protect the individuals rather than to regulate the operation of the press. Such laws also exist in other countries. Proponents of press freedom would point out to the Printing Presses and Publications Act of 1984 requiring an annual state license to operate a newspaper as an act that prescribes the degree of press freedom in Malaysia.

Idid (1996) argues that in such a given situation, journalists have often said that their writings should not inflame sensitive feelings during racial strife nor should they contribute to inflaming the hate among the diverse ethnic groups. In the remarks of the former Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir in numerous occasions on the role and responsibility of the press, he saw the press as operating within the concept of social responsibility which meant that Journalism as an institution must function for well-being of the community. Therefore, the media should publish information in favor of Malaysia. The former Prime Minister is sensitive to charges that the government controls the press in Malaysia. He is of the opinion that the press as a powerful institution must carry a heavy burden in reporting factual information. The press can also cause the destruction of

the economy and stability in the country and can create the views and opinions of the wrong.

Hamzah (2009, 2008) argued that the system of the media in the Malaysian society is an important factor for social, political, economic, and cultural change and people realize how strong the influence of the media is and if it is used incorrectly, it can lead to a destabilization of the society. It has helped the Malaysian media to some extent in building the economy of the country as well as in putting an emphasis on national identity and unity, and the preservation of racial harmony. In addition, it also has the role in building a position among the international communities particularly among developing countries through pride in history and the culture of Malaysia.

Ibrahim (2010) claimed that this is the situation because it acts as watchdogs who check and balance the powers of the other three branches of the government: the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The media and journalists have the potential to eradicate stereotypes and misconceptions and ease tension, but at the same time they can cause anxiety and fear in the society. Their roles become increasingly important with the complex psychological warfare and mounting global tensions raging everywhere in the world. Most Malaysian journalists prefer to work from within in the form of self-censorship. Ethically conscious journalists also feel the need for voluntary recognition and acceptance of responsibility to provide the kind of information that will not rupture the social fabric and cause unrest among the people. Such recognition and awareness have become a way of life for Malaysian journalists who have to operate under a multi-ethnic and diverse social system. Against a backdrop of internal sensitivities resulting from Malaysia's multi-ethnic population and also for the sake of national security,

Malaysia has set aside the right to freedom of expression like the rest of Southeast Asia. Perhaps, the most precarious thing is the way the Malaysian government rationalizes its control over the media. Several of the reasons given have to do with the internal sensitivity resulting from Malaysia's multi-ethnic background and national security. Amongst development-oriented priorities that have always been the platform for national development plans are national unity, economic and political stability, work ethics and the inculcation of proper values. Therefore, role and performance of the media are the direct concerns of the government, especially at times such as the present when the nation is beset with numerous social, economic and political challenges (Ibrahim, 2010).

According to Nelson (2007), the freedom of the press is essential to achieving economic and human development, but this freedom is applied differently from one country to another. In Asia, in spite of economic development, the governments control the press as an instrument of social responsibility, or to promote the objectives of the governments. According to Anuar (2005), because of the hierarchical nature of Malaysian society, a lot of respect is given to politicians, so the journalists unintentionally avoid asking controversial questions. Still looking at the media of Malaysia as an important factor in social and economic change, the traditional view about the role of the media in Malaysia is that it is not only in the administration and the mainstream media, but also in the designed path towards approaching the press, like in public institutions of higher education. The study of the profession of journalism at the level of higher education is a new policy for Malaysia's economy in 1970 and it had a strategy representing the eradication of poverty regardless of race, reducing ethnic division, and laid an emphasis on social and economic development as a way to achieve good racial relations and

recently it has considered the media as an important means to achieve economic community.

Sani (2004) believed that the issue of race is used as a motive for the control of the press in Malaysia because their purpose is to support the government's policy in order to achieve its goals. Despite the existence of restrictions in the media in Malaysia, it cannot be denied that there is some space enabling journalists to take advantage of them, especially as the government, society and the media itself are subject to significant transformations (Rajaratnam, 2009).

To sum, the existence of political control over Malaysian media could be due to the fact that the media system in the Malaysian society is an important factor for social, political, economic, and cultural change and if it is used incorrectly, it can lead to a destabilization of the society. Thus, the issue of race and The New Economic Policy (NEP) led to the state control of the media in the country in order to support the government's policy in order to achieve its goals in addition to achieve development in all aspects of life. In conclusion, the policy of the Malaysian Press with regard to the war in Iraq was in line with the Malaysian government policy which opposed the invasion of Iraq.

2.5 The Role of the Media in Shaping Image

Majority of individuals in the world don't travel internationally. This makes the media play a significant role in drawing images of other countries in an amazing way. According to McNelly and Izcaray (as cited in Saleem, 2002), the mass media can contribute to people's understanding or misunderstanding of each other's country.

The media have the potential to portray individuals or group of individuals or nations in a negative, positive or neutral way. One cannot deny that opinions are formed in part by gathering pieces of information that have been reported through the mass media and comparing them with the images of events or people, which already have been stored in our minds (Ibrahim & Hashim, 1996). According to Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee, and Ahmad, (2011), many Third World leaders believed that the Western news agencies provide negative images of the Third World by focusing on issues such as war, illiteracy, poverty and revolutions.

Shadid and Van Koningsveld (2002) focused on the causes of the negative image of Islam and Muslims in the West. The most important reasons for these are:

(i) The changing power relationship: The end of the Crusades marked the end phase of Western hegemony and the colonization of the Muslim World in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (ii) The clash of civilizations and the indispensable enemy: This explains the negative image of Islam and Muslims in the Western world on the assumption of the clash of civilizations between both cultures, Western culture on one hand and Islamic and Confucian cultures in China and Korea on the other. (iii) The politics of Islam: There have been acts of violence in the Muslim World such as the Iranian revolution in 1978-1979, the revolution in Afghanistan, and the Algerian civil war. (iv) The information service: The role of the Western media has been to explain the religion of Islam through spreading the assumption that the religion of Islam represented the inequality of women, and the Muslims or the Muslim World is related to the images of aggressive shouting men with beards (Shadid & Van Koningsveld, 2002). (v) The increased Muslim-immigration to the West: Another attempt is to explain the existence of

the so-called Islamic threat related to the increased immigration to the West by people with an Islamic background, and the reason is socio-economic factors (Shadid, 2006; Buijs & Rath, 2002).

Ali (2012) examined the media coverage and portrayal of Turkey before the events of September 11 from 1991 to 2001 in Newsweek and Time. He analyzed 551 issues of Newsweek and 547 issues of Time and found that a large proportion of the coverage was negative. Li (2012) studied China's image in Australia and he examined the media frames of China in Australia, from 2005 to 2008. He employed qualitative content analysis, and his respondent was the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). The results showed that both programs represented China negatively in a political sense, but neutrally in economic and environmental terms. Nevertheless, ABC portrayed China favourably regarding the cultural aspect. Framing devices are evident, including presentation format, animal images, ideological words, and the public memory of the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989.

Selim (2012) investigated the differences of the coverage of the Egyptian revolution in Egyptian (Al-Ahram, Al-Wafd & Al-Masry Al-Youm) , American (The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal) and Israeli (Haaretz and Ynetnews) newspapers. This study analyzed the articles from 17 January to 19 February 2011. She found that Egyptian newspapers considered the revolution as a main turning point in Egypt's history while the American and Israeli newspapers reported it as a foreign issue that might have an effect on Israeli and American interests in the Middle East. It was also found that ownership of newspapers was the factor influencing the coverage of the revolution in the Egyptian

newspapers. Al-Ahram, which was owned by the state, was found to be keen to marginalize the opposition and distort the demonstrators' image. Al-Wafd, a newspaper which belonged to an opposition party, highlighted the party's role during the revolution, while Al-Masry Al-Youm, a private newspaper, focused its coverage on the ousted Egyptian government. However, findings of the study found that ownership did not have any impact on the coverage of the revolution in the Israeli or American newspapers.

In another study, Baum and Zhukov (2013) examined the differences in reporting between democratic and non-democratic states in the news coverage of the Libyan Civil War in which they analysed 207,729 articles published by 2,322 newspapers in 106 countries between December 18, 2010 to October 23, 2011. Their results showed evidences of media bias in non-democratic states (pro-Qaddafi), in which the news reports by the media ignored government atrocities. In contrast, the media in democratic states (pro-rebel), showed the opposite patterns in their news coverage.

Khder (2011) investigated the differences of Egyptian mass media covering the official American stand towards the Egyptian revolution. Content analysis was used for the study and the respondents were El Masry El Youm, El Ahram, El Wafd, El Shorouk, El Ahaly, and the 9:00 pm news on the Egyptian television from 25 January to 15 February 2011. She found that Al-Wafd and Al-Ahram newspapers, as well as the Egyptian television were in support of the US stand and did not direct criticism at the US administration in their reports. However, Al-Shorouk and Al-Masry Al-Youm seemed to take the side of people who support the Egyptian revolution and criticized the US administration, thus reflecting their liberal attitudes towards the event.

Yehia (2011) examined the coverage of the Egyptian revolution in 2011 in the Aljazeera and the CNN. He found that Aljazeera's coverage of the event was based on the terms of view of the protesters, top opposition leaders, and thus described the revolution as nonviolent and peaceful. In contrast, CNN's coverage of the event was based on the terms of view of CNN reporters, allied governments and US officials and thus described the revolution as chaos.

Yusoff, Hassan, and Hassan (2011) investigated the Framing media on Islam and terrorism after the death of Osama Bin Laden. They used content analysis for the study and the respondents were The Economist and TIME, two leading international news magazines in the UK and the US. The study found that most news covered by both magazines were news from the Middle East, where Islam and Muslims are very dominant. Even after Osama's death, there were still some negative labeling of Islam where it is associated with terrorism. This is due to the fact that most of the coverage on issues related to Islam revolved around "war" and "terrorism". It seemed that the western media was biased against Islam as it is still feeding the international readers with a negative perception towards Islam.

Sedu (2011) focuses on the representations of Islam and Muslims in one of the mainstream daily newspapers in Australia, the Australian. He used content analysis of a daily newspaper in Australia, The Australia. He found that Islam was perceived as a violent religion and Muslims were violent-prone individuals, and the newspaper attributed all the bad business to Islam.

Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee, and Ahmad, (2011) investigated how the images of superpowers which include US, Britain, Russia , China and Japan were portrayed by international

news agencies, and by the government-owned National News Agency (BERNAMA) as portrayed in the four mainstream newspapers (News Straits Times, the Star, Utusan Malaysia and BeritaHarian). The results of the analysis of the news from 2008 until 2010 indicated that BERNAMA have had a marginal impact in building the image of Superpowers in the newspapers, because these newspapers portrayed the image of Superpowers of Western perspective depending on the international news agencies, especially AFP, AP and Reuters.

Fritz (2011) used a quantitative content analysis to examine and determine the tone and roles of military women serving in Iraq. The content of articles published in the US and the UK from March 17, 2003 to March 17, 2010 was analysed, this period is divided to three periods, the first period from 17/3/ 2003 to 17/7/ 2005, the second period from 18/7/ 2005, to 17/11/ 2007, and the third period from 18/11/ 2007 to 17/3/ 2010. His result showed that mentions of military women in the UK newspapers were more negative than the US newspapers. Story placement of military women was more prominent in the US newspapers than the U. K. newspapers. Mentions of women in news articles were more positive than editorials, also that military women in news articles play more masculine roles compared to editorial pieces, while the first period more frequently depicted women in feminine roles compared to second and third periods. Finally the tone of women serving in the military during the Iraq War was the frequency of positive, negative and neutral greatest in the first period than second and third.

Khan and Safder (2010) examined the Media Conformity Theory and argued that the mass media generally conform to the foreign policy of governments. It was assumed that Pakistani media would follow foreign policy after Pakistan government adopted the pro-

American stance of anti-terrorism after 9/11. They used content analysis of a total of 394 editorials from 11 September 2001 to 10 September 2004. Their respondents were two Pakistani elite newspapers; The Dawn and Nawa-i-waqt. Their results indicated that the US has a negative image in Pakistani newspapers after 9/11, in which Naw-i-waqt would portray US more negatively than The Dawn. Even though Dawn newspaper tried to be neutral and favourable towards the US after 9/11 attacks, its policy changed after the US engaged in Afghanistan and Iraq crisis. So, in this case, the findings do not support Media Conformity Theory.

Galal, Galander and Auter (2008) studied how the US is portrayed in Arab World online journalism. Their methodology was content analysis and his respondents were the first page of eight online news web sites produced. A total sample of 1624 News and editorial materials at the first page had been selected from March 2007-February 2008. US image is associated with many bad images and meanings such as an unfair country which adopts imbalanced policies toward Middle East. The US is portrayed as an imperial country which adopts offensive policies in a new way. It is seen as a country that violates law or uses law to justify illegal actions.

Schmitt-Beck (2003) viewed the mass communication and personal communication as not being independent of each other as sources of persuasive information, which influence individual voting decisions. His method was a comparative analysis of voters. The study was conducted in four countries of Western democracy, in the early national elections in the 1990s. The countries were the US, the UK, Spain and West Germany. He arrived at the conclusion that all the means of mass communication and personal are important sources of information.

Khan (2008) tested the media conformity Theory that claims the American mass media generally conform to the foreign policy of the US government, after the Pakistan became ally with US against terrorism. He used a content analysis to analyze 130 editorials, while the respondents were The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Wall Street Journal from October 1999 to September 10, 2001 and September 11, 2001 to May 2007. His findings indicated a fear of Islam like a threat to the interests of the Western world, and Pakistan got unfavourable coverage across almost all topics ranging from the conflicts between Pakistan and India, President Pervez Musharraf as a leader, and the nuclear tests. With regard to the slant of the coverage, he found that the total percentage of unfavourable editorials was more than the favourable and neutral ones. Whereas Pakistan was predominantly with neutral frame before September 11, after the 9/11 incidents, the neutrality factor drastically dropped and Pakistan as a foe frame became more. Thus the results do not support the Media Conformity Theory.

Ibrahim and Hashim (1996) identify the types and direction of images of women and women's groups which attended the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, in September 1995. The focus is on the coverage of the media event by the print media in Malaysia, and focuses on the type and direction of images of women and women's groups attending the Fourth World Conference on Women. The researchers analyzed 107 news stories from three Malaysian English dailies (New Straits Times, the Star, and the Sun). The period of study covered was from September 3 - 23, 1996 which marked the beginning till the end of the conference and the aftermath of the conference. They found the media play an important role in image making. Among the three newspapers studied, The Sun has more negative reports of the women's conference possibly because the

newspaper used more wire reports by AFP and Reuters and less by its own staff. Hence, Malaysian readers who read The Sun tended to have a biased view of the Beijing conference and of the women who were attending the conference. With a negative view set by the media, the plight of women for their rights tended to be perceived negatively. Reading more negativities about women in the media will somehow reinforce the negative perceptions already formed in the minds of readers. Nevertheless, on a positive note, it can be seen that women's issues and women's plight for their rights are considered very important by the newspapers. This is proven by the special treatment in terms of news spaces given to the issues. Looking at the length of the articles, it seemed that all the three newspapers gave special emphasis on women's issues. The tabloid newspapers, The Star and The Sun, were seen to dedicate more full-length pages, with long and medium length news on the issues while the broadsheet newspaper, NST, also gave more long and medium length news which normally cover almost half of the broadsheet. Majority of the coverage was on the women's conference. However, in terms of emphasis, the findings showed that the newspapers considered women and human rights issues to be very important as they gave full page report in the tabloid newspapers and half page reports in the broadsheet newspapers. Thus, the findings of the study were almost similar to the current research which found that size of the newspapers does not affect the news published by the press.

According to Hillbom (2009) the Tabloid generally have shorter articles and sentences than broadsheet newspapers which feature more factual details. Furthermore, the language of the broadsheet paper and the tabloid doesn't differ as much as it is perhaps commonly believed. Another study investigated the differences between Tabloid (The

Daily Mail and The Daily Mirror) and Broadsheet Newspapers (The Times and The Guardian) in terms of the amount of text presented on the page. Findings showed that less text is presented on a page in a tabloid newspaper than in a broadsheet newspaper because broadsheet newspapers are written in more specific details and this is different in tabloid newspapers as they contain the basic facts and terms as they are meant for a wider general audience/range of readers (Contrasting Tabloid and Broadsheet Newspapers, 2015).

Thus, this research was carried out by analyzing the whole articles and news stories because the unit of analysis for this study is the whole text, meaning that this research did not depend on the size of the articles and news stories or sentences. Furthermore, both Tabloid and broadsheet newspapers report news and useful information. In addition, both newspapers have similar news format.

In summary, through these articles, the researcher views that the media has a major role in the formation of image and public opinion in its focus on certain topics as well as some of the issues framed to suit its policy, particularly with regard to the eastern countries. Whereas with regard to Iraq image, the coverage of Iraq was linked to terrorism and terrorists. Further, the embedded journalists often described the war in terms of the weakness of Iraqi army resistance, or the surrender and the joy of Iraqi civilians at the demise of the Hussein regime. Meanwhile, stories filed by behind-the-lines journalists described the war in terms of the potential of Iraqi forces to mount significant unconventional counterattacks and the ferocity of the Iraqi irregular forces. Nevertheless the country's media which were against the US attack on Iraq focused their coverage on the anti-war protests and civilian casualties in Iraq. The focus was clearly in contrast with

the US media which were in support of the attack on Iraq. In addition, most of the studies investigated used content analysis as their methodology.

2.6 The Role of the Malaysian Media in Shaping Public Opinion

The primary role of the media is to inform, educate, entertain and persuade. The media can change people's attitudes by focusing on certain issues. This means the possibility of the media to shape public opinions (Haque, 2012).

Walter Lippmann (1922) presented his view on public opinion as “the pictures inside the heads of human beings, the pictures of themselves, of others, of their needs, purposes, and relationships, are their public opinions. Those pictures which are acted upon by groups of people, or by individuals acting in the name of groups, are public opinion” (as cited in Besova, 2008, p. 8), thus he sees that public opinions consist of pictures inside our heads (McCombs, 2004).

Khiang, Ahmad and Kee (2011) in their study, focus on the media frames that are constructed by the ethnic media and that will have impacts on its audiences. In an attempt to figure out the portrayal of contemporary education issues in the ethnic media, the study proposes the following research questions (i) What are the prominent frames constructed by the different ethnic media to inform the public about the contemporary education issues in general? (ii) What are the prominent frames used to portray both the issues of PPSMI and MBMMBI by ethnic media in general? and (iii) What are the prominent frames used by different ethnic media to portray both the issues of teaching and learning Mathematics and Science in English (PPSMI) and Memartabatkan Bahasa Malaysia, Memperkukuhkan Bahasa Inggeris (MBMMBI) respectively? They used content

analysis of newspaper texts and their respondent were the four ethnic media, with Utusan Malaysia and Berita Harian represent the Malay ethnic media, while the Chinese ethnic media represented by Sin Chew Daily and Nanyang Siang Pau. This study has its scope of study locked on the two significant events – demonstration against PPSMI and the announcement of MBMMBI that took place in the year 2009. In addressing the most prominent frame used by ethnic media, the researchers found that the conflict frame was most favored by the ethnic media in their reporting, while economic consequences frame was the least used frame.

The research by Nie and Basri (2011) focused on the problem of understanding qualitatively the content of Malaysian television programs, focusing on the violent content specifically. They used the qualitative content as their methodology. The sample was the overall content of Malaysian television which was analyzed for nine days, devoting one day to one channel for eight hours. It picked nine channels to be assessed namely TV2, TV3, AEC, Wah Lai Toi, HBO, Cinemax, Star Movies, AXN and Diva Universal. This study discovered that television programs in Malaysia are very mild when it comes to violent content, whereby most of the violence is either verbal or indicative violence except for foreign contents coming from Hollywood. The researchers therefore argued that Malaysian television, at a closer look, does not have enough violent content to be blamed upon when it comes to real-life violence.

Rajaratnam (2009) in his study compared the role of the mainstream media against the online media. He used content analysis as his methodology. He attempted to measure the effectiveness of two newspapers, one which was the Star, which is a traditional print media, and the other one was Malaysiakini which is an online media. The researcher saw

the effectiveness of the online media through the successes of the opposition parties in the 12th general election. Online media is a new outlet to audience that they did not have before. Finally, the researcher noted that the online media provides the public with the access to salient issues that are not covered by the mainstream media.

Ibrahim (2007) proposed to identify how war is reported in the media in a developing country such as Malaysia, which does not experience war, in whose words selected in explaining war to the people. Through the qualitative and interpretive analysis of war news in the New Straits Times (NST), The Star, Utusan Malaysia (UM) and Berita Harian (BH) for the period of two months from March 2002 and April 2002. This period was purposively selected because of its representation of peacetime period, months after the US-Afghanistan war and months before the US-Iraq war. She found that there are more issues pertaining to "terrorism in the New Straits Times (NST) due to the fact that in this period, Malaysia came out as an active country expressing views and suggesting strategies to tackle "terrorism" without aggression, while more military news comprising of military actions and combat are covered in The Star (TS), Utusan Malaysia (UM) and Berita Harian (BH).

Shaari, Hua and Raman (2006) analysed two racial and religious issues M. Moorthy (a Hindu who had converted to Islam), and Nyonya Tahir (a Muslim who had converted to Buddhism) cases. They used content analysis for the New Straits Times (NST), Utusan Malaysia (UM), Malaysia Nanban (MN) and Sin Chew Daily (SCD). They found that the newspapers gave more coverage to news events believed important to their respective communities. So the findings refer to that the Moorthy case received more coverage compared to that of Nyonya Tahir. Comparatively, NST and UM had the most coverage.

While SCD had the least coverage. This may be due to the fact that SCD, being a Chinese newspaper catering to the Chinese community, might not have been that interested in a case involving an Indian and a Muslim.

Firdaus (2006) studied preferences of the media, TV3 and the Star, among university students from three ethnic groups, namely the Malays, Chinese and Indians. She distributed a questionnaire to 506 students. She found a bigger ratio of TV3 viewing among the Malay and Indian students, compared with a small percentage of the Chinese. The Chinese students read the Star the most, followed by a small percentage of the Malays and Indians.

According to Gershkoff and Kushner (2005), the press plays important role in shaping public opinion in times of war. Through the analysis of Bush's speeches in the New York Times, they found that the invasion of Iraq in 2003 is part of the war on terrorism and in response to the attacks of 9/11. In addition to convincing its audience of the existence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, this has a huge impact on public attitudes and public supports of the war on Iraq.

In summary, Malaysian media has a role and major impact on community development. In addition, the internet has played an active role in Malaysian politics because it has become a source of political information, and thus affecting the formation of public opinion, also the communal nature of the Malaysian press, due to an apparent slant in how the ethnic press cover events deemed important to their respective communities, influenced by the interests of their own communities, thus this study would show the role

of the ethnic newspapers in portraying the image of Iraq to their audience. In addition, most of the studies examined used content analysis as their methodology.

2.7 Studies on the Image of Iraq

Some images about Iraq emerged during the occupation of the US. According to Barnathan (2004) in his article, he further explained the reasons and the justifications for the US intervention in the Iraq war: it focuses on terrorist organizations and the countries supporting them. Besides, the article also focuses on the war against terrorism and how it was turned into a war against Afghanistan which was seen as the operating center of Al Qaeda and then the war against Iraq, which was said to have a link with weapons of mass destruction that could reach up to the hands of the terrorists.

Iraq is still one of the most covered countries by international media in the Arab countries and the US, but many topics covered on Iraq were mostly related to the war and terrorism and thus the people in these countries cannot understand the development in Iraq after the end of the war (The Media Image of Middle East in International TV News, 2006).

Further, the conflict in Iraq was the most heavily covered war by the news media, where it can be accessed through sources like, local, national, and international online news sites, online communities, and weblogs, as the Pentagon decided not to censor reporters, the reason for this the military and media members "embedding" to work alongside one another, this led to collaboration trust levels between the two organizations in a positive direction because journalists began to understand and become more knowledgeable about the sacrifices of those serving in the military (Carpenter, 2007).

Ali (2012) studied the portrayal of the twelve Muslim countries in the newspapers in America, where he divided the twelve Muslim countries in three categories on the basis of their relations with America. US Allies (Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey), US enemy (Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Libya), and Neutral Countries (Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia and Pakistan). He used the content analysis of 219 articles from 1991 to 2001. The samples were the Newsweek and Time magazines. He found that Iraq was the only Muslim country which received zero percent positive coverage, while Jordan received most positive coverage. He also found that Afghanistan and Indonesia received most negative coverage. The Newsweek and Time depicted the twelve Muslim countries as favorable, unfavorable and neutral respectively. The findings of the study showed that the Newsweek ratio of unfavorable was greater as compared to Time. To sum, it was found that out of 219 articles about Muslim countries in both magazines, the image were favorable, unfavorable and neutral respectively. The twelve Muslim countries were portrayed negatively by Newsweek and the Time.

Ruslan and Hussein (2011) in their study proposed the following problem statement: Which news network is more objective in its coverage of the 2010 Iraqi parliamentary election? Their research questions were: (i) What type of news Framing did CNN and Al-Jazeera often use in their coverage of the Iraqi parliamentary election of 2010? (ii) Did CNN and Al-Jazeera cover the news stories neutrally? And (iii) Did CNN and Al-Jazeera use a diversity of sources in their news stories? The study used quantitative content analysis method to analyze how Al-Jazeera and CNN covered the 2010 Iraqi election. Their respondents were news coverage of Al-Jazeera English and CNN that appeared on their web sites. The results showed that Al-Jazeera was more objective than CNN in the

coverage of the 2010 Iraqi parliamentary election. The most common type of Framing found in the study on political news happened to be of the type of responsibility. In terms of the direction of news, the analysis indicated that both news media covered the stories neutrally and the journalists tended to rely on official sources rather than unofficial sources in their news coverage over any political issues.

Lindner (2009) examined the relationship between journalistic vantage points (particularly embedding) and news content. His methodology was content analysis and his respondents were news reports produced between March 19th 2003 and May 1st 2003. He used news agency web sites, Lexis-Nexis, America's Newspapers, Factiva, ProQuest National Newspapers, and microfilm archives to develop a complete list of articles produced by the journalists during the major combat period. He found that most of the coverage in the print media focused on the experience of the soldiers in the war and minimized the damage of the war on the Iraqi people.

Dittmer (2009) examined how the news media and US officials within the Bush administration utilized rhetoric and specific words over others to frame the violence and civil unrest in Iraq following the US invasion. He used a qualitative content analysis method to analyze briefing transcripts from the Department of Defense archives between May 2003 and October 2006 and quantitative content analysis to analyze 254 stories from the New York Times and The Washington Post between May 2003 to April 2004 and November 2005 to October 2006. The analysis revealed that officials framed Iraq's insurgency as part of the war on terror and the insurgency frame emerged in print during the periods of study.

Ahmad (2008) examined the coverage of the Iraq war and antiwar protests in The New York Times (US) and The Toronto Star (Canadian) from 1 March 2003 to 15 April 2003. He used quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis of news stories published on front pages. He found that The New York Times relied on official sources more than Toronto Star due to the fact that the US newspapers depend more on official sources with regard to foreign policy issues. Moreover, the news stories related to anti-war protests and civilian casualties in Iraq have been marginalized in The New York Times, whereas the news stories related to the weapons of mass destruction including chemical and biological weapons have been magnified together with the news stories emphasizing the importance of the war to liberate the Iraqi people and not for the US strategic and economic interests in the region. The Toronto Star was more vigorous than The New York Times with regard to the coverage of antiwar protests as it reported more on the deaths of Iraqi civilian population, and focused more about the Canadian government's position regarding this issue. Finally, it was found that coverage of the Iraq war got the maximum attention of both newspapers.

Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahearn (2007) examined the Framing analysis of online news sites from two different regions in the United States and the United Kingdom, (The New York Times and The Guardian) as well as Egypt and Qatar (Al Ahram and Al Jazeera). A quantitative content analysis was used to analyze 112 home pages of each of the four online media from March 20, 2003, to May 1, 2003. They found the online news sites most frequently used sources were government and military officials. Hence, The New York Times and The Guardian offered predominantly neutral coverage. In contrast, the two Arab media outlets offered predominantly negative coverage. Finally the Arab media

focused heavily on the military conflict and responsibility frames while The British and American web sites seemed to focus more heavily on looting problems and rebuilding of Iraq frames.

Maeshima (2007) investigated the Iraq War coverage in two liberal orientation newspapers which were New York Times (US) and the Asahi (Japanese). He adopted the quantitative and qualitative content analysis methodology and analysed the news coverage from October 1, 2002 to December 31, 2004 of these newspapers. The quantitative analysis showed that although these two newspapers had the same orientation, they treated the Iraq War differently. It was shown that the New York Times focused on the US decisions about Iraq while the Asahi gave more emphasis on the role of the U N. Moreover, the qualitative analysis found that the New York Times labelled Saddam Hussein regime and terrorists as the evil doers, while the Asahi portrayed the US as the big evil doer.

Willnat et al. (2006) studied the impact of news coverage before the war on international support for Bush's decision to attack Iraq in 2003. They surveyed 1787 university students from six countries Asia, the Middle East and Europe (Britain, Spain, Indonesia, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Egypt). The findings indicated that the higher levels of fear were found among those with more exposure to newspapers in Britain and Hong Kong, news magazines in Spain, CNN in Spain and Malaysia and BBC in Malaysia. The only exception was heavy internet news users in Indonesia who tended to be less concerned about a possible war. Interestingly, the less support for an intervention was found among those who watched more television news in Malaysia, Indonesia and Spain, those who read more newspapers in Britain, and those who listened to more radio and CNN in Hong

Kong. Heavy listeners of BBC in Hong Kong, however, were more supportive of an intervention. As predicted, support for a US military intervention in Iraq tended to be weaker among respondents in Egypt, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Britain and Spain who rejected American customs. Similarly, support was weaker among respondents who rejected American ideas about democracy in Egypt, Malaysia, Britain and Spain.

Noori (2006) studied the news coverage for Iraqi affairs in Kuwait broadcasting in the duration of April 1st to June 30th 2004. He used content analysis and reached to the conclusion that the Kuwaiti media supported the political movement in Iraq through continuous daily coverage, in addition to its focus on the former regime, Saddam's crimes against his own people and neighbors, and its claim to bring Saddam to justice as war criminal.

Zheng (2006) examined the coverage of the Iraq War in the US, the UK and Chinese newspapers conformity to their government's foreign policy on the war. He used content analysis for all news reports published in The New York Times, The Times of London and The People's Daily, from 20 March 2003 to 1 April 2003. He focused on topic, tone, and sources to answer the question. For the topic, The New York Times devoted the largest share of its coverage to "War justification", whereas the highest share for The Times of London was the topic "Other", while The People's Daily focused more on "International diplomacy" and "Public protest and denouncement". For the tone, both the New York Times and The Times of London mostly gave pro-war coverage, while The People's Daily adopted an anti-war stance. For the sources, while The New York Times most frequently used US government sources, The Times of London and The People's Daily used "Other" sources. Finally, the findings of this study supported a previously

posited Theory of Media Conformity with government policy in times of war. The New York Times and The Times of London are widely acknowledged as prestigious newspapers because of their objective and critical reporting. But their coverage of the 2003 Iraq War was far from “objective and critical reporting.”

Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) investigated the Framing of the Iraq war in the elite newspapers in Sweden (Dagens Nyheter) and US (The New York Times), from 20 March 2003 to 1 May 2003 using quantitative content analysis of 408 articles. They found the military conflict frame was more in The New York Times coverage while the responsibility and anti-war protest frames were more in the Dagens Nyheter coverage. It was also found that the New York Times relied more on military sources and official government. The findings also indicated that the coverage by Dagens Nyheter was more negative toward US position on the war.

Ravi (2005) examined the coverage of the tragic incident involving the death of seven civilians including women and children when an American army unit fired on their van that was approaching a checkpoint they were manning near the city of Najaf. He used an analysis of the coverage in the New York Times (United States); the Times of London and The Guardian (United Kingdom); The Dawn (Pakistan) and the Times of India (India). He found The New York Times did not report about the Najaf checkpoint killings, while The Times of London placed the checkpoint killings on top of its front page. The Guardian gave the checkpoint killings story more prominence on the top of its front page than the New York Times and Times of London, whereas both The Dawn and the Times of India focused more on the aggregates and the overall total of civilians killed rather than on the specific incident involving a few deaths.

Aday, Livingston and Hebert (2005) examined the cross-cultural analysis of television coverage of the 2003 Iraq War that seeks to assess and understand the dimensions of objectivity in the news during wartime. They analyzed 1,820 stories on five American networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, FNC) and on the Arab satellite channel Al Jazeera were included in the study. They found that on CNN and FNC about half the stories about the war were primarily about battles and tactics compared to those on the other networks. It was further found that all of the American networks largely ignored any antiwar sentiment, especially in the form of protests and dissenters. Al Jazeera, by contrast, devoted more coverage to protests and diplomacy than did its US counterparts. The findings on the tone indicated that Al Jazeera's coverage was generally neutral though less so than the non-FNC American networks, due to cultural and ideological differences.

Fried (2005) examined terrorism as a context in the major newsmagazines' coverage of Iraq in the pre-war period. He used content analysis of Time and Newsweek from September 2002 because it marked the start of a new effort by the Bush administration to promote support for its Iraq enterprise, and from the first issue of January 2003 to March 24, 2003 in which the first month of 2003 marked the final run-up to war. It included analysis of the issues' cover art, graphics within news stories, and Iraq and terrorism stories. He found that during this period, news magazines frequently juxtaposed terrorism and Iraq and used graphics that linked Iraq to terrorism and terrorists.

Zeidan (2005) focused his research to answer the question of what are the perceptions of Germany toward the image of Iraqi. His methodology involved distribution of 286 questionnaires. Twenty-eight were distributed to same average-sized cities whereas 30

were distributed the major cities. He found that the image of the Iraqi citizen was distorted and focused on the emotional side of the view such as looting and kidnapping foreigners which led to an impression that the Iraqis are characterized by those attributes and their positive side is not highlighted. Finally, he concluded that the distorted image of the Iraqi people in Germany was due to the absence of the Iraqi media in Germany and the weakness of personal contact, although there are a number of Iraqis in Germany, as well as the weakness of the Iraqi diplomatic side in Germany.

Largio (2004) examined the rationales for Iraq war through an in-depth look at the words of President Bush, certain Bush administration officials and four Congressional senators, the Congressional Record, and articles from the New York Times in order to find out why the US went to war with Iraq. He analyzed more than 150 remarks and interviews containing the topic "Iraq", from September 2001 to October 2002. This period was divided into three periods, the first period from September 12, 2001 to December 2001, the second period from January 2002 to April 2002, and the third period from September 12, 2002 to October 11, 2002. The results showed that among twenty-seven rationales for the war on Iraq, there were five justifications prominent in three phases: the war on terror, the desire to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the lack of inspections, the desire to remove the Hussein regime, and the fact that Saddam Hussein was an evil dictator. After that, two justifications namely the interest in liberating the people of Iraq and the imminent threat that Iraq posed emerged and became very important.

Cooper and Kuypers (2004) study the Framing differences in Iraq war reporting between journalists embedded with combat units and journalists based behind the lines. They

analyzed 66 stories published between March 21 and April 10, 2003 from the New York Times and the Washington Post. They found the embedded journalists often described the war in terms of the weakness of Iraqi army resistance, or surrendered and the joy of Iraqi civilians at the demise of the Hussein regime, and friendly interactions between allied soldiers and Iraqi civilians, while stories filed by behind-the-lines journalists described the war in terms of the potential of Iraqi forces to mount significant unconventional counterattacks, the ferocity of the Iraqi irregular forces, the adequacy of allied war planning, and emphasized civilian anger at collateral damage, interruptions to utility infrastructure, and mistrust of American intentions. It was also found that embedded journalists explained their stories often by underlining the heroic and human angle of the US troops, while the stories from behind-the-lines journalists were generally more critical and more sympathetic to the Iraqi civilians on the ground.

According to Diamond (2004), after receiving power in Iraq in June 28, there would be either the renewal of civil war; the acts of violence or Iraq become a haven for terrorist organizations, or perhaps the all three altogether. The transfer of power to the Iraqis will need international assistance politically, economically and militarily.

Griffin (2004) conducted a comparative analysis of the US news magazine photo coverage during the US military incursions in 2003 in nationally circulated news magazines such as Time, Newsweek, US News and World Report. He found that the US President was portrayed as a strong and confident leader, and more dominant images were the images of US military weapons and equipment in addition to highlighting the US as a country willing and able to triumph over its enemies. The images of Iraqis presented were as follows: (i) Photos of Iraqis waving the US forces in addition to

welcoming their entry; (ii) Photos of Kurdish fighters as allies with the US; (iii) Photos of Iraqi soldiers and militiamen arrested; and (iv) Photos of Iraqis receiving assistance from the UK and the US. This reflects that the Iraqis are satisfied with the occupation.

Hiebert (2003) believed the main part in the 2003 Iraq war was that the public relations of the US government had framed the issues of Iraq to serve its purpose. Firstly, Bush's claim about Saddam Hussein's threat regarding oil supplies, and then came the story of the rescue after the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam, as well as the saving of the Iraqi people and bringing democracy to the country, and then came the story of the defense considering that Iraq had a link to Al Qaeda as well as weapons of mass destruction. During the evolution of the war, when the weapons of mass destruction were not found, the story of the defense was turned into the story of rescue. After a few days of the invasion, the intensified Iraqi resistance was explained in relation to Fedayeen Saddam, but the use of Fedayeen Saddam was stopped when it was realized that the Arabic word Fedayeen refers to a person who sacrifices himself for a cause and this is something positive. Thus, in the attempt of Framing the issues for the public, they changed the words "Fedayeen Saddam" to words related to terrorism. The inclusion of about 600 journalists with troops in the war in Iraq is one of the most important innovations of public relations and in the history of modern warfare. Despite the inclusion of the journalists that raised some differences, the journalists succeeded in the field of public relations.

Finally, since the conflict in Iraq was the most heavily covered war by the news media, it can be said that the Western media had played a major role in shaping the image of Iraq

by focusing on frameworks such as the war was necessary to save the Iraqi people, and the search for weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, it reflected a negative image of Iraq. Moreover, it focused on the soldiers of war and their victory and in doing so it minimized the effects of the war on Iraq. Some other foreign media was also not objective in their reports on Iraq war. The most important justifications for Iraq war were: the war on terror, and thus necessary to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the lack of inspections. In conclusion, previous studies showed that the news coverage in countries involved in the Iraq war differ from other countries that were not involved in the war. Similarly, the coverage of news in foreign countries varied compared to the Arab countries. Thus, this study investigated the image of Iraq in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country as portrayed through the Malaysian press. In addition, it is worth to note that most of the studies viewed used content analysis as their methodology.

2.8 Theories of the Media

In this section, two theories will be discussed: the first one is the Agenda Setting Theory and the second one is the Framing Theory and further discussion will be made on the effects of these theories on the mass media. Agenda Setting and Framing Theories have been investigated widely in the political communication field but few attempts have been made to test the theories in other contexts, such as image.

2.8.1 Agenda Setting Theory

It can be said that the roots of the Agenda Setting Theory are from Lippmann (1922); he said the news media are a primary source of the pictures in our heads. Specifically, the Agenda Setting Theory is a Theory about the transfer of salience from the mass media pictures of the world to the pictures in our heads. The core theoretical idea is that elements prominent in the media picture become prominent in the audience's picture. Those elements emphasized in the media agenda come to be regarded as important by the public (McCombs, 2004). McCombs and Shaw conducted an empirical study to investigate the agenda-setting capacity of the mass media in Chappel Hill during the US presidential elections in 1968. They found that the mass media determined the important issues; that is the media determination agenda of the campaign (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

According to Kensicki (2000), the Agenda Setting Theory focuses on the media telling the public what to think about (first level), and also how to think about it (second level). It can be said that in Agenda Setting , readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how important it is to attach to that issue from the amount of information received. Shaw (1979) indicated that the Theory assumes that the mass media make people know or do not know, interested in or ignore general issues. People tend to accept what the media offers and also tend to focus on what the media focuses on. The media does not affect people's attitudes, but their awareness. It helps by arranging and organizing the priorities of the issues that must be understood instead of dealing with a wide range of issues.

The current study focuses on the first level of Agenda Setting Theory because of the similarities between the second level of the Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory. Both focus on description of issues such as groups, people, and country, which means focusing on ways of thinking (Kensicki, 2000). Moreover, McCombs (as cited in Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) claimed that Framing Theory is simply a more refined version of Agenda Setting Theory. Framing Theory, from that perspective means making aspects of an issue more salient through different modes of presentation and therefore shifting people's attitude.

McCullagh believed there are factors that decide the first level of Agenda Setting Theory which is the media agenda. First, the politics of media: the role of the political and social values of those who work in media organizations. Second, ownership and control: the media system in particular countries can be owned in three ways: by the state, by privately-owned cooperation's, or by a mixture of public and private ownership. Third, the power of audience: successful communication requires us to have some idea about the people with whom we are communicating. Fourth, the sources of media which involve government officials and institutional sources such as professional organizations, pressure groups, business association, experts (as cited in Nordgaard & Dublin, n.d.).

So, the fact that the first level of Agenda Setting Theory focuses on object salience means that it focuses on what we think about issues. The media coverage of a specific issue makes it important. Thus, the public knows the importance of the issues on the basis of quantity of coverage of the issues (Wanta, Golan and & Lee, 2004). Figure 2.2 shows the application of the first level of Agenda Setting Theory in the current research context.

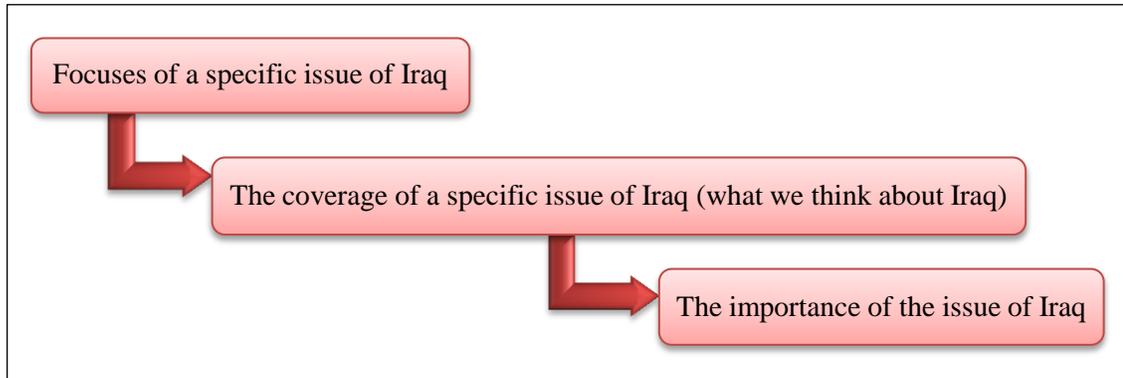


Figure 2.2. The First Level of Agenda Setting Theory (Source: Golan & Lee, 2004)

Idid and Kee (2012) used content analysis and survey to study the media and the Agenda Setting between the Malays and Chinese during the 2008 election. Content was analyzed in six newspapers, namely Utusan Malaysia, Berita Harian, Sin Chew Daily, Nanyang Siang Pau, the Star, and New Straits Times. They found 9,135 news items from 24 February to 8 March 2008. They surveyed 1,454 respondents and found that there was no relationship between the Malay media and the Malay society, which meant the Malay media did not focus on issues that were of interest to the Malay readers during election time. However, they found a relationship between the Chinese media and Chinese society, which meant that the Chinese media focused on issues that were of interest to the Chinese readers during election time.

Zhang and Meadows III (2012) investigated how the media salience, public opinion, and policy agendas influence the perceptions of foreign countries in the United States. They analyzed The New York Times, surveys for Chicago Council's Global, and the Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, from January 1 until June 10, 2010. The study identified a strong relationship between the foreign country salience in media

coverage and in presidential public papers. Also, a correlation was found to exist among a negative tone in news coverage, presidential public papers, and public opinion.

Sern and Zanuddin (2011) examined the perception, visibility and reach of the social marketing programmes of AIDS patients in the Malaysian media through Agenda Setting . The methodology they used was the quantitative content analysis of three selected Malaysian newspapers (Utusan Malaysia, the Star, and Sin Chew Jit Po). Throughout the six months period, in 49 articles they found that the Star gave the most predominance in news coverage with the greatest number of visibility of social marketing programs for AIDS patients and HIV/AIDS-related news articles. Thus, the Star is reaching the highest number of audiences from the public compared to other selected newspapers. However, the reach was limited to the English speaking audiences. Lower visibility and reach from the Utusan Malaysia and Sin Chew Jit Poh, means a lower reach of the social marketing programs for AIDS patients for the Malay and Chinese speaking audiences in related to HIV/AIDS. The reach and visibility of the news coverage on health issues in the media unravel the media's attitude and the underlying media policy, perception and Agenda Setting with regards to HIV/AIDS in Malaysia.

Muin (2011) examined the media Agenda Setting Theory and its application to the issues of the Iraq War, weapons of mass destruction and the attacks of September 11, in order to know if there is a correlation between media agenda-setting and public agenda building. He analyzed various media forms during three periods following the attack of September 11. The result depicted a strong correlation between media Agenda Setting and public agenda building.

Wirth, Matthes et al. (2010) investigated how the pro camp and the contra camp differed in shaping the media agenda of campaign arguments. Their methodology involved interviews, content analysis, and panel survey. The respondents interviewed were Elite Campaigners (forty-seven relevant political parties and organizations were identified). Campaign materials were all campaign materials put forth by all involved organizations throughout the campaign from early June 2006 to the end of September 2006. Campaign materials were press releases, speeches from media conferences, and public statements by the organizations. Media content (five TV formats of both German and French-speaking television in Switzerland were sampled, including prime-time news formats) and panel survey performed all interviews of a representative national survey for the German and French-speaking parts of Switzerland. Their results showed that arguments flowed dynamically in the media agenda that was from the top down of the preachers to the media and the public. So the researcher can see the differences of the preachers through the ethnic newspapers.

Hayes (2008) in his study tried to determine if the capacity of the candidates to develop an agenda of public opinion depended on the willingness of the media to reflect the confirmation of their cause. His methodology was experimental design and his respondents were voters. Results confirmed on the value of the candidates to recruit the media to help them deliver their messages.

Brunken (2004) focused on print media coverage of government response to natural disaster like Hurricane Katrina. His methodology was content analysis of the Washington Post, The New York Times, The Times Picayune and The Advocate, through the five weeks immediately after Hurricane Katrina. His study focused on common frames,

attribute Agenda Setting , and tone. He found the common frames emphasize human interest, conflict, responsibility, economic consequences, and morality, while the attribute Agenda Setting was evident primarily in emphasizing the issues, relief and rescue, economic, and rebuilding and repairing. Media's tone of government response was moderately neutral with federal tone covered more positively and local tone covered more negatively.

Lee (2004) focused on the coverage of the Iraqi war in the New York Times, The Arab News, and the Middle East Times. He used quantitative content analysis on articles, editorials and opinion/Column of 502, from the start of the war on March 20, 2003 to the end of the war on May 1, 2003. His results indicated that The New York Times focused to US war efforts, while the Arab newspapers focused to antiwar voices. The New York Times depended on US officials for sources, whereas the Arab newspapers depended on Arab sources. Also, the coverage of The New York Times was more thematic than the Arab newspapers. Nevertheless The New York Times described Saddam Hussein's image more negatively than the Arab newspapers. With regard to how the war was described, The New York Times focused on the purpose of the war according to the US administration whereas the Arab papers focused on aggressive and illegitimate aspects of the war. Finally The New York Times focused more on the process of combat, US led construction of post-war Iraq, military operation, and war victims of coalition forces in versus the Arab newspapers which focused on antiwar demonstrations or responses, war effects on society, and Iraqi victims.

Wanta, Golan and Lee (2004) examined that the more media coverage about a nation led to the more individuals think it. Study is based on a survey conducted between 15

October and 10 November 1998, and on analyzed newscasts of four network which were ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN between 1 January to 15 October 1998. They found Saudi Arabia and Kuwait received relatively little media coverage, but both received high on the public agenda, due to the 1991 Gulf War with Iraq, and the oil. The reason for the little media coverage was because media did not want to show to the public the importance of the oil providing nations for the public to understand their significance. Indonesia and India received a very low on the public agenda but both received high coverage on the media agenda. Since both countries faced serious political conflicts, they received a lot of coverage because these conflicts were important events for the media. However, Japan and Russia, received high on the public agenda, and also the highest amount of media coverage, while Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Haiti received little coverage on the media agenda and public agenda.

The newspapers have the capability of influencing or determining the way most people think about the world, what they consider to be normal or proper, and what they consider to be important public issues (Mayer as cited in Brown & Deegan, 1998). This is proved through a study by Ader (1995) where he investigated the relationship between the media's coverage of pollution-related issues (deemed to be unobtrusive issues) and the public's concern with pollution issues. One hypothesis which was tested was that the media agenda (measured by content analysis undertaken by the New York Times) and the public agenda (Gallop Poll survey data was used to determine the public agenda) for the issue of pollution will be positively related, with a change in the attention given to the issue by the media leading to a change in the public agenda (as cited in Brown & Deegan, 1998).

In summary, Lippmann (1922) believed that the Agenda Setting Theory was used to determine what is important in the eyes of the public. Literature review showed that the media agenda started from the top down of the preachers to the media and the public. Thus, the analysis of a the agenda of Malaysian English newspapers regarding the coverage of Iraq issues enabled the researcher to see the differences of the preachers through the ethnic newspapers that influenced what the public think about regarding the issue based on how the image of Iraq is being portrayed in Malaysian English newspapers.

2.8.2 The Framing Theory

Nelson (2007) claimed that the Framing Theory was proposed for the first time by sociologist Erving Goffman in 1974. Entman developed the idea of Goffman and suggested that the Framing Theory included the “selection” and “salience”, which means that the essence of the Theory of Framing is to select some of the events and facts, thus interpreted a particular way (Entman, 1993).

Khiang, Ahmad and Kee (2011) stressed on how to make an issue appear more salient than others before the mass audiences. Framing Theory studies focus on answering one simple question of how to think about an issue. In other words, the Framing Theory is concerned with the presentation of the media contents; and with such premeditated organization of information, it aims to lead the audiences’ evaluative perception on a particular issue.

The Framing Theory focuses on certain aspects of an issue. This is the process of selecting (Meriläinen & Vos, 2011). It means the process in which the source of

communication chooses social or political issue for the public (Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson, 1997). Entman (2004) saw the Framing "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (p. 5).

The five generic frames formulated by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) are the responsibility frame, the conflict frame, the morality frame, economic consequences and the human interest frame. The Framing Theory is based on the assumption that the way in which an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by the audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Framing Theory is a term that implies how an event is portrayed in a particular story or article (Saleem, 2002). Framing Theory comes when the news organizations do the selection, focus and exclusion of events, for example, during a war, the media can focus on the damage of the war versus liberation, or invasion versus attack, or it can focus on the victims versus the invaders, or focus on the positive side versus the negative side of the war (Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, & Trammell, 2005). According to Framing scholars (e.g., Kee, Hassan & Ahmad, 2012; de Vreese, 2005), the objective of Framing Theory is highlighting certain dimensions of a controversial issue thus to describe or explain the happenings of an issue and interprets to People to understand the world which may be far from his/her reaching. Figure 2.3 shows the Framing Theory process as applied in this research context.

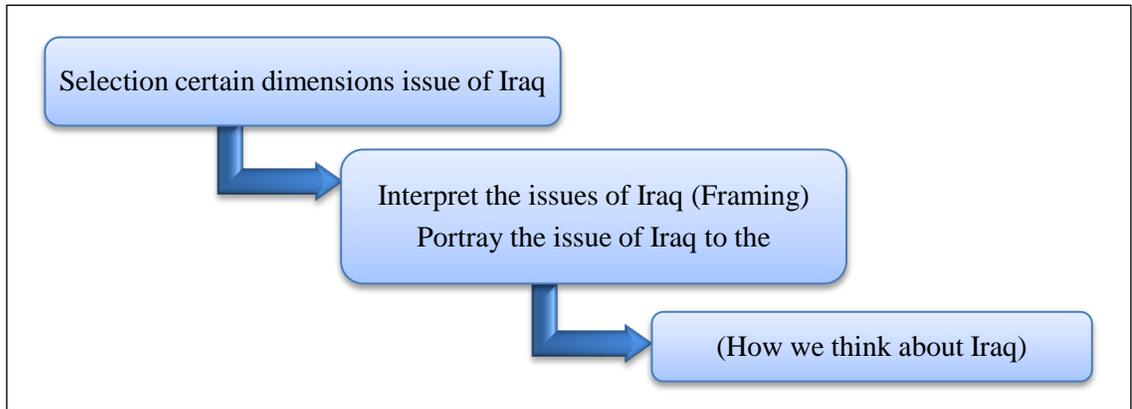


Figure 2.3. Framing Theory Process (Source: Kee, Hassan, and Ahmad, 2012; De Vreese, 2005)

Zhou and Moy (2007) proposed that the basic logic shared between the theories of Agenda Setting and Framing is represented in salience. The Agenda Setting Theory lies in issue salience while the Framing Theory lies in frame salience.

Schwalbe (2013) examined how visually Framing the TIME, Newsweek, and US News and World Report depicted the first 16 months of the Iraq war. He employed content analysis to 2,258 images from the invasion of Iraq on March 19, 2003 until the transfer of sovereignty to the provisional Iraqi government on June 28, 2004. He used the following frames: Conflict, Violence of war, Human interest, Politicians, Antiwar protests, Looting and Oil resources. His result focused on conflict, politicians, and human interest, while the images that were ignored like antiwar protests, damage and destruction Iraqi military leaders and troops, and the human toll. Also largely absent from the visual coverage were Iraqi and American females, children, the injured, and the dead.

Yassin and Zanuddin (2012) analyzed Framing values in different newspapers through content analysis for Berita Harian, Utusan Malaysia, the Star and News Straits Times from 3 April 2009 until 11 July 2009. Their findings indicate that Utusan Malaysia holds

the most apparent counts of Framing values, namely responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and economics. Only NST holds the similar majority number of responsibility with Utusan Malaysia.

Magpanthong and McDaniel (2012) studied how newspapers framed the coverage of terrorism in Thailand and Malaysia by means of the qualitative interpretive Framing analysis on one hundred stories. The samples of the English language newspapers from Thailand are The Nation and the Bangkok Post, while from Malaysia the Star and the New Straits Times. They found that in both countries there were alternate formulations. In Malaysia, terroristic acts against Palestinians, and the strikes by Western forces in Iraq or Afghanistan were considered as acts of terrorism. In addition, Malaysian reports cast the United States as a bully or an aggressor, oftentimes pursuing its fight against terrorism with hidden motives to attack Islam and to extend US control over smaller and weaker nations, while in Thailand, the focused was on the conflict in the south, whereas the international dimension of terrorism was a theme woven into many of those stories too. Furthermore, Thailand reports cast the United States as a partner. Nevertheless there are a few stories about how Malaysia reflect the terrorism in Thailand, and a few stories about how Thailand reflect the terrorism in Malaysia.

Chu (2010) examined the Framing of Chinese migrant workers through a content analysis in 600 articles published in two newspapers which were Mainland Chinese (Party media) and Hong Kong (privately owned) from 2004 to 2009. He found that responsibility and morality frames were used the most in Mainland newspapers, while human interest and responsibility frames were mostly used in Hong Kong. Government officials are the most popular sources cited by the four newspapers, followed by migrant workers. The

Mainland has more positive tone toward the Chinese government, while the Hong Kong a more neutral. In addition the government owned newspapers have a more positive attitude toward the Chinese government than the newspapers which were market driven.

Samsudin and Ibrahim (2010) examined how Utusan Malaysia and The New Straits Times frame the issues of terrorism in Indonesia. Their methodology was qualitative content analysis of 20 issues of Utusan Malaysia (UM) and 16 issues of NSTP in the month of July and August 2009. They found that UM defined Suicide bombing as a terrorist threat, while NSTP defined suicide bombers as the work of the Jemaah Islamiah. UM tend to put the issue of terrorism in the field of normative issues, while The NSTP set in the field of ideological perspectives.

Ibrahim, Mustaffa, and Kee (2010) used content analysis in news stories to find out Framing analysis of H1N1 pandemic in the four Malaysian mainstream newspapers namely Utusan Malaysia, New Straits Times, the Star and Berita Harian. They examined the terminologies applied by the respective daily newspapers, and if there are significant differences in Framing the news stories by respective daily newspapers. The duration of study was from 23 April to 29 July 2009. In other words, it covered seven weeks each before and after the alarming level of swine flu or H1N1. They found the New Straits Times used the term H1N1, while Utusan Malaysia used the term Swine flu in a higher proportion. However all newspapers showed high degree of attributions of responsibility frame.

Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith (2008) investigated the visual Framing of the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. They used content analysis and the respondents were network

and cable television news outlets, ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN and the Fox News Channel; news web sites, the front pages of 18 major US daily newspapers; newspapers, Time, Newsweek, and US News and World Report; and news magazines. They reached to the conclusion that the visuals focused on conflict at the outset of hostilities, but with war progressed, the visual frame would shift toward human interest. During the campaign's first five weeks, five distinct scenarios shock and awe, conquering troops, hero, victory, and control-support what has been called the master war narrative, the idea that the United States has a moral imperative to go to war and play the role of global hero.

Carpenter (2007) analyzed Iraq War in US elite newspapers and non-elite newspapers. He used content analysis to 429 articles in two elite newspapers (the New York Times and Washington) and four non-elite newspapers (the Sun Antonio Express News, Roanoke Times, News Tribune, and Columbus Dispatch), from three different periods: first from 20 March 2003, to 1 May 2003; second, 1 September 2004, to 2 November 2004, third 30 January 2005 to 28 April 2005. With regard to the sources, he found that elite newspapers used national and international sources, while non-elite used local sources. With regard to the frames, elite newspapers used more conflict and violence frame while Non-elite newspapers used more human interest and anti-war frames.

Zhou and Moy (2007) tried to answer a research question: how to contribute online opinion frames in shaping media frames, and how media frames contribute in shaping online opinion frames. They analyzed 206 online posts and 114 news reports published by the media such as television, newspapers, and magazines. The results showed that online opinions played an important role in transforming local issues into issues on the

national level as well as the influence of online opinion on building frames and media. However, the media frames also had a role in the formation of online opinion frames.

Ju (2007) studied how the Iraq War was framed in two newspapers, *Hankyoreh* which adopted liberal ideology and *Chosun-ilbo* which adopted conservative ideology of South Korea according to the principles of war and peace. He used a content analysis of 196 stories from 20 January 2003 to 1 May 2003. He reached to the conclusion that the *Hankyoreh* newspaper referred to the peace frame more than *Chosun-ilbo*. In addition, *Hankyoreh* did not support the war, while *Chosun-ilbo* was neutral. The findings also found that *Hankyoreh* focused on the role of Korea in the peace affairs, while *Chosun-ilbo* focused on military affairs.

Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams and Trammell (2005) studied the immediate coverage of the 2003 Iraq war on the home pages of 246 international news web sites, and analyzed the content of the home pages to find out the amount and type of the Framing used in the coverage. They found those hours after the start of the second Gulf War, it had become the first story on most pages on the internet. They noted that the foreign news sites framed it differently from the US news sites. While US sites focused on the military conflict and human interest, the international sites focused on a framework of responsibility. The findings also indicated that media coverage on war in the countries that supported the war officially was positive, in contrast to countries that opposed the war.

Yang (2003) compared between the Chinese media (the *People's Daily Online* and the *China Daily*) and the US media (*New York Times* and the *Washington Post*) through the

coverage of NATO air strikes in 1999. He conducted a content analysis of 200 news stories published from 24 March 1999 to 10 June 1999. He found that the Chinese newspapers framed the air strikes as an intervention on the Yugoslav sovereignty, while the US newspapers framed the air strikes as humanitarian aid.

Valkenburg, Semetko and De Vreese (1999) investigated whether and how journalistic news frames affect readers' thoughts about and recall of two issues pertaining to crime and the introduction of the euro. Their methodology involved distribution of 187 questionnaires to the students from the University of Amsterdam. The results showed that participants listed more conflict and human interest related thoughts on the crime story, which more easily provokes emotional thoughts. Whereas, in response to the euro story, they listed more thoughts framed in terms of economic consequences, which triggers more thoughts in relation to economic and financial consequences, thus it can be seen that the human interest news frame can have negative consequences for recall.

Norris (1995) tried to understand the implications of the breakdown of Framing the Cold War on the US news network coverage of international affairs for three different periods: the Cold War (1973-1988), the transition period (1989-1991), and the post-Cold War (1992-1995). He analyzed a random sample of programs containing 2,228 stories from ABC and CBS. He found that the international news in the Cold War period and the transition period were more than in the period of post-Cold War. This proved that the network news quickly adapted to new events.

On the whole, it can be stated that, as what Goffman said in 1974, Framing Theory is all about "selection" and "salience". Review of literature showed that the Framing Theory

concerns about interpreting issues. This particular study applied the Framing Theory of Malaysian English newspapers regarding the coverage of Iraq issues. It looked at the Framing Theory of the media portrayal of the Iraq issues, and which one was a prevalent frame constructed by Malaysian English newspapers, to indicate how the image of Iraq is portrayed especially in the country that was not involved in the Iraq war. In short, the Agenda Setting Theory is concerned in the salience of issues, while the Framing Theory is concerned with the presentation of issues (De Vreese, 2005).

2.9 History of New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star

It was during the New Economic Policy (NEP) years, which began in 1970 that the political parties started to become deeply involved in the media industry like NSTP and the Star (Kim, 1998).

New Straits Times Press (NSTP) is the oldest Malaysian newspaper that started as a weekly journal printed in 1845. There have been many changes in this newspaper and the most important change is in terms of its name from Strait Times in the first issue to New Straits Times Press on 31 Jan 1973. On 23 August 2004, the digital version of The New Straits Times was launched (NSTP online, 2012). It has a circulation of 293,440 and a readership of 285,780 (Idid & Kee, 2012).

The Star is the rival newspaper to the NSTP. The Star has a circulation of 618,513 and a readership of 1,143,120 (Idid & Kee, 2012). The Star began as a regional paper in Penang in 1971 but it moved to the capital city, Kuala Lumpur and became a national daily in 1978 (Kim, 2001, 1998). 1991-2000 the Star Online was launched (the Star online, 2012).

These newspapers are owned by the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and Malaysian Chinese Party (MCA) respectively, the two Malaysian largest political parties in the ruling coalition (Barisan Nasional) (Kim, 2001). While UMNO has acquired an 80 percent stake in the New Straits Times Press, MCA has a 58% stake in Star Publications which published the Star, the rival newspaper to the NST (Nain & Kim, 2004).

2.10 Hypotheses

The research questions are to be addressed and tested through the hypothesis, thus this study predicts:

With respect to the total of articles:

H1: There is a significant difference in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP and the Star.

H1a: There is a significant difference in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP by the three periods.

H1b: There is a significant difference in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in the Star by the three periods.

H1c: There is a significant difference in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP and the Star by each period.

With respect to the Agenda Setting Theory:

H2: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period.

H2a: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

H2b: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

H3: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period.

H3a: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation.

H3b: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation.

H3c: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation.

H4: There will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq.

With respect to the Framing Theory:

H5: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period.

H5a: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

H5b: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

H6: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period.

H6a: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation.

H6b: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation.

H6c: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation.

H7: There will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq.

With respect to the Image Categories:

H8: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period.

H8a: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

H8b: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

H9: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period.

H9a: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation.

H9b: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation.

H9c: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation.

H10: There will be a significant different prominent Image categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq.

With respect to the Association:

H11: There will be association between Agenda Setting issues and Image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods.

H11a: There will be association between Agenda Setting issues and Image categories in NSTP about Iraq through the three periods.

H11b: There will be association between Agenda Setting issues and Image categories in the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

H12: There will be association between Framing categories and Image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods.

H12a: There will be association between Framing categories and Image categories in NSTP about Iraq through the three periods.

H12b: There will be association between Framing categories and Image categories in the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

2.11 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter includes information about the history and heritage of Iraq, its traditions and culture in addition to its strategic location in the Middle East, and the extent of relationship with Malaysia. The study found that the Malaysian media has a role and major impact on the Malaysian community despite the existence of restrictions in the media in Malaysia. It cannot be denied that there is some space which enables journalists to take advantage of them. Because the Western media had played a major role in shaping the image of Iraq, it focused on differences found in the Framing and Agenda Setting in relation to the image of Iraq. So, the chapter included information about using the technique of Framing and Agenda Setting Theories to influence the image of Iraq. In this respect, several studies discussed how the Western media used Framing and Agenda Setting to portray the issue of Iraq in a negative light. This chapter reveals that the Western media played a dominant role in the reporting of news about Iraq from a negative perspective.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

To answer the questions posed in this research, the method employed is content analysis. This method is chosen because it is the most appropriate to examine the objectives of the study. This chapter firstly discusses and explains the research design and the procedure in the content analysis of the Malaysian English newspapers, New Straits Times Press and the Star. It also explains unit of analysis, data analysis and categories, the sample, and the pre-test which includes discussion on reliability and validity.

3.2 Research Design

This study uses a quantitative research design to study the image of Iraq through Frames and Agenda Setting Theories. The research questions are best answered using quantitative as opposed to qualitative methods, because when a researcher wants a quantitative answer, the research done should be quantitative in design (Muijs, 2004).

This is important because quantitative analysis is the only possible, objective, systematic and reliable analysis of content (Kracauer, 1952). According to Aliaga and Gunderson (2002), quantitative method involves "explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that is analyzed using mathematically based methods in particular statistics". The first part of the analysis is the explanation of phenomena. This is often a key part of all analysis, be it qualitative or quantitative. When a research is carried out, it is done to explain something. The specificity of quantitative research lies in the next part of the

definition. In quantitative research, the researcher collects numerical data. This is closely connected to the final part of the definition: analysis using mathematical based methods (Muijs, 2004).

A quantitative research is essentially about collecting numerical data. Therefore, its advantages are that it can: (i) allow for a wide study including a greater number of subjects in addition to generalize the results, and (ii) allow for objectivity and accuracy in the results (Borland Jr., 2001).

This study employed a quantitative content analysis to investigate the hypothesis and research questions as quantitative content analysis is proven to be a more powerful method than survey and interview because of its unobtrusive nature and its lack of reliance on subjective perception (Boettger & Palmer, 2010). Finally the quantitative research focuses on objective elements, tests theory, uses large sample sizes and analyses this data through statistical scales. While the qualitative research focuses on subjective elements, develops a theory, uses small sample size and analyses this data through using text (Keele, 2011).

3.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis is popular with mass media researchers because it is an efficient way to investigate the content of the media. Mass media researchers in academic areas adopt this method to analyze content such as magazine, newspaper, radio, and television (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Content analysis is conducted in several discrete stages: formulating the research question or hypothesis; defining the population in question; selecting an appropriate sample from the population; selecting and defining a unit of

analysis, constructing the categories of content to be analyzed; establishing a quantification system; training coders and conducting a reliability; coding the content according to establishing definitions; analyzing the collected data; and drawing conclusions (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

Content analysis method is used to analyze the news stories and articles as it allows for a detailed description of it. Weber (1990) stated that "content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p. 9). According to Sommer and Sommer (1997), "content analysis is a technique for systematically describing the form and content of written or spoken material. It has been used most often in the study of the mass media. The technique actually is suitable for any kind of material including publications, recorded interviews, letters, songs, cartoons, and advertising circulars and so on. The basis of a content analysis is quantification (i.e.: expressing data in numbers). Instead of having impressions about trends and biases, the investigator comes up with precise figures" (p.169 – 170).

Content analysis "seeks to demonstrate the meaning of written or visual sources (like newspapers and advertisements) by systematically allocating their content to pre-determined, detailed categories, and then both quantifying and interpreting the outcomes" (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 51). Content analysis was originally a quantitative method of evaluating written texts, specifically newspaper stories. Some thought can usefully be given to output: qualitative stances suggest more reporting of detail, verbatim quotation and discussion of interpretation, while quantitative analysis will favour tables, graphs and summaries (Payne & Payne, 2004).

3.3.1 Why Content Analysis?

Content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing the data. Its aim is to uncover the systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. It produces data by counting and measuring things. The method produces a statistical summary of a much larger field and it has been used for extracting data from content about the frequency of distribution of references. The analysis as a whole stresses the manifest content of the message (Franzosi, 2008).

Morris (1994) described content analysis as a research technique used to objectively and systematically make inferences about the intentions, attitudes, and values of individuals by identifying specified characteristics in textual messages.

There are five main purposes of content analysis. Content analysis is useful for describing communication content; testing hypotheses of message characteristics; comparing media content; assessing the image of particular groups in society; and establishing a starting point for studies of media effects (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

Berelson (1952) defined content analysis as, "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". (p.18). Berelson also pointed out the assumptions of content analysis which make it useful:

- i. Content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent and content, or between content and effect can validly be made, or the relationship can be established.
- ii. Content analysis assumes that the study of the manifest content is meaningful.

- iii. Content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication is meaningful. This assumption implies that the frequency of occurrences of various characteristics of the content is itself an important factor in the communication process under specific conditions.

Meanwhile, Holsti believed that among the purposes for content analysis are to describe trends in communication content, to relate known characteristics of sources to messages they produce, and to relate known attributes of the audience to messages produced for them (as cited in Bailey, 1994).

Furthermore, Lindzey (1968) argued that content analysis is also not just a frequency count but it also compares the data. Franzosi (2008) argued that the definition clearly postulates that the making of inferences is the major purpose of content analysis and data collection is not limited to quantitative measurement and it finally recognizes the assessment of what is “written between the lines.”

According to White and Marsh (2006) content analysis has been widely used in mass communications research since the 1950s (p. 22). In addition, Dearing and Rogers (1996) found that "the media agenda is usually indexed by a content analysis of the news media to determine the number of news stories about an issue" (p. 18).

3.3.2 Advantages of Content Analysis

Content analysis offers several advantages such as (Weber, 1990):

- i. Communication is a fundamental aspect of social interaction, thus content analysis procedures operate directly on text or transcripts of human communication.
- ii. The best content analysis study uses both qualitative and quantitative operation on text.
- iii. Documents of various kinds exist over long periods of time.

In addition, content analysis is useful for three research problems. First, if the problem involves large texts such as years of newspaper articles. Second, if the problem includes a longitudinal study, for example, historical documents, and a study on broadcasting in a foreign country. Finally, content analysis reveals the contents of the messages that are difficult to see with casual observation (Neuman, 2006).

Therefore, content analysis is used in this research because: first, it allows the analysis of words and concepts, texts, and thereby helping to answer the research questions (Content analysis, 2012). Second, because using archival materials is possible, the content analysis is also suitable for longitudinal studies (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005).

Various studies have employed content analysis on a variety of subjects. Ruslan and Hussein (2011) used content analysis in their study of which news network is more objective in its coverage of the 2010 Iraqi parliamentary election.

Lee (2004) examined the coverage of the Iraqi war by the New York Times, The Arab News, and the Middle East Times, and he stated he used content analysis because he was using archive materials, thus the content analysis is suitable.

In a study examining first and second-level Agenda-Setting to investigate how media salience, public opinion, and policy agendas influence the perceptions of foreign countries in the United States, Zhang and Meadows III (2012) used content analysis to look at media coverage and presidential public papers and is thus an effective method for this study. Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) also used content analysis to look at the Framing of the 2003 Iraq War in the elite newspapers in Sweden and which were Dagens Nyheter and The New York Times in US.

3.4 Content Analysis Procedure

This study analyses the publication of news stories and articles in the NSTP and the Star newspaper during a specific period. The sample was collected from the published news stories and articles during the three periods (before the occupation 15 January 2002 until 8 April 2003, during the occupation 9 April 2003 until 28 June 2004 and after the occupation 29 June 2004 until 18 September 2005) of both newspapers.

The publication news stories and articles sampled were for a period of almost forty five months. The selection was based on purposive sampling that involves a deliberate choice of an informant due to the fact that it provides more accurate results and that it would quickly lead to the main targets. It is a non-random technique and it also uses both qualitative and quantitative research techniques (Tongco, 2007). A more detailed discussion of the content analysis procedure is provided through unit of analysis, data analysis and categories.

3.4.1 Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis is defined as element of content which can be in the form of word, word sense, sentence, theme, paragraph, whole text, character, item, space, time, and many others (Ibrahim, Mustaffa & Kee, 2010; Sommer & Sommer, 1997). The unit of analysis for this study is the whole text, to see what the dominant focus in the whole text is. In previous research, scholars will analyse whole text to study frame (Matthews, 2007). Ibrahim, Mustaffa, and Kee (2010) also believed the whole text is suitable to see what the dominant focus in the whole news stories and articles is. The main aim of this part of the study is to provide a general picture of Iraq's image portrayed by Malaysian English newspapers. This is vital in uncovering the ideological and content in the newspapers.

3.4.2 Data Analysis

Testing of assumptions usually involves obtaining descriptive statistics on your variables. Descriptive statistics were used in the data analysis such as frequencies, percentage, graphs and crosstabs to obtain descriptive statistics for categories (Pallant, 2005). The statistics are necessary to understand the scientific method of knowing because they allow researcher to make conclusion about the sample. Three analyses were used to analyze the data namely Binomial test, Chi-square and Cramer's V.

One sample nonparametric tests based on Binomial test between two categories comparison, and Chi-square test for more than two categories were used for the data analysis in this study because the variables use nominal data (Gibbons & Chakraborti,

2011; SPSS base 10.0 user's guide, 1999). Since the data is nominal we could compute a statistic like Cramer's V (Crowley & Delfico, 1996).

In some situations, the Binomial test is the most powerful test; in those situations the test is claimed by both parametric and nonparametric statistics. In other situations more powerful tests are available, and the Binomial test is claimed only by nonparametric statistics. However, even in situations where more powerful tests are available, the Binomial test is sometimes preferred because it is usually simple to perform, simple to explain, and sometimes powerful enough to reject the null hypothesis when it should be rejected (Conover, 1980).

In content analysis, the most commonly used statistical tool is Chi-square, in addition to that longitudinal studies which also used Chi-square (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). So, random sampling is not required, provided the sample is not biased. However, the best way to insure the sample is not biased is random selection (Michael, n,d), so Chi-square with purposive sampling can be used (Tongco, 2007).

The Chi-square analysis was followed by a test of Cramer's V; to ascertain the significant association of image with both of Agenda Setting issues and Framing categories, Cramer's V with the effect size was conducted. According to Mehta and Shah (2012), Cramer's V is used when the number of possible values for the two variables is unequal, yielding a different number of rows and columns in the data matrix (2x3, 3x5, etc). There are a number of effect size statistics available in the Crosstabs procedure, but for tables larger than 2 by 2 the value to report is Cramer's V, which takes into account the degrees of freedom. Slightly different criteria are recommended for judging the size of the effect

for larger tables. To determine which criteria to use, first subtract 1 from the number of categories in the row variable ($R-1$), and then subtract 1 from the number of categories in the column variable ($C-1$). Pick whichever of these values is smaller,

For example, for $R-1$ or $C-1$ equal to 1: small=.01, medium=.30, large=.50; for either $R-1$ or $C-1$ equal to 2: small=.07, medium=.21, large=.35; for either $R-1$ or $C-1$ equal to 3: small=.06, medium=.17, large=.29 (Pallant, 2007).

The data in current study have 4 columns for Agenda Setting issues and 4 columns for Framing categories with three rows for image categories. Thus, ($4-1=3$; $3-1=2$), so the smaller value was (2), thus this study depends on the effect sizes for Cramer's V which is .07 as small, .21 as medium and .35 as large.

3.4.3 Categories

This study concentrates on selected news stories and articles. The researcher depends on the previous studies to find the major categories while the subcategories are developed by analyzing text content, news stories and articles. These categories (major and subcategories) are operationalized and further redefined according to the need of the study. These categories involve the information about the image of Iraq over three periods.

The news stories and articles in this study make use of coding based on categories that begin to repeat themselves. Categories that overlap or duplicate one another are combined (Sommer & Sommer, 1997).

The major categories developed are: image categories, Agenda Setting issues and Framing categories. Each major category can be divided into some subcategories as follows:

- i. Image: Perception of Malaysian newspaper toward Iraq in terms of historical, political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious aspects, which will be measured as positive, negative and neutral.

Drawing from the research on inter-nation images, Prior research has found that in news coverage, the most often used positive, negative and neutral image such as (Ali, 2012; Shabir, Ali and Iqbal, 2011; Ruslan and Hussein, 2011; Fritz, 2011; Khan, 2008; Khan and Safder, 2010; Chu, 2010; Küçükcan, 2010; Galal, Galander and Auter, 2008).

Thus, this will be adopted by the researcher in this research. The three categories are as follows:

- a. Positive image: Publication that shows favorable and supportive view towards Iraq, such as the resistance and rejection of the occupation, and the opposition of some countries to the occupation, as well as the reconstruction of Iraq and formation the interim Iraqi government.
- b. Negative image: Publication that shows unfavorable and opposed view towards Iraq, such as news about political chaos in Iraq which was said to have been caused by the exile of Iraqi dissidents, the emergence of the looters taking advantage of the state of lawlessness in the county, and the effects of the damaged health system on Iraqi women and children. It also includes news on the

humiliation of the captives in Abu Ghraib prison due to organized abuse and torture from American guards.

- c. Neutral image: Publication that is neither positive nor negative. Examples of such image include news about the goal of the US invasion of Iraq for oil and its desire to control the world as the dominant power, and the news about the occupation of Iraq without authorization from the United Nations. It also includes news on how the weapons of mass destruction was used as an excuse for the sanctions and the invasion of Iraq and the impact of the Iraq war on the Malaysian economy. Figure 3.1 indicates the Subcategories of image.

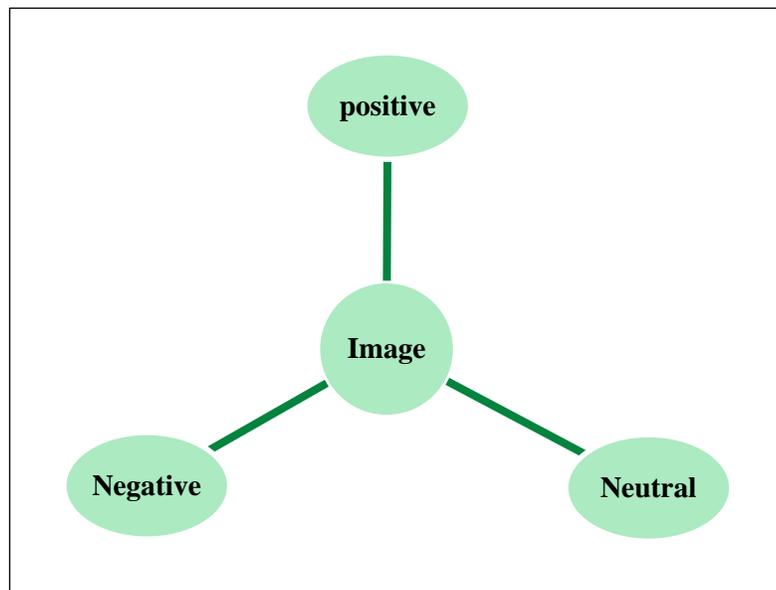


Figure 3.1. Subcategories of image

- ii. Agenda Setting Issues: Refers to and focuses on a particular issue of Iraq, which means that Agenda Setting Theory refers to issue which we must think about.

This study investigates four issues, namely, The US policy and the occupation of Iraq, Iraq's needs and suffering, The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq, and The impact of war on Malaysia. These issues were selected because these were the most covered issues during the periods studied. The four categories are as follows:

- a. The US policy and the occupation of Iraq: This category refers to invasion of Iraq without a UN mandate and under the excuse of weapons of mass destruction which later led to resist occupation. It also refers to US double-standard policy which was evidenced by its support for Israel's occupation of Palestine, and to the invasion of Iraq as an occupation, not liberation. Furthermore, this category also includes the opposition from the countries toward the US policy, and their concern that the real reason for the invasion was oil and not weapons of mass destruction. Finally, this category also refers to the emergence of the looters under the state of lawlessness in the country.
- b. Iraq's needs and suffering: This refers to the suffering the Iraqi people faced before, during and after the US occupation. As a result of the military disaster which have taken the lives of a number of innocent civilians (women and children), Iraqis needed food, shelter, medicine, sanitation, electricity, safety and security in addition to the need for medical and humanitarian assistance. Moreover, they suffered through what they had seen from the horrors of Abu Ghraib prison and also from the keenness of the occupation forces not to revealed the correct number of victims. Also, there was a need to form an Iraqi government as well as the need to rebuild the country.

- c. The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq: refers to Malaysia rejecting the US policy towards the Middle East, and to show support for Iraq and Palestine, Malaysia is against the war and occupation of Iraq. This has led to a tensed relationship between Malaysia and the US.
- d. The impact of war on Malaysia: refers to the impact of the Iraq war on the Malaysian economy and Malaysians living in Iraq and the neighboring countries of Iraq (refers to the Malaysian embassy staff and their families in addition to Malaysian students). For example, the mission to evacuate Malaysians from Iraq and the neighboring countries of Iraq and drop in tourist arrivals from West Asia. Figure 3.2: indicates the Subcategories of Agenda Setting.

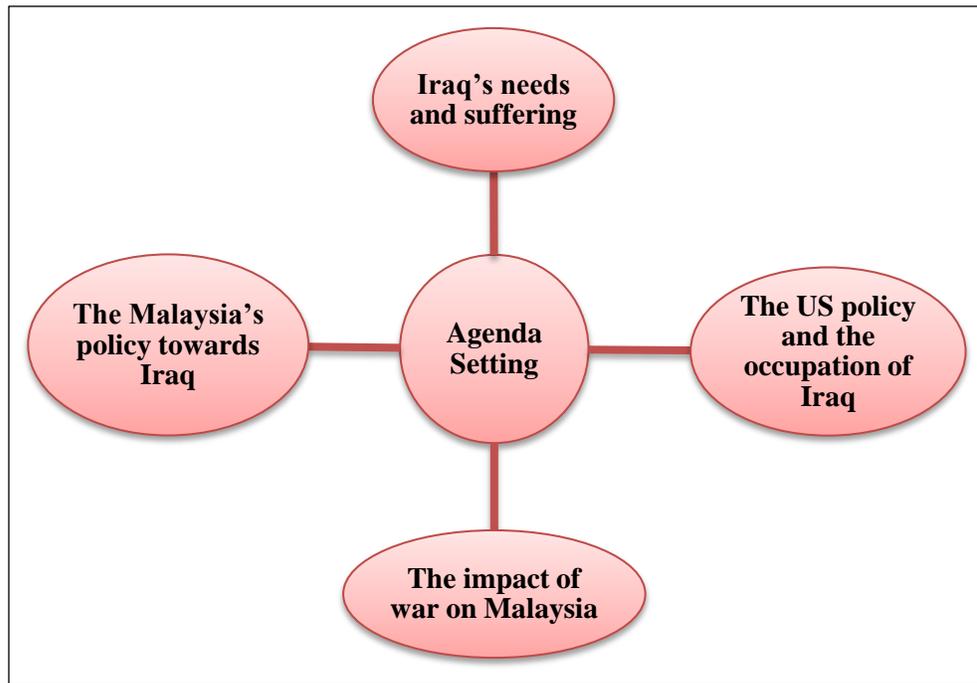


Figure 3.2. Subcategories of Agenda Setting

- iii. Framing Categories: How Malaysian newspaper framed the issues of Iraq by highlighting on a particular aspect of the issue to describe and explain.

There are five types of key frame formulated by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) namely the responsibility frame, the conflict frame, the morality frame, economic consequences and the human interest frame. This is consistent with the findings of other studies (Yassin & Zanuddin, 2012; Ibrahim, Mustaffa, & Kee, 2010; Chu, 2010; Carpenter, 2007; Valkenburg, Semetko & De vrees, 1999). Below are the four generic frames which were used for this study:

- a. Responsibility frame: This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or a group. Examples of this frame include the US failure to find any weapons of mass destruction - the nuclear, chemical and biological weapons in Iraq, and the emergence of New World Order in which the US exerted its authority in the world.
- b. Conflict frame: This frame emphasizes conflict between people, groups, or institutions as a way of capturing audience interest. For example, the resistance to the occupation and the bombing in Iraq.
- c. Economic consequences frame: This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or Iraq and other countries. These include the damage caused by the war, the destruction of the infrastructure of the state, the effort to rebuild Iraq, and drop in tourist arrivals from West Asia. The war in Iraq affected the

economy of Malaysia as the country faced some difficulties in sending palm oil and Proton cars to the Gulf States.

- d. Human interest frame: This frame brings a human interest or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. The keywords are human impact, capture and retain audience interest, effort to personalize the news, dramatize the news to Iraq such as the Iraqi people suffered long years of war and then severed restrictions, sanctions and depletion of their resources and they have recently been afflicted by the occupation of their territories, also the horrors at Abu Ghraib, and the mission to evacuate Malaysians from countries neighboring Iraq. Figure 3.3 indicated the Subcategories of Framing.

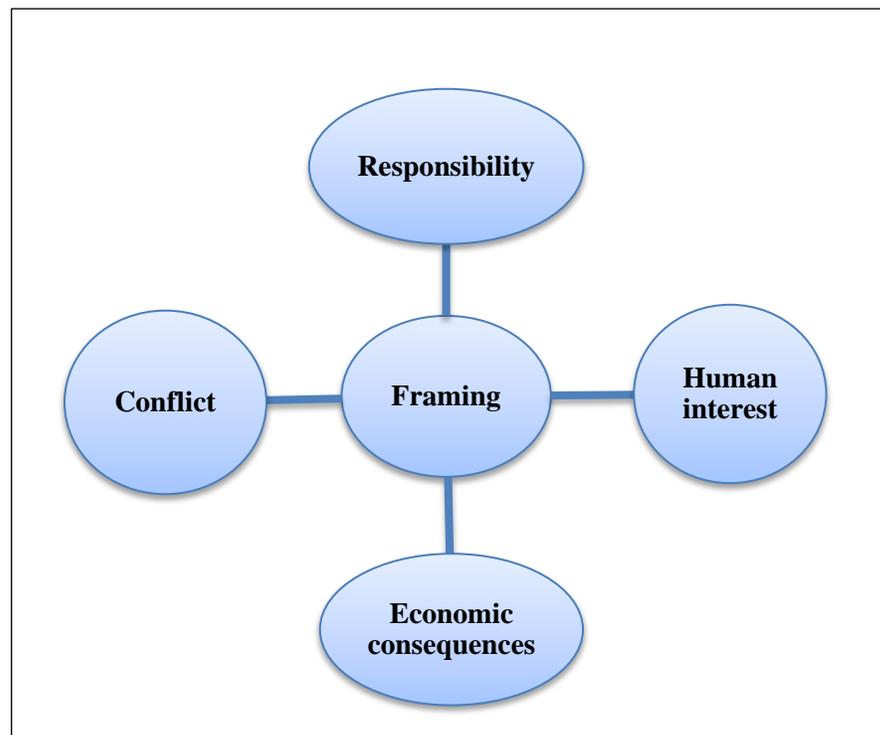


Figure 3.3. Subcategories of Framing

3.5 Sampling

Purposive sampling can be used for both qualitative and quantitative research techniques (Tangco, 2007). According to Richardson (2009), the power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for an in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied. This means it is used to select unique cases that are particularly informative.

The most commonly used method in content analysis studies is purposive sampling (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen & Kyngäs, 2014). Carpenter (2007), in his research, used content analysis purposive sampling focusing on specific time periods during the war that were tagged to newsworthy events. Whereas, Riffe and Fretag (1997) proved the significance of purposive sampling in research studies that apply a content analysis methodology; in which they discovered that 68 percent of the Journalism Quarterly's content analysis papers applied purposive sampling.

In the study of Yusoff, Hassan and Hassan (2011) on the Framing of international media on Islam and terrorism, purposive sampling was used. According to Tongco (2007), purposive samples can be highly prone to researcher's bias. However, despite such fault the inherent bias of the method contributes to its efficiency, the method stays robust even when tested against random probability sampling. Choosing a purposive sample is fundamental for the quality of data gathered. Thus, reliability and capability of the informant must be ensured. Therefore, purposive sampling is a practical and efficient tool when used properly, and can be just as effective as, or even more efficient than random sampling in terms of time, effort and cost.

The sample for this study was identified through a guided search using library database from Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM) called Blis BERNAMA. The sample to be studied is news stories and articles published in the News Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star through purposive sampling. The sample to be chosen would involve three periods; before, during and after the occupation. So, the researcher selected fifteen months before and after the occupation of Iraq depending on the period the occupation which started with the US occupation of Iraq from 9 April 2003 until 28 June 2004 when sovereignty was transferred to the Iraqis (Dawisha, 2009). Based on this fifteen months of occupation period, it was decided that the period before and after the occupation would be of the same length. Thus 15 January 2002 until 8 April 2003 was identified as the period before occupation and 29 June 2004 until 18 September 2005 as the period after occupation.

The researcher used the keywords related to the subject to access these newspaper articles and news stories, for three periods like the Iraq and US, Iraq and western countries, Iraq and Malaysia, and Iraq and United States. After collecting the sample via the methods described above, the articles and news stories samples were reduced in two ways. First, all articles and news stories unrelated to this study were removed. For example, State of Iraq was mentioned, but was not the focus of the Iraq, so such articles and news stories were removed from the final sample. Second, repeat articles and news stories were removed. This sampling technique resulted in 323 articles and news stories from NSTP: 146 from before the occupation, 111 from during the occupation and 66 from after the occupation. On the other hand, the number of articles and news stories for the Star was 212: 100 from before the occupation, 82 from during the occupation and 30 from after the

occupation. The total number of related articles and news stories found in NSTP and the Star was 535.

3.6 Validity

The general notion of validity concerns the believability of a statement or knowledge claim. Validity is not inherent in a claim but is a characteristic given to a claim by the ones to whom the claim is addressed. Sometimes people grant validity to a statement simply because of the authority of the person who makes it. However, for judgments about the validity of knowledge claims to have scientific merit, it is required that they are based on the weight of the evidence and argument offered in support of a statement or knowledge claim (Polkinghorne, 2007).

Both quantitative and qualitative researches try to find the truth. Quantitative researches are more concerned about measurement issues than qualitative researches. The objective of validity is to know the extent to which a test measures what it claims to measure, in order for the results to be accurate (Bashir, Afzal, & Azeem, 2008).

Golafhani (2003) proposing the definition of validity as "whether the means of measurement are accurate and whether they are actually measuring what they are intended to measure" (p.599). On the other hand, Vogt (2007) defines it as "the relevance of the design or measure for the question being investigated or the appropriateness of the design or measure for coming to accurate conclusion" (p. 118).

To assert that a category or variable (for example, economy) is valid is to assert that there is a correspondence between the category and the abstract concept that it represents (that

concerns with economic matters). To assert that a research result based on content analysis is valid is to assert that the finding does not depend upon or is generalizable beyond the specific data, methods or measurements of a specific study. Judgment is most often the only feasible way to assess content validity. The typical procedure is to assemble a panel of experts to judge the relevance of the test items to the content that the test is meant to measure. The experts' judgments are used to validate the measure and often they lead to numerous revisions and improvements by (Vogt, 2007).

In an attempt to identify the content validity of each category developed in this study, four experts were consulted. Two experts were from the Department of Communication, School of Multimedia Technology and Communication, Universiti Utara Malaysia, and the third one is from the Department of Modern Language, College of Arts and Sciences, Universiti Utara Malaysia, whereas the fourth from the School of Media and Communication, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. The researcher gave the validity form on 22 April 2012 and had received the first assessment on 23 April 2012. The second assessment was on 26 April 2012. The third assessment was on 29 April 2012 and the fourth was given on 24 September 2012 and received on the same day. The experts requested the researcher to provide some examples and definition of the subcategories in Framing categories, and Agenda Setting issues. Another suggestion made by the experts was the merge of the two subcategories because they were similar to each other in meaning and also to eliminate potential issues of mutual exclusivity. For example, United States occupation of Iraq and United States policy were merged together to become The US policy and the occupation of Iraq.

3.7 Reliability

In content analysis, reliability is assessed based on the agreement of coders who coded the samples. This is to establish whether the coding measure guided by the coding protocol yields reliable results. In this study, two coders gave a briefing on the coding protocol (see appendices A,B,C): i) the coders were UUM student from Iraq and the reason for the choice was because they had the experience and information on Iraq news. ii) The researcher, who was the first coder, gave the coding protocol briefing on 16 October 2012 and received the result on 20 October 2012. The second coder gave the coding protocol briefing on 17 October 2012 and received the result on 21 October 2012 and iii) Reliability is an important feature in a content analysis and there are at least four different types of coding reliabilities that can be used in a content analysis. Reliability was often estimated using either Holsti reliability coefficient or Scott's pi (Heath, 2013). However, the most common is OLIHolsti's Coding Formula (Heath, 2005) which was used to estimate coefficient which gives a more comprehensive insight in the intercoder reliability than percent agreement (Mouter and Noordegraaf, 2012). Holsti (1969) proposed a variation on the percent agreement index; with two coders evaluating the same units for a reliability test it which is identical to percent agreement, however, it also accounts for situations in which the coders evaluate different units. Whereas, Scott's pi also proposed the use of two coders which were Cohen's kappa with psychological applications and research that involves behavior and Krippendorff's alpha which was known for its complexity and therefore resulting difficulty of in calculations. (Lombard, Duch & Bracken, 2002). Hence, for the current study, the researcher used Holsti's formula.

According to Kassirjian (1977), "reliability is the percentage of agreement between several judges processing the same communication material. It is the degree of consistency between coders applying the same set of categories to the same content" (p. 14). While Lacy and Riffe (1996) believed the representative sample for test reliability is 30 units.

Holsti's reliability test was performed after the coders analyzed 63 of the news stories and articles: the overall score was 0.86. The inter-coder reliability score for each variable is as follows: Agenda Setting issues: (1) Iraq's needs and suffering = 0.77; (2) The US policy and the occupation of Iraq = 0.83; (3) The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq = 0.96; and (4) The impact of war on Malaysia = 0.97. Framing categories: (1) Human Interest = 0.77; (2) Responsibility = 0.77; (3) Conflict = 0.86; and (4) Economic Consequences = 0.87, as to Image categories: (1) positive = 0.83; (2) negative = 0.77; and (3) neutral = 0.96. According to Andrew (2005), agreement of 0.70 is considered reliable. Thus, the results of the reliability test for this study are considered reliable.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings on the study of Iraq's image as presented by the Malaysian press. The results of this study are based on data obtained from the content analysis of 535 articles and news stories of the New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star. The organization of this chapter is based on descriptive analysis, research questions and hypotheses.

After coding all articles and news stories from NSTP and the Star, the data were analyzed using Binomial test, Chi-square test and Cramer's V. Generally, the nature of the data in this study is nominal, thus the use of One sample nonparametric tests based on Binomial test between two categories comparison, Chi-square test for more than two categories (Gibbons & Chakraborti, 2011) and also Cramer's V were conducted to ascertain the significant association of image with both of NSTP and The Star. The importance of the findings is assessed by calculating the effect size also known as 'strength of association' (Pallant, 2007). This is a set of statistics that indicates the relative magnitude of the differences between means, or the amount of the total variance in the dependent variable that is predictable from knowledge of the levels of the independent variable (Tabachnick & Fidell 2007). In the current study, the effect sizes were applied to compare the strength of influence on image between NSTP and The Star. The value for effect sizes for Cramer's V is .07 is considered as small, .21 as medium and .35 as large (Pallant, 2007).

The analyses were conducted to answer the research questions and hypotheses related to coverage of the Iraq events for three periods which are before the occupation (the period of 15 January 2002 until 8 April 2003), during the occupation (9 April 2003 until 28 June 2004) and after the occupation (29 June 2004 until 18 September 2005) as published by the New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star.

4.2 Descriptive Statistics

This study offers descriptive information regarding Agenda Setting issues, Framing categories and image categories of Iraq published by both newspapers. Articles and news stories were examined to see which issue, frame and image categories were most and least common in both newspapers.

4.2.1 Description of the difference of total articles and news stories published by NSTP and The Star

The first research question addressed in this research is about the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq published in NSTP and the Star. Figure 4.1 displays that the totals of articles and news stories published in NSTP for the whole period of study was 323 (100.0%) The figure indicates that the period before the occupation has the highest number with 146 (45.2%) articles and news stories, followed by the period during the occupation 111 (34.4%) articles and news stories, and the period after the occupation as the lowest with 66 (20.4%) articles and news stories.

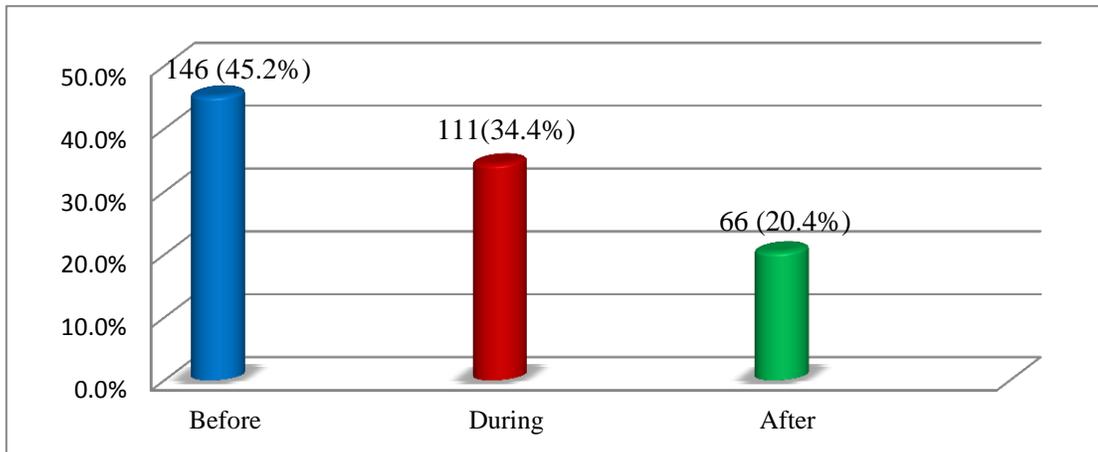


Figure 4.1. Total of articles and news stories in NSTP before, during and after the occupation

Meanwhile, the number of published articles and news stories in the Star through the three periods was 212 (100.0%). A total of 100 (47.2%) articles and news stories were published for the period before the occupation, 82 (38.7%) articles and news stories for the period during the occupation and 30 (14.2%) articles and news stories for the period after the occupation (Figure 4.2).

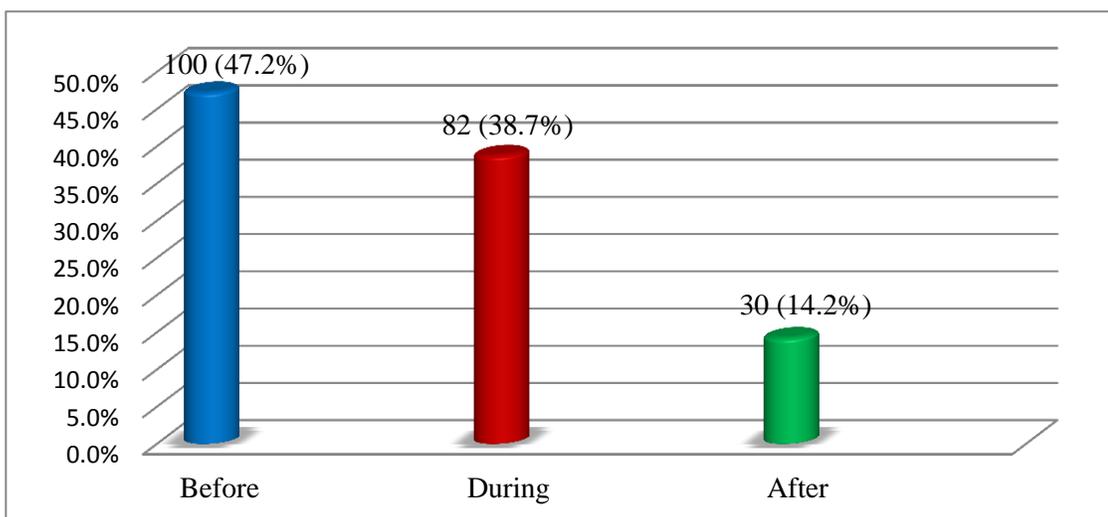


Figure 4.2. Total of articles and news stories in the Star before, during and after the occupation

Both figures indicate the same trend of the articles and news stories reported by both newspapers. The total of articles and news stories decreased with the passage of time. Figure 4.3 displays differences between the totals of articles and news stories published about Iraq by the NSTP and the Star before, during and after the occupation. The total number of published articles and news stories for both newspapers in the period before the occupation was 246 articles and news stories in which 146 (59.3%) articles and news stories published in NSTP, while 100 (40.7%) were published in the Star. For the period during the occupation, the total was 193 (100.0%) articles and news stories, broken down between NSTP and the Star with 111(57.5%) articles and news stories, and 82 (42.5%) articles and news stories respectively. In the period after the occupation, out of a total of 96 (100.0%) articles and news stories, NSTP recorded a higher number of articles and news stories at 66 (68.8%) compared to 30 (31.3%) by the Star during the same period. Based on the number, we can conclude that the total number of articles and news stories published by NSTP was higher compared to the Star through the three periods.

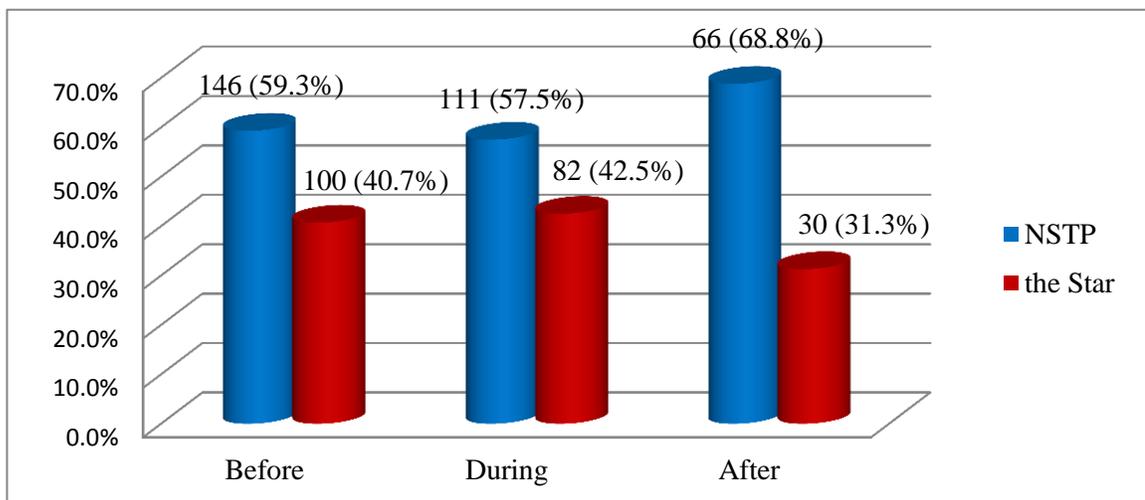


Figure 4.3. Descriptive Comparison of articles and news stories in NSTP and the Star by each period

4.2.2 Description of Agenda Setting Issues

The Agenda Setting issues in this study were categorized into the issues of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" which describes the opposition of countries toward the policy of US toward Iraq, US policy duplication and the invasion of Iraq under the weapons of mass destruction excuse. The second issue is "The Malaysia's policy toward Iraq", which refers to the news rejection of Malaysia of the US policy toward Iraq, and the show of support for Iraq. The third issue is "The impact of war on Malaysia" which refers to the extent of the impact of war on the economy of Malaysia and the Malaysians living in Iraq. The last issue is "Iraq's need and suffering" which refers to what the Iraqi People faced before, during and after the occupation, of the suffering, and their need to form an Iraqi government as well as the reconstruction of the country.

The analysis was done based on the three periods of study that is before the occupation, during the occupation and after the occupation. Figure 4.4 shows that for the period before the occupation, the total of articles and news stories published in NSTP was 146. Out of this number, 63 (43.2%) articles and news stories were published on the issues of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq". Example of the news that fall into this category was published in New Straits Times on 27 January 2003 in which it was reported that Russia, Germany, China and France are among the four major countries that have strongly opposed the US led invasion of Iraq, as well as millions of people all over the world including the US. This proving that proved the US defiance of world opinion to the extent of threatening to circumvent the UN. This news indicated that the US policy toward Iraq was refused by other countries.

The second highest is articles and news stories for the issues of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" which is 44 news (30.1%). The example of news that falls into this category is a news story in New Straits Times on 4 April 2003 which reported, "The People's Alliance for Peace Malaysia today submitted a third memorandum of protest against the war on Iraq, this time to the British High Commission. Umno Youth deputy head Datuk Abdul Aziz Sheikh Fadzir led a six-member team in a 90-minute discussion with High Commissioner Bruce Cleghorn. The others included People's Progressive Party Youth chief T. Murugiah, DAP Youth secretary Anthony Loke and Federation of Peninsula Malay Students president Datuk Suhaimi Ibrahim. Outside the premises, some 40 people staged a peaceful demonstration. Motorists in Jalan Ampang honked their support. Aziz said that from the discussion, it seemed Britain was not clear on issues relating to the war" (Para 1-2-3-4-5). This indicated that the focus is more on conciliatory perspective, which could be attributed to the widespread objection in the Asian countries to the US-led military action in Iraq, and a desire among Asian governments to see a more peaceful resolution to the situation in Iraq.

A total of 37 (25.3%) articles and news stories fall into the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia". This issue includes discussion on how Malaysia took some strategies to reduce the effects of Iraq war in Malaysia tourism as presented in the NSTP, "Culture, Arts and Tourism Minister Datuk Paduka Abdul Kadir Sheikh Fadzir said three vital strategies must be implemented, namely aggressive development of interstate domestic travel within Malaysia, enhancement of student tourism nationwide, and widening the scope of home-stay projects." (New Straits Times, 1 April, 2003, Para 2).

There was a total of two (1.4%) for the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" and that was the lowest issue in Agenda Setting. For example, in New Straits Times on 3 April 2003, NSTP published the news about the plan of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia and Global Peace Mission to send a team to the Iraqi border with the mission to provide medical and humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi people to provide emergency relief assistance to refugees.

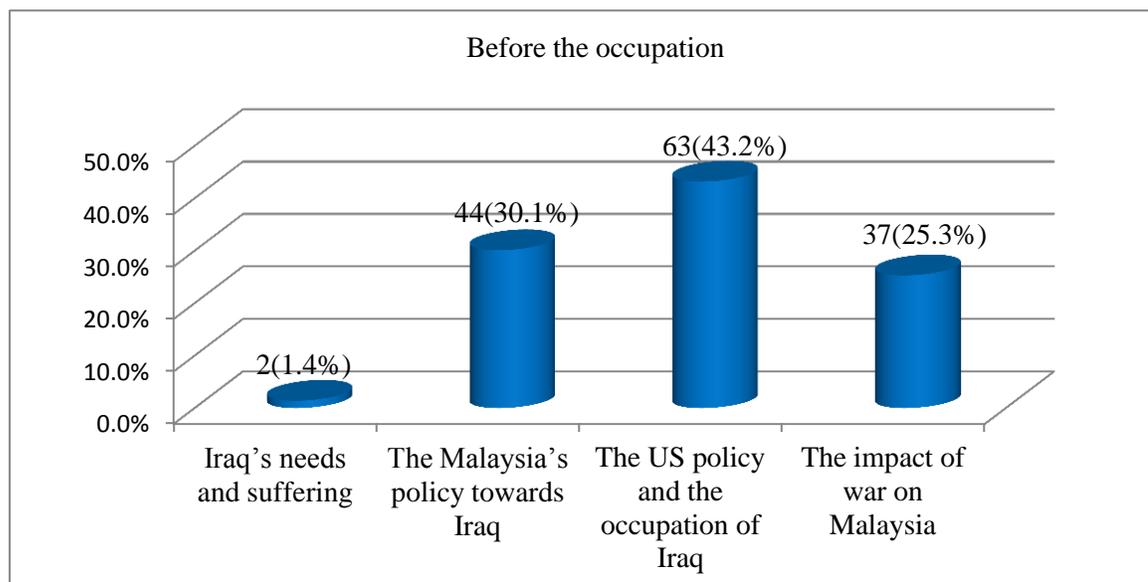


Figure 4.4. The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP before the occupation

As for the period during the occupation, Figure 4.5 displays that the total number of articles and news stories published by NSTP was 111. The issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" ranks first as it was given the highest coverage, with 44 (39.6%) articles and news stories. Example of the news that fall into this category was the news that focused on how the US emerged as the lone superpower following the aftermath of the Cold War, thus, creating a unipolar world dominated by the United States. It is noted that military success of the US in Afghanistan and Iraq has reinforced the notion of the overwhelming power, in addition to the overwhelmingly dominant power in the world.

This means that it can act in any manner it sees fit anywhere without considering the interests of others, and this reflects the new policy of US toward the world (New Straits Times, 27 August, 2003).

A total of 31 (27.9%) articles and news stories regarding the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" made reference to the courage of Malaysia policy through the opposition of the invasion of Iraq. For example Abdullah said, "Malaysia's opposition to the war was based on the principle that the sanctity of international law must be upheld, and in doing so the country had risked the ire of the more powerful nations that went to war in Iraq. He noted Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohammad's courage in opposing the Iraq war. Dr. Mahathir spoke out in a manner which many world leaders wanted to, but could not. Even though neither Malaysia nor the millions of people who... (were) against the war succeeded in preventing it, history ought to record the courage demonstrated by Dr Mahathir and the people of Malaysia in standing up for principles and justice" (New Straits Times, 11 August 2003, Para 5-6-7-8).

Nineteen (17.1%) articles and news stories regarding the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" were published. For example, there was one article about Yasmine, who lost both her legs in the United States-led invasion of Iraq (New Straits Times, 4 September, 2003).

A total of 17 (15.3%) articles and news stories regarding the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia" were published and this number shows that the issue received the lowest coverage. For instance the hotels are reporting a drop in business of between 30 and 40 per cent of tourism, due the war in Iraq (New Straits Times, 13 April, 2003). Especially

Malaysia was known as popular destination among Muslim visitors from Arab countries who feel unwelcome in the West.

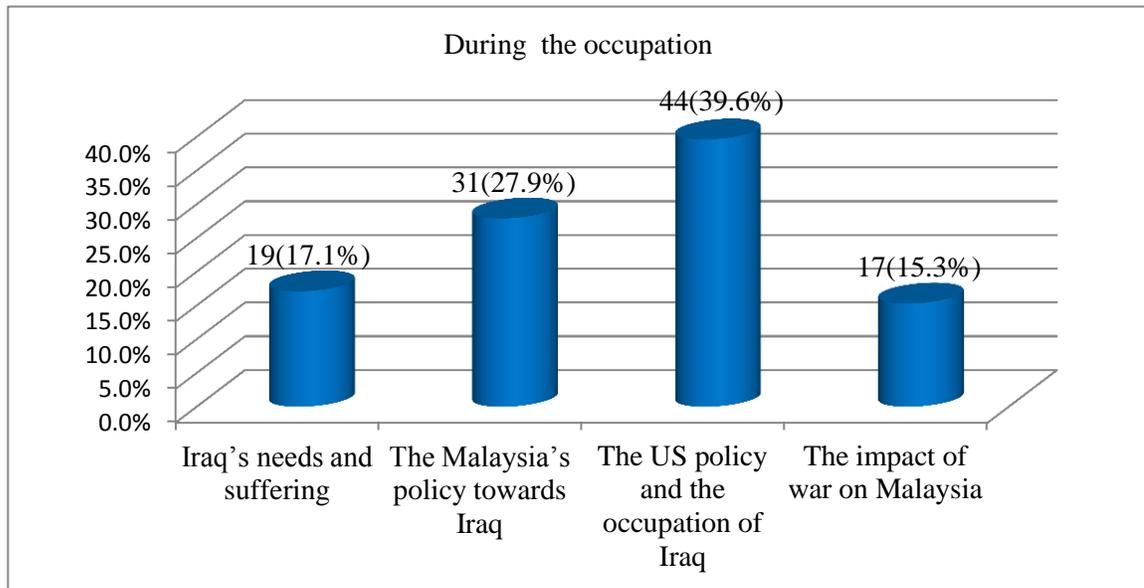


Figure 4.5. The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP during the occupation

Finally, the period after the occupation (Figure 4.6) indicates that the highest issue was "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" with 24 (36.4%) articles and news stories, which focused on the US and their failure to find weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq (New Straits Times, 23 February, 2005).

This was followed by the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" which recorded 21 (31.8%) articles and news stories. One of the news that was published under this category reported about what Dr. Mahathir said to the United States and Britain for invading Iraq, in which he was referring to their military action as "acts of terror", and he believed that the two nations had taken it upon themselves to invade Iraq. Consequently, many people have been killed; this was the reason why Malaysia opposed the invasion (New Straits Times, 10 September, 2005).

"Iraq's needs and suffering" received 18(27.3%) articles and news stories. For example, one news story in New Straits Times on 16 July 2004 reported that Malaysian companies will help rebuild Iraq, and also offer expert medical teams of surgeons to help Iraq. Also, another news focusing on the incident at Abu Ghraib prison incident as presented in the NSTP: "This is Private Lynndie England, an obscure female US soldier who has done so much damage to the standing of the United States. Looking glum and pensive, England, 21, appeared in court in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, on Tuesday as she faced 19 charges related to the abuse of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq" (New Straits Times , 5 August, 2004, Para. 2-3).

The issue which received the lowest news coverage was "The impact of war on Malaysia" with only 3 (4.5%) articles and news stories, such as the news about the return of Mohd Abdullah Osman to Malaysia, after he this Malaysian student was detained in Iraq by the led coalition forces, (New Straits Times, 14 July, 2004). This incident showed the impact of Iraq war on Malaysian students.

In conclusion, the analysis of Agenda Setting issues across periods revealed that "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" was the most published issue for the three periods, while the least published issue in the period before the occupation was "Iraq's needs and suffering". Whereas the issue "The impact of war on Malaysia" was used less in during and after the occupation periods.

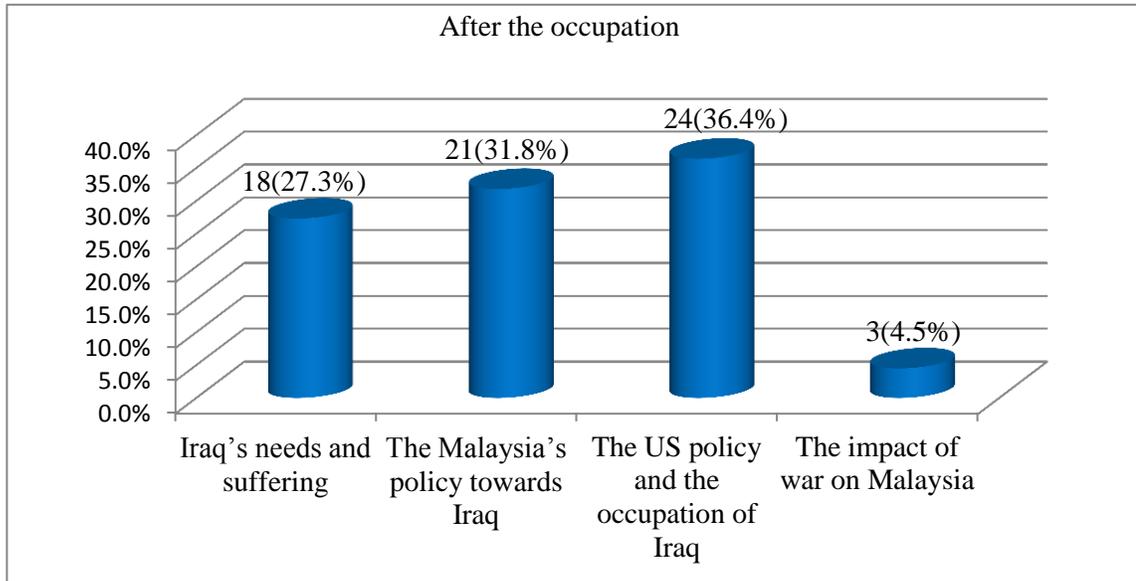


Figure 4.6. The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP after the occupation

As for the Star, the period before the occupation (Figure 4.7) indicates that the 39 (39.0%) articles and news stories that focused on "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", symbolized Malaysia's stand in opposing the use of force as a means to settle conflict and the United Nations (UN) disarmament claim to avert war (the Star, 5 March, 2003). In addition, Dr. Mahathir said that the organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) must unite to prevent a war against Iraq and we must reject the marginalization, speaking at the Organization of Islamic Conference emergency summit on Iraq (the Star, 6 March, 2003).

The number above was followed by 25 (25.0%) articles and news stories for the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" in which the Star showed US policy duplication for Iraq and the Palestinian - Israel conflict. where America did not listen to the cries of the Palestinians (the Star, 15 January, 2003).

The issues with the lowest number of published articles and news stories before the occupation were "Iraq's needs and suffering" and "The impact of war on Malaysia",

which recorded the same percentage of 18 (18.0%) articles and news stories. For example, in the Star on 10 March 2003, news on how Malaysian Medical Relief Society (Mercy) sent medical team to Iraq at the Iraqi- Jordanian border to provide medical and humanitarian relief was published.

On 12 February 2003, the Star published another news that fall into the category "The impact of war on Malaysia" represented by how Malaysian embassy staff and their families had left Baghdad, but one Malaysian student preferred to stay in Iraq.

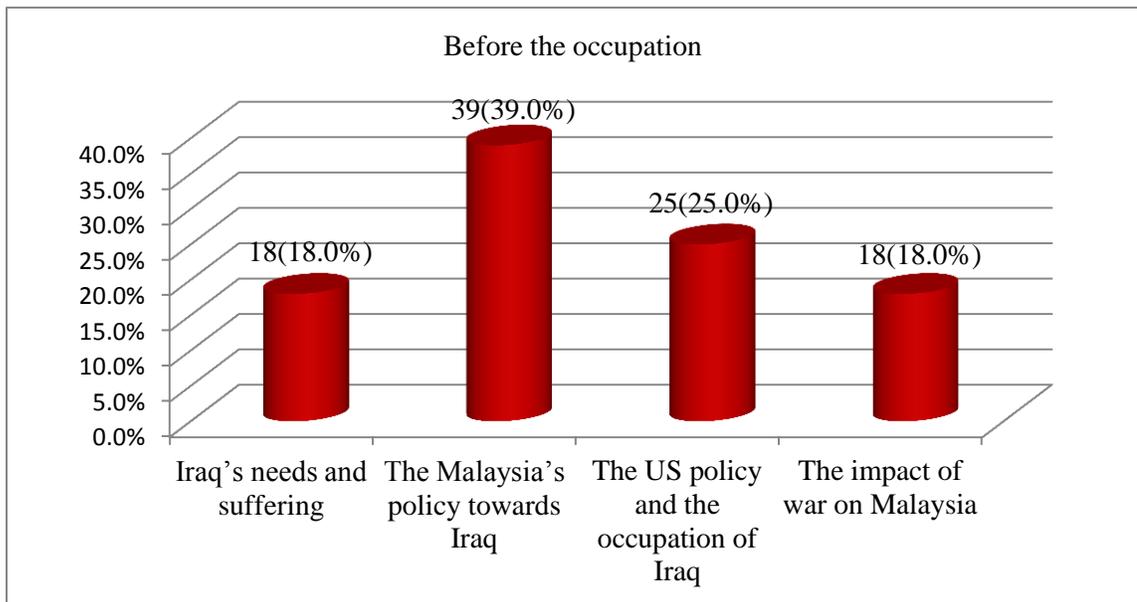


Figure 4.7. The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star before the occupation

As for the period during the occupation, Figure 4.8 shows that the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" was found to be the most common issue with a total of 30 (36.6%) articles and news stories published in the Star. For example, two articles which were published in (the Star, 25 December, 2003; and 14 July, 2003) made references to Iraqis desperate need of food, clothing and medicine, and peace mission to Iraq to provide RM400.000

worth of aid, including food, basic necessities and school materials for adopted institutions.

For the category of "The impact of war on Malaysia", the Star published 25 (30.5%) articles and news stories. This issue includes two articles that reported about the cancellation of many room reservations due to the Iraq war. To restore the tourism industry back on track after the suffering from the Iraq war, tour and travel agencies had to offer cheaper holidays to attract clients (the Star, 7-9 May, 2003).

As for the category "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", 16 (19.5%) articles and news stories were published. This means that the Star focused on Malaysia calling for both an Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and a Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) meeting to discuss the Iraqi crisis (the Star, 23 April, 2004).

Meanwhile, the issue with the lowest coverage was "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" with only 11(13.4%) articles and news stories. The Star on 12 December 2003 published the news about how Japanese Government is disregarding the United Nations mandate by planning to deploy troops to Iraq. This indicates the possibility of the US promising Japan something in return and this reflects US policy to get the support from other countries.

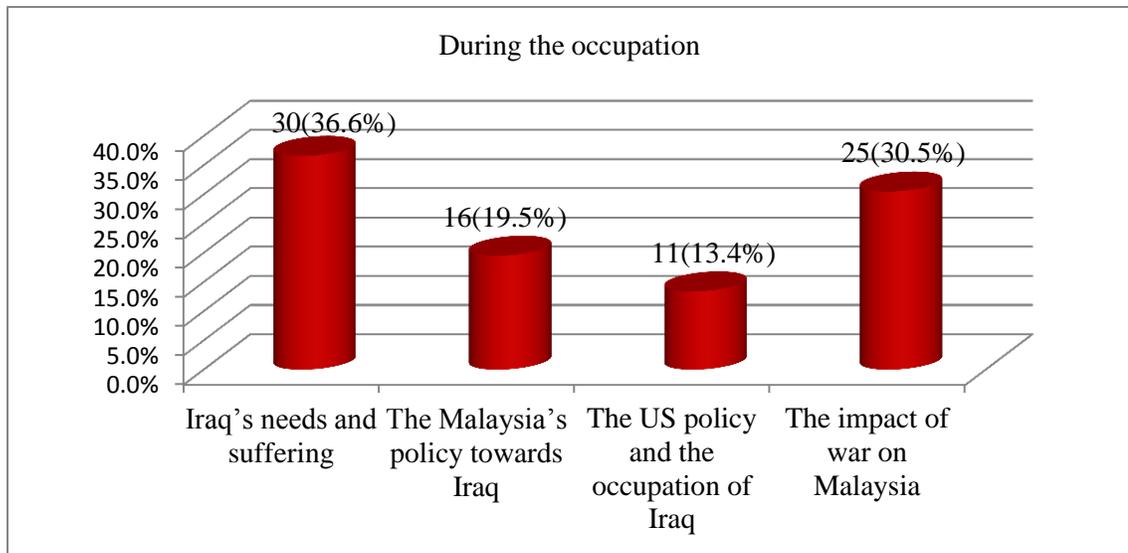


Figure 4.8. The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star during the occupation

The period after the occupation (Figure 4.9) shows that in terms of the issue, "Iraq's needs and suffering" was the highest issue published with 15(50.0%) articles and news stories. This issue includes three articles that discussed the need of Iraqi people to form a government to solve the problems of Iraq, the importance of not leaving any ethnic group out of the political process, and the importance to consider the elections in Iraq as the first step towards moving the democratic process forward (the Star, 14 June, 2005; and 9-3 February, 2005).

This was followed by the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia" with 6 (20.2%) articles and news stories. For example, the Star on 14-20 July 2004 focused about the return of a Malaysian student Mohd Abdullah Osman, who was studying at Saddam University in Baghdad. He was detained by the coalition forces at the Syrian border when he was trying to make his way back to Malaysia. He was held in Umm Qasar in Basra, for over a year and was released on May 21.

Next, the issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" received a total of 5 (16.7%) articles and news stories published by the newspaper. For example (the Star, 19 September, 2004) Kofi Atta Annan (Secretary General of the United Nations) stressed the fact that the war in Iraq is illegal. This means the invasion of Iraq was not in conformity with the UN Charter, but from it was in line with the US policy.

Then, this was followed by "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" issue which recorded a total of 4 (13.3%) articles and news stories. For example, the Malaysian Government sent troops for peacekeeping to Iraq. It has been mentioned that the troops will be unified under the banner of the OIC (Organisation of the Islamic Conference), not under the banner of the present occupying forces led by the United States. Malaysia will only send its troops to Iraq when the country is stable (the Star, 9 August, 2004).

To summarize, the articles and news stories pertaining events in Iraq featured in the Star in the period before the occupation focused on the issue "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", whereas the issue "Iraq's needs and suffering" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" received the lowest coverage. While it was found that "Iraq's needs and suffering" to be the most common issue published in the periods during and after the occupation, "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" received the lowest coverage during the occupation and after the occupation respectively.

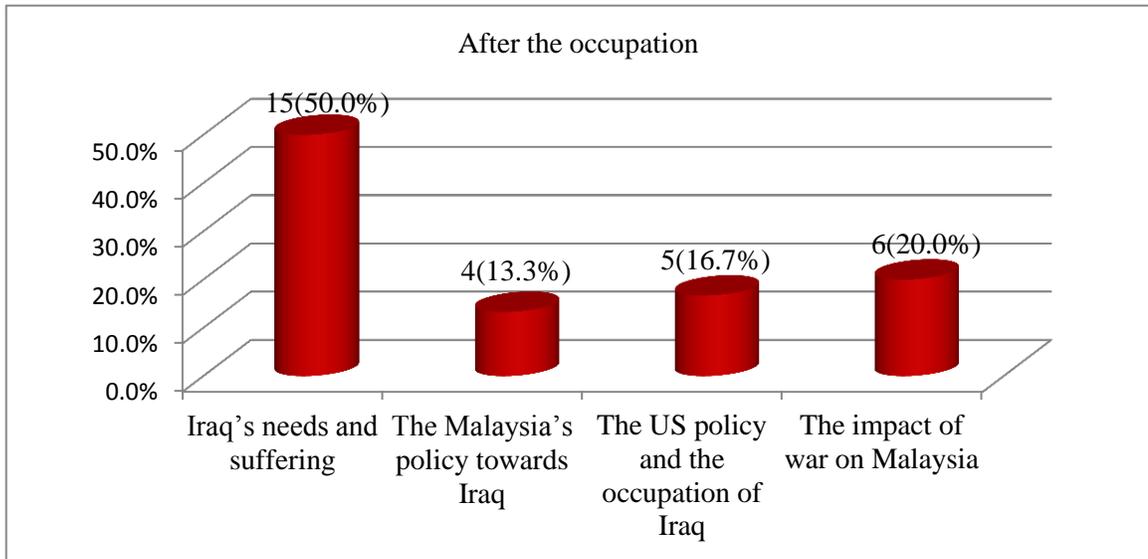


Figure 4.9. The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star after the occupation

The third research question asked is, are there any differences among the prominent issues constructed by both newspapers through each period. The next analysis focused on a comparison of issues relating to Agenda Setting issues in NSTP and the Star descriptively. Figure 4.10 shows an analysis conducted between the two newspapers on Agenda Setting issues for the period before the occupation. In general, the analysis shows, the Agenda Setting issues are displayed in the NSTP more than the Star. The issues related to "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" published by NSTP were 44 (53.0%) news, as compared to the Star 39 (47.0%). For instance, Malaysia as the chair of the 116-nation Non- Aligned Movement, will continue to speak up against the invasion of Iraq. Foreign Minister Datuk Seri Syed Hamid Albar said it was the nation's responsibility to push for NAM's stance to be heard by the world, NAM has no military might to do anything to stop the war, but it's better than of silence. Although there are various forms of pressures against our stance, but if we are united, we can influence the

decisions on the situation in Iraq and also the future of world order (New Straits Times, 28 March, 2003).

Similarly, the issue relating to "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" covered 63 news (71.6%) in the NSTP compared to 25 (28.4%) in the Star. It shows that NSTP (on 18 July 2002; 24 November 2002 and 13 September 2002) focused about the US desire to control the world as the dominant power, through resolutions of military action against Iraq.

Also, the issue related to "The impact of war on Malaysia" was featured in NSTP in 37(67.3%) articles and news stories, more than the Star which only published 18(32%) articles and news stories for the periods concerned. For example, according to a report in NSTP on 11 February 2003, Malaysia's timber and palm oil exports will be affected if a war breaks out in Iraq, due to the disruption in shipments as well as rising freight and insurance charges.

On the contrary, the issue related to "Iraq's needs and suffering" was published by the Star in 18 news (90.0%) which is more than NSTP which only published 2 (10.0%) news. for example the Star on 30-18 March 2003 focused on the Mercy medical team which tried to reach the war victims. It seemed that there were a lot of civilian casualties in Baghdad but yet they could not get to them.

An analysis of NSTP and the Star newspapers on each issue revealed that "Iraq's needs and suffering" was published more by the Star than NSTP, while "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" were published more by NSTP than the Star.

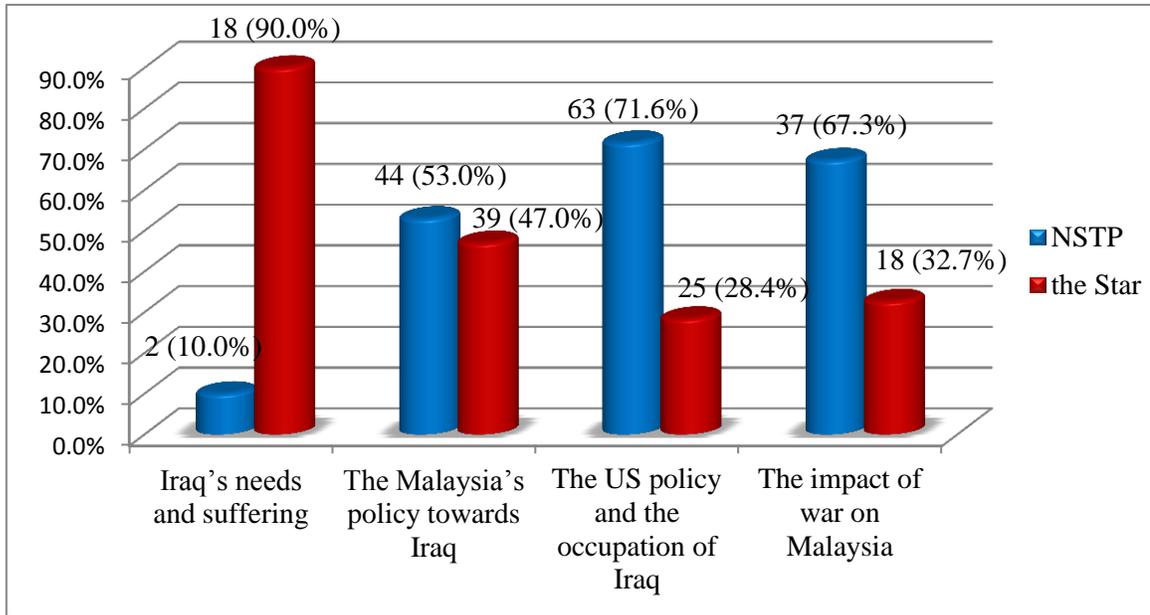


Figure 4.10. Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues before the occupation between NSTP and the Star

The next research question is related to the display of news related to the Agenda Setting issue during the occupation. Figure 4.11 shows that there is little difference in the Agenda Setting issues published by both newspapers. The Star was found to be more focused on articles and news stories about two issues which are "Iraq's need and Suffering" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" with 30 (61.2%) and 25 (59.5%) news stories published respectively. Meanwhile, NSTP published 19 (38.8%) and 17 (40.5%) articles and news stories respectively. This issue which covers "Iraq's need and Suffering" includes the discussion on how current situation in Iraq was worsening because of many factors, like their existence a political vacuum in Iraq, and many Iraqis feel that the existing political process lacks legitimacy. Thus the Iraqi people need to end the occupation and transfer the power back to Iraqis (New Straits Times, 19 April, 2004).

Meanwhile, the issue which covers "The impact of war on Malaysia" includes the discussion on how the Iraq war which led to the decline in gross domestic product (GDP)

due to the lower export growth coupled with declining tourism and weaker private consumption, would contribute to a bleaker economic picture for the country (New Straits Times, 2 April, 2003).

The NSTP published more articles and news stories related to issues of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" with 31(66.0 %) news compared to the Star which only published 16 news (34.0%). For example, on 13-21 April 2003, NSTP published news about Malaysia call for an end of the US occupation in Iraq, especially after unseating of Saddam's administration, on the basis that the coalition was not occupation force and that it only wanted to topple Saddam Hussein's administration. The news also reported a peaceful march by Malaysians to protest against the United States-led invasion of Iraq, where many of them held anti-war placards.

As for the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq", NSTP published 44(80.0%) news compared to the Star which published 11(20.0%) news. An example of the news was the deliberate distortion of facts by Bush to associate Iraq to terrorism to get the support for the war, thus the US-led invasion of Iraq would be seen in the context of the war on terrorism (New Straits Times, 6 December, 2003).

The comparison of the Agenda Setting issues during the occupation period between NSTP and the Star indicates that "Iraq's needs and suffering" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" were extensive in the Star, while the issues "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" were extensive in NSTP.

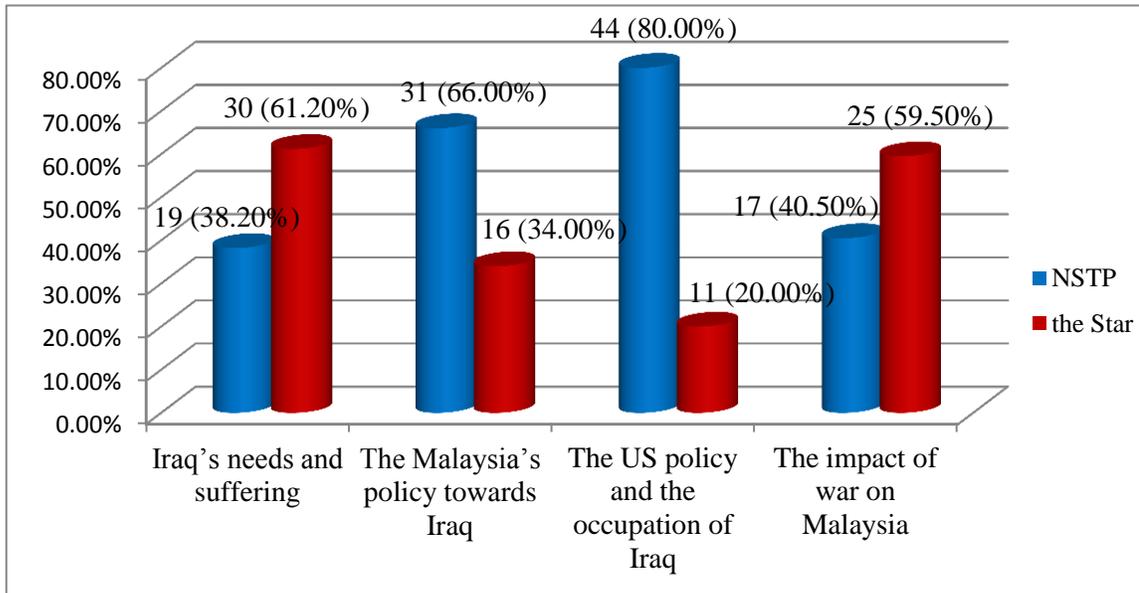


Figure 4.11. Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues during the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Looking at the prominent issues constructed by NSTP and the Star for the period after the occupation (Figure 4.12), the analysis shows NSTP published more news related to the issue of "Iraq's need and Suffering" with 18 (54.5%) news compared to the Star which published 15 (45.5%), where the news were devoted to the percentage of Iraqis who have successfully undergone their first free election with a very encouraging turnout of voters. It was reported that Iraqis wanted to determine their own future with the new government without any direct intervention from the US (New Straits Times, 3 February, 2005). Another news was about the abuse of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, suggesting that that the Iraqi people need respect for human rights (New Straits Times, 5 August, 2004).

The issue of "The Malaysia's policy toward Iraq" was published more in NSTP with 21(84.0%) articles and news stories compared to the Star with only 4 (16.0%) articles. Malaysia's policy was reflected in news that reported Malaysia will decide on sending

troops for peacekeeping to Iraq only under three conditions which are: first, Ordinary Iraqis want troops from an organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) member country; second, the troops are not deployed alongside the multinational forces led by the United States; third, a joint decision is reached by the OIC on sending troops to Iraq (New Straits Times, 6 August, 2004).

Next, the issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" was published more in NSTP than the Star with 24 (82.8%) and 5(17.2%) articles and news stories respectively. Example of the news is the report about the presence of American combat troops in Iraq which led to rise in the number of suicide attacks in Iraq (New Straits Times, 23 May, 2005).

While the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia" was published more in the Star compared to NSTP with 6 (66.7%) and 3 (33.3%) articles and news stories respectively. So, the difference of news published was closer between both newspapers because the Star published three news about the return of a Malaysian student, Mohd Abdullah Osman and the difficulties faced by his family in his absence, and three news about the impact of the Iraq war to tourism and oil prices in Malaysia. On the contrary, NSTP published only one news about the return of the Malaysian student, Mohd Abdullah Osman, and two news about Dr. Baba Deni, who was wounded in Iraq when he served as a Mercy Malaysia volunteer. This means that, after the US occupation, NSTP did not publish the news about the impact of the Iraq war to Malaysian economy, while the Star did not publish the news about Dr. Baba Deni.

The researcher found that for the period after the occupation, three issues were dominant in NSTP which are "Iraq's needs and suffering", "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", while the issue "The impact of war on Malaysia" was dominant in the Star. We can see the difference between these two newspapers only in the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering", because this issue always shows the highest percentages in the Star, but in the period after the occupation the difference of news published was closer between NSTP and the Star.

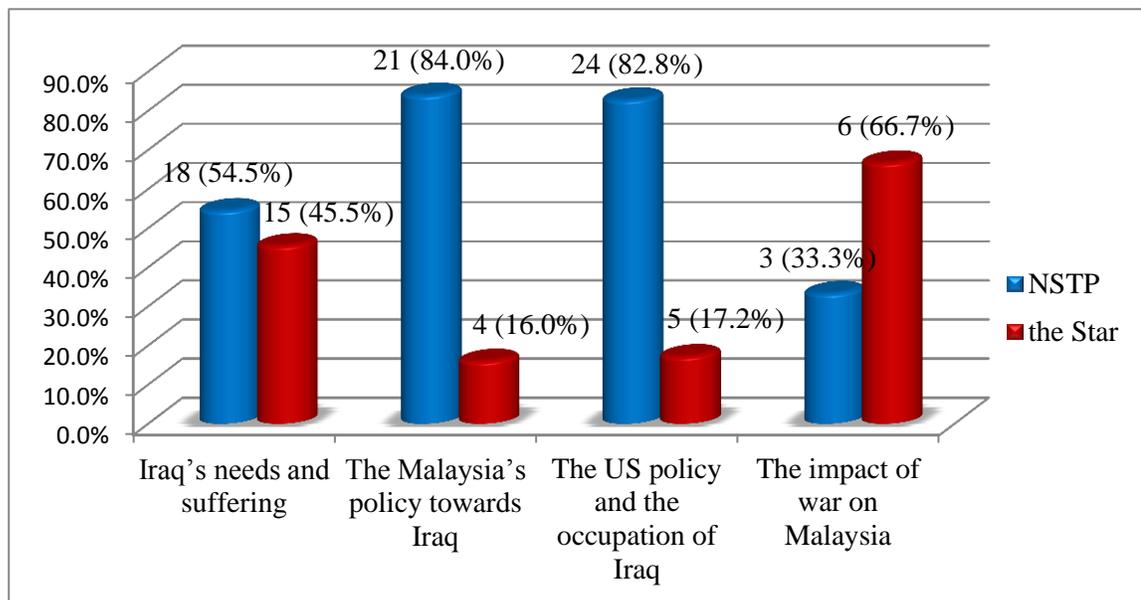


Figure 4.12. Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues after the occupation between NSTP and the Star

The next research question relates to any differences among the prominent Agenda Setting Issue constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

Overall, the analysis shows that NSTP published more news related to the three categories except for the category of "Iraq's need and suffering" which was published more by the Star. Figure 4.13 shows the distribution patterns of Agenda Setting issues by

all the three periods. The number of articles and news stories related to "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" for NSTP was 96 (61.9%) versus 59 (38.1%) for the Star, while "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" for NSTP was 131(76.2%) news versus 41 (23.8%) news for the Star. Finally, "The impact of war on Malaysia" for NSTP was 57(53.8%) versus 49(46.2%) news for the Star. However, the issue "Iraq's needs and suffering" was published more in the Star with 63 (61.8%) articles and news stories compared 39 (38.2%) news by NSTP.

Finally, it was found that through all periods there was just the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" published in the Star compared to NSTP, while the issues "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" were more extensive in NSTP compared to the Star.

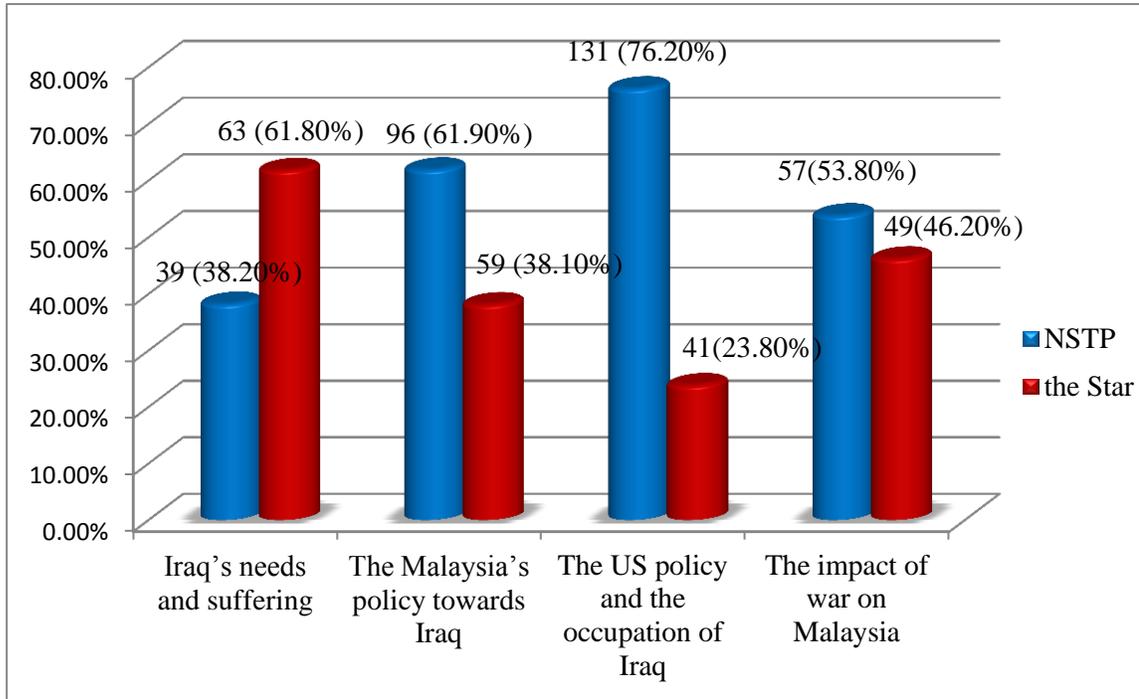


Figure 4.13. Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP and the Star

4.2.3 Description of Framing Categories

The Framing categories in this study were: conflict frame, which emphasizes on the resistance to the occupation and marginalized role the UN play which will lead to conflicts in the world, due to the absence of the authority of the United Nations; responsibility frame, which refers the US being responsible on what is happening in Iraq; Economic consequences frame, which highlights the economic effects due to Iraq war on Malaysian economy and on the effort to rebuild of Iraq; and Human interest frame, which refer to presentation of an event in from an emotional angle.

The fifth research question asked about differences among the prominent frames categories constructed by each newspaper through each period.

For the period before the occupation (Figure 4.14), NSTP published 85 (58.2%) articles and news stories for responsibility frame. For example NSTP published that "during the era of the Cold War, the world was divided into two spheres East and West, with the East representing communism and the West democracy. It was a world balanced at the center, with the US and Russia as the two superpowers. All other nation states were spread around these two political systems. That was how it was until the Cold War ended, and a New World Order began to emerge. And it is in this New World Order that the US is today exerting its authority" (New Straits Times, 2 March, 2003, para.12). This frame discusses how the US considers itself responsible for the world, thus the invasion of Iraq fall under its responsibility and authority

Economic consequences frame was published by NSTP in 38 articles and news stories (26.0%). This frame discusses the Iraq war impact to the economy of Malaysia,

symbolized by "The Human Resources Ministry may relax the Employment Act to allow unpaid leave for workers in light of declining demand for manufacturing and textile products following the war in Iraq" (New Straits Times, 27 March, 2003, Para. 1).

Conflict frame was published in NSTP by 16 articles and news stories (11.0%). This frame discusses how the UN does not have the power or the might to stop the US from attacking Iraq which will lead to conflicts in the world as a result of the absence of the authority of the United Nations. "Despite the chorus of voices worldwide calling for peace, US President George W. Bush said UN Security Council approval of a new US-backed resolution was not needed to authorise an attack on Iraq". "Bush's reiteration of his hawkish plans emphasized his intention to bypass the United Nations and attack Iraq if the Security Council fails to approve the resolution introduced on Monday, and if Iraq continues with what he said was a failure to disarm" (New Straits Times, 27 February, 2003, para.1-4).

Human interest frame was published by NSTP in 7 (4.8%) articles and news stories. This frame covers the story of a girl from northern Iraq (Kurds), who suffered under Saddam's reign. It was reported that the girl, "Nasreen, like many other Kurds in northern Iraq, was raised on accounts of Turkey's repression of its 12 million ethnic Kurds. Millions more live in eastern Syria, northern Iraq and northwestern Iran. All four countries and the America oppose the creation of a new Kurdish state". "Nasreen and other Kurdish leaders in northern Iraq say they wish to remain part of a new democratic and federal Iraq". "She, in fact, grew up in Baghdad, a city she recalls fondly. When she was 14, she and her entire family were jailed for two months by Saddam's government. Her eldest brother had become a Kurdish separatist guerilla in northern Iraq". She was quoted as saying, "I was

in prison with hundreds of women who were tortured and raped." "The family fled from Baghdad to Dohuk in northeastern Iraq, an hour's drive from their village of Chamsaida. Chemical attacks by Iraqi forces in 1988 sent her aunt and uncle fleeing to Turkey. There, Turkish officials whom did not classify the Kurds as refugees, blocked assistance from the UN and confined the Kurds to camps" (New Straits Times, 8 March, 2003, Para. 16-17-18-19).

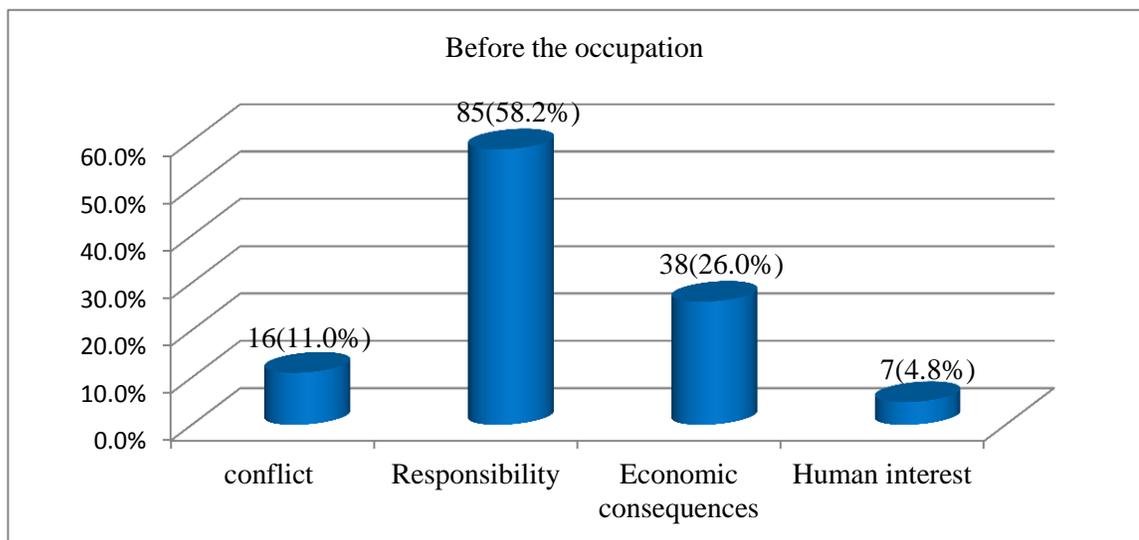


Figure 4.14. The Framing Categories in NSTP before the occupation

The same sequence occurs in the during the occupation period, in which the responsibility frame was the highest frame with 64 (57.7%) articles and news stories, followed by Economic consequences frame with 21(18.9%) articles and news stories, Conflict frame with 15 (13.5%) articles and news stories, and the lowest coverage received by Human interest frame with only 11(9.9%) articles and news stories (See figure 4.15).

It showed that NSTP used the responsibility frame by publishing news about the importance of giving the opportunity for the Iraqis to carry the responsibility of deciding who should govern Iraq. This was evident in news that reported, "The question of who rules Iraq should be decided by the Iraqis, not outsiders especially the US" and "This is our country and there is no need for the US to tell us how to form our own Government. We will decide who will be our leader" (New Straits Times, 24 April, 2003, Para. 5-9).

The Economic consequences frame is represented by the news on how to rebuild Iraq, as reflected by the newspaper report that said, "The reconstruction of Iraq should involve Asian and Muslim countries, with emphasis on helping the Iraqis get over the "trauma of war" instead of accentuating economic opportunities. Foreign Minister Datuk Seri Syed Hamid Albar said today the future of Iraq could not be just about opportunities for a particular country or contractors. The rebuilding process should see the participation of "everyone in a transparent way" and not just for the US or Europe" (New Straits Times, 18 April, 2003, Para. 1-2).

The Conflict frame covers how the marginalization of the UN could lead to conflicts, as represented by the report that said, "They agreed that the United Nations should play a central role in post- war Iraq and that peace in the Middle East could only be achieved through the establishment of a Palestinian state. Malaysia is looking to engage like-minded countries like Germany to restore confidence in the UN and in international law, damaged by the recent invasion of Iraq by the US led forces. Even without UN sanction, the US and Britain invaded Iraq. Germany, along with France, Russia and China, blocked a possible Security Council-approved attack against Iraq" (New Straits Times, 16 May, 2003, Para .6-7-8).

Finally, the Human interest frame is represented by the news which detailed the description of the prisoners of war "Among them are depictions of prisoners kept naked in empty cells; and beaten by their American captors. The prisoners were also fired at by the captors repeatedly from watchtowers; some were heaped naked as human pyramid; leashed like dogs; and forced to do crude sexual acts and simulations in front of smiling American guards." (New Straits Times, 16 May, 2004, Para. 10-11).

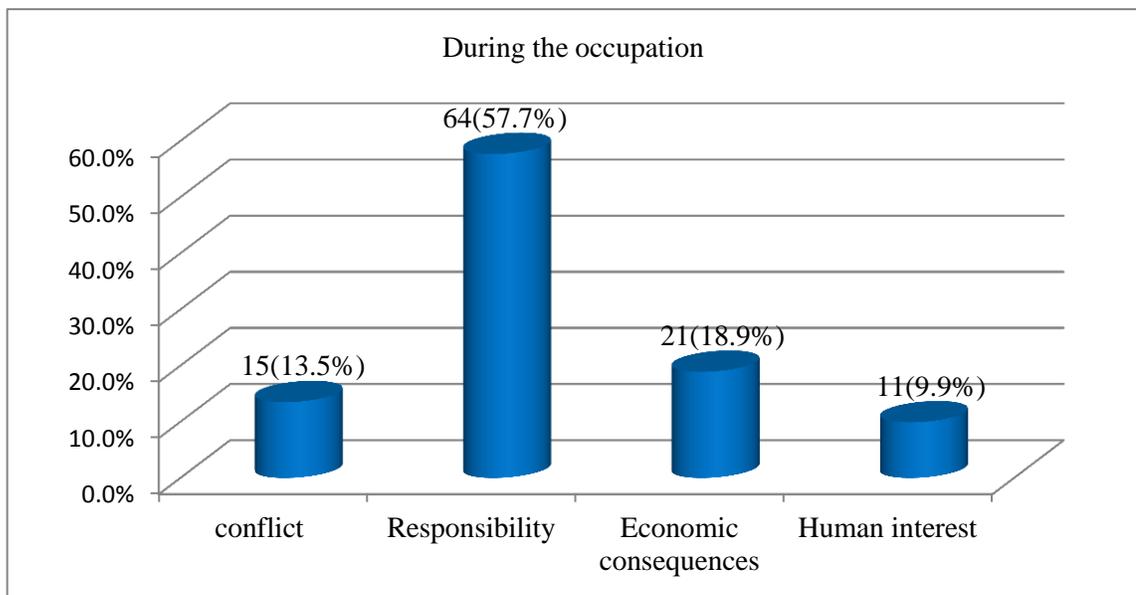


Figure 4.15. The Framing Categories in NSTP during the occupation

As for the period after the occupation (Figure 4.16), the responsibility frame was published in NSTP in 30 (45.5%) articles and news stories. This frame discusses the US responsibility for the invasion of Iraq, where the war was built on lies, deceptions and delusions with regard to weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, thus the US started an aggressive war and despicable acts under these lies (New Straits Times, 11 September, 2005).

The trend slightly changes for the rest of the frames, in which Human interest frame was used in 19 (28.8%) articles and news stories. This was clear when it was reported that "Najib said the Government had agreed to offer medical help on humanitarian grounds, but no time frame had been set for the team's departure or on how long their tour of duty would be. "We will be monitoring the situation in Iraq," he said. The size of the team would be finalised after assessing the needs of the people of Iraq" (New Straits Times, 17 July, 2004, Para. 5).

This was followed by Conflict frame which was used in 11(16.7%) articles and news stories, represented by the bombing of several churches in Iraq, which killed civilians. This was the first time churches were targeted in the unrest, and the probable cause of this was maybe the bombers were trying to cause a religious conflict (New Straits Times, 3 August, 2004).

The lowest frame was Economic consequences frame which was published in 6 (9.1%) articles and news stories. It is represented by news on the reconstruction of Iraq in which it was reported that Iraq may ask for Malaysia's assistance through Malaysian companies to help rebuild Iraq when political stability returned to the country. (New Straits Times, 19 July, 2004).

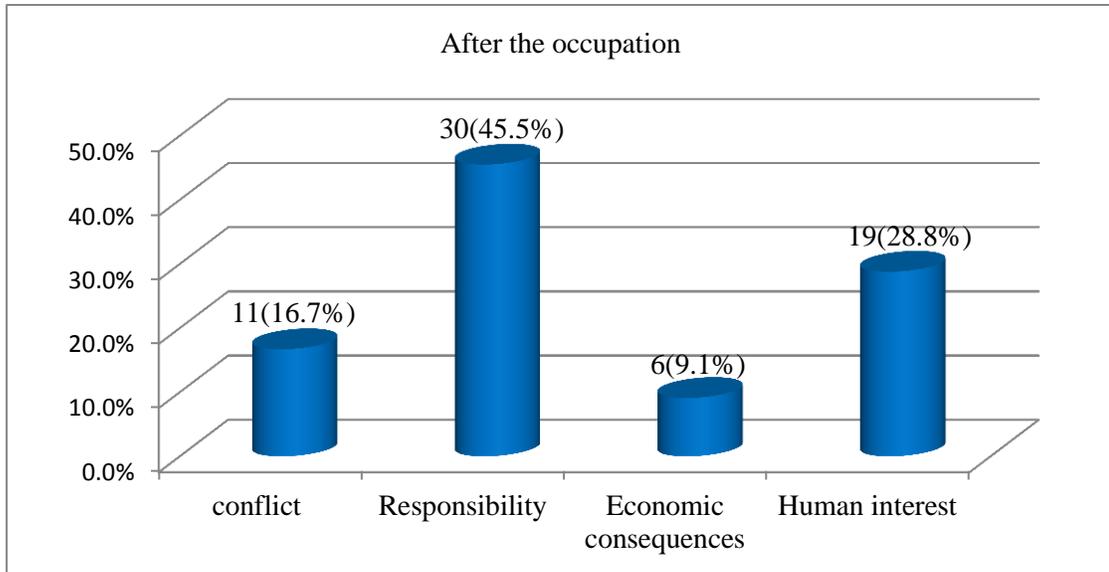


Figure 4.16. The Framing Categories in NSTP after the occupation

All told, the responsibility frame was dominant in NSTP during the three periods, whereas the human interest frame was the lowest frame before and during the occupation periods. With regard to the period after the occupation, the lowest frame was the Economic Consequences.

The second part of the fifth research question dealt with differences among the prominent frames categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation. In general we can see the differences of trend frames used in the Star compare to NSTP. However, a graphical representation showing human interest is widely used as a main frame followed by other frames, except in the period before the occupation where human interest frame was used as the second frame (Figure 4.17).

Figure 4.17 shows the Framing categories in the Star before the occupation. In the period, the top frame was Responsibility Frame with 55 (55.0%) news. This frame which covers the responsibility of Iraq to avoid the war was presented in the Star as "However, to

complicate matters, Iraq has set certain conditions like the withdrawal of the UN sanctions and other resolutions made by the Security Council before allowing these inspectors back in. But Saddam must realize that time is against him." "Saddam, on his part, needs to be flexible and to bow to UN demands if he wishes to avoid an attack. An attack would not just be disastrous to Iraq but would destabilize the region" (the Star, 17 September, 2002, Para. 10- 27).

Next, the Human interest frame was used in 18 (18.0%) news which cover the three Iraqi doctors pursuing a surgical course in Malaysia who were worried about their families in Iraq because the war. The Star reported, "Three Iraqi doctors pursuing a surgical course here have expressed outrage at US President George W. Bush over the death of innocent civilians, including women and children, during the US led war in Iraq. Even if Bush were to win the war, he will have a country with no people," said Dr Abdullah Sami Esmail. "I don't think God will forgive him for committing a crime for oil, he said while praying for God's help to protect his parents and two sisters in Iraq." "Dr ' Abdullah, 34, whose home city of Mosul, 400km north -west of Baghdad bombarded by coalition forces on Monday, said he had been following the war's developments through CNN and newspapers" (the Star, 2 April, 2003, Para. 1-2-3-4).

The economic consequences frame was covered in 17 (17.0%) news. For example, there was focusing on how the Malaysian economy will be affected due to the Iraq war in which Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin was quoted as saying, "wars, especially those involving the United States, would have some implications on the world economy" "It will surely cause an increase in the price of petroleum products and the chain reaction will see transportation charges going up" (the Star, 21 March, 2003, Para. 2-3).

Next, the conflict frame was published in 10 (10.0%) news which covers how this attack has succeeded in doing is to split the world. This happened due to the decision by the United Nations Security Council of not giving the United States or its coalition partners a mandate to attack Iraq. However, America attacked Iraq. The Star reported, "The US led war against Iraq has divided world opinion and organizations, said Foreign Minister Datuk Seri Syed Hamid Albar. Finally the conflict, he added, had caused serious divisions in major world organizations, like the European Union, Nato, the Non-Alignment Movement and even regional groups like Asean. Syed Hamid said the war continued despite a majority of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council deciding not to give the United States or its coalition partners a mandate to attack Iraq." (the Star, 28 March, 2003, Para. 1-2-3).

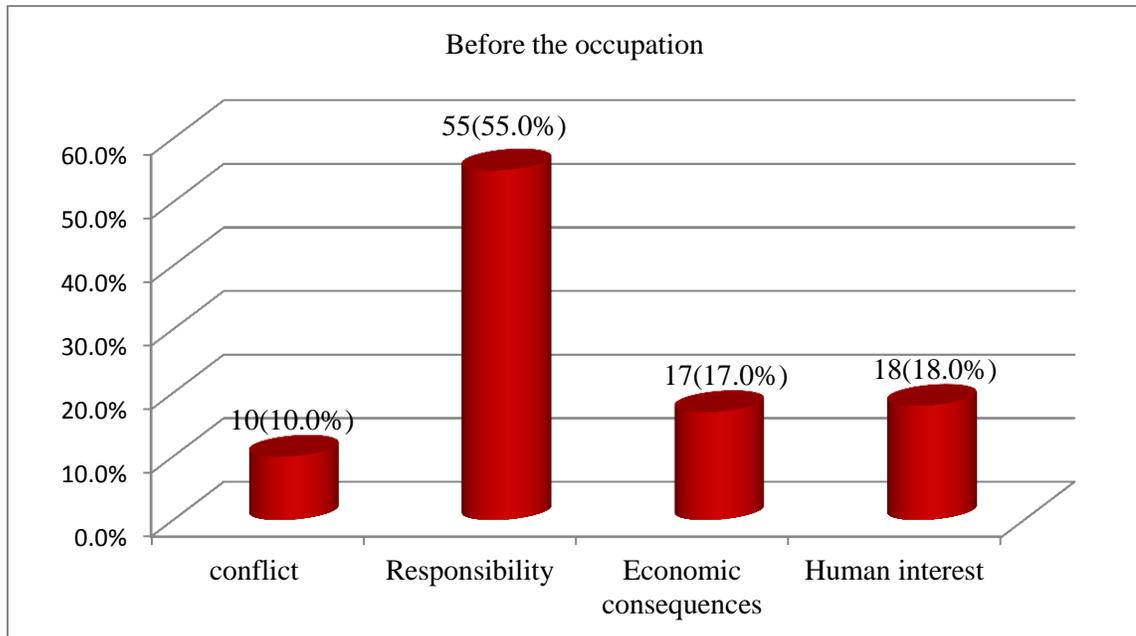


Figure 4.17. The Framing Categories in the Star before the occupation

In the period during the occupation (Figure 4.18), the top frame was Human interest with 35 (42.7%) news, followed by Responsibility frame with 24 (29.3%) news; Economic consequences frame received a total of 13 (15.9%) news and Conflict frame 10 (12.5%) news. On 10 November 2003, the Star published about Human interest frame, through to focus on the Malaysian doctor (Mercy Malaysia) who was attacked during a mission in Iraq. The newspaper reported that, "seven months after being shot by gunmen during a Malaysian Medical Relief Society (Mercy Malaysia) mission in Iraq, there is still no sign of Datuk Dr Baba Deni making a recovery on his injured right leg. He said doctors at the Pantai Integrated Rehabilitation Services Unit did not see any improvement on his leg and there was no evidence the injured nerves were growing back. The 48 year-old doctor still needs painkillers daily for the wound the size of a mug, at his right hip where the bullet exited after he was shot at the left hip" (Para. 1-2-3).

Next, Responsibility frame which discusses how the US should be responsible for the mistake in the invasion of Iraq, especially after the absence of weapons of mass destruction, as presented in the Star " Leaders in United States and Britain will never admit they have been wrong in waging war against Iraq, even when they have been proven so by the US led team which has found no weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in their search of the country" (the Star, 5 October, 2003, Para. 1).

The Economic consequences frame was symbolized by "Malaysia hopes that Iraq can finally reconstruct the country peacefully and rapidly following the cessation of the United Nations (UN) Oil for Food programme yesterday. Iraq will assume control of its oil sale revenue previously used for food and Malaysia hopes that the Iraqis will use it

wisely to reconstruct their country, said Foreign Minister Datuk Seri Syed Hamid Syed Albar" (the Star, 23 November, 2003, Para.1).

Finally, Conflict frame were covered in the news which reported that "The time has come for the United States to allow the United Nations to take a central role in war-torn Iraq and spearhead a peace process in Palestine in view of the escalating violence in the Middle East. Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi said the situation in the region had taken a turn for the worse and was messy. He warned that the latest developments were threatening the integrity of the US and the UN as well as destabilising the peace and security of neighbouring countries in the region" (the Star, 23 April, 2004, Para. 1-2-3). This frame discusses how the United Nations ignorance will result in destabilizing security and stability.

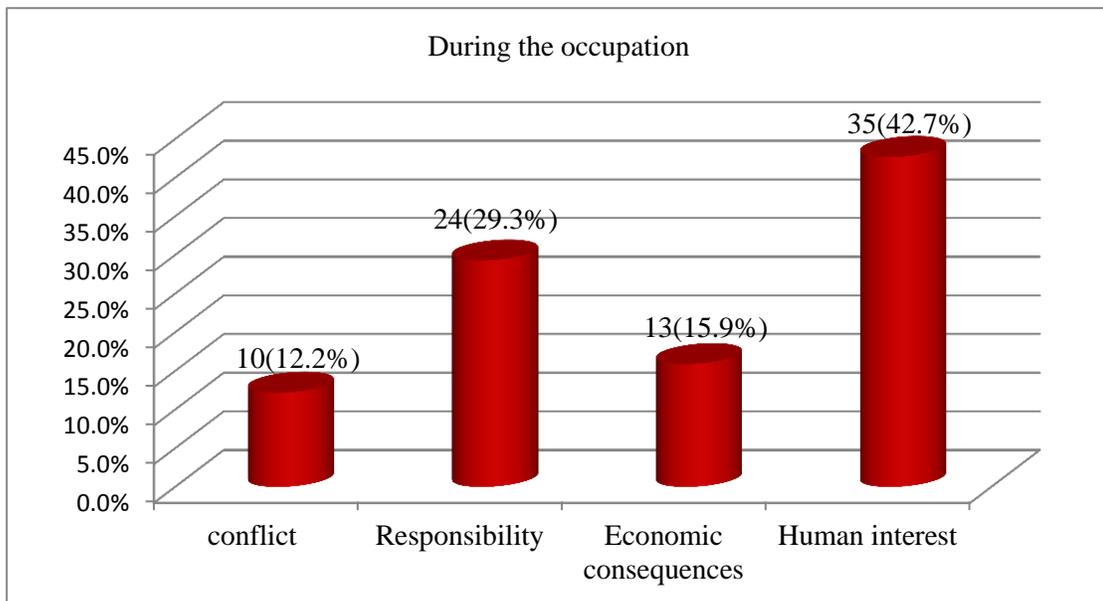


Figure 4.18. The Framing Categories in the Star during the occupation

In the period after the occupation (Figure 4.19), the top frame was Human interest with 14 (46.7%) articles and news stories. For instance, news published by the Star focused on what the Iraqi people is facing. It was written that "The dramatic footage of a wounded and unarmed Iraqi being shot by a US marine in a mosque in Fallujah is shocking and may be seen as a violation of the Geneva Convention of Aug 12, 1949," (the Star, 18 November, 2004, Para. 4). In addition, on 15 July 2004 the news focus on how the relatives and friends had shunned student's family Mohd Abdullah Osman during his detention in Iraq by the coalition forces, and his mother had been ignored and her business had to be shut down. Some even cut off their phone lines or moved away because they were scared, after they had heard of the news that he was involved with a militant group or Al Qaeda.

The responsibility frame was covered in 9 (30.0%) news in the Star. This frame discusses the how the decision to hand over Iraq to the interim government is a positive step towards freeing Iraq and the responsibility of Iraqi people after the handover (the Star, 29 June, 2004)

The conflict frame was published by the Star in 4 (13.3%) news. it reported that the UN is still the one indispensable world organization we have, thus the UN should be not just based on speeches in their work to maintain the balance of power in the world from the conflict (the Star, 14 May, 2005).

The economic consequences frame was covered in 3 (10.0%) news. For instance, the newspaper reported that "Malaysia may have to review its economic strategies if world oil prices continue to rocket over the next three to six months, said Datuk Mustapa

Mohamed, Minister in the Prime Minister's Department in charge of national economic planning". "He declined to reveal the type of new strategies needed but said the Government would not alter its plans to rein in the burgeoning fiscal deficit". "We are firmly on track as far as fiscal consolidation is concerned Mustapa told reporters yesterday". "US oil prices hit a new record high yesterday, just short of US\$45 a barrel, as violence in Iraq disrupted crude output and exports from the country's southern fields, compounding fears that tight global supplies may be inadequate to meet demand". "High oil prices have dampened sentiment in the stock market as investors worry that dearer energy costs would stall Malaysia's rapid economic growth and trim corporate earnings" (the Star, 11 August, 2004, Para. 1-2-3-4-5). This refers to the impact the Iraq war has on the economy of Malaysia.

It is worth mentioning that in the period before and during the occupation, the lowest frames were conflict frame. The highest frame in the period during and after the occupation was human interest, whereas in the period before the occupation the highest frame was responsibility.

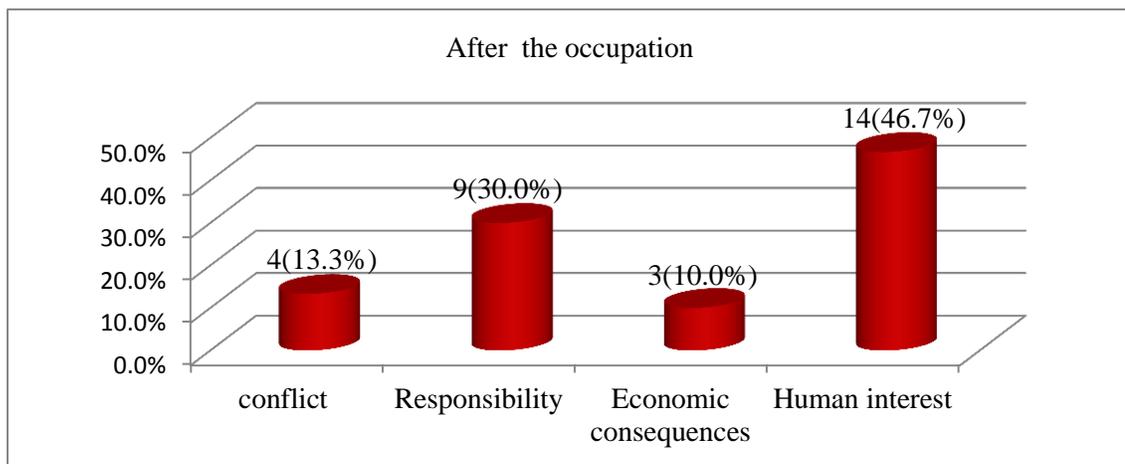


Figure 4.19. The Framing Categories in the Star after the occupation

Research question six attempts to identify the differences among the prominent frames categories constructed by both newspapers through each period

The analysis focused on the comparison of frames used by both newspapers before the occupation. Comparative analysis of the categories of frames shows that NSTP dominated the use of the three frames of conflict, responsibility and economic consequences, while the Star was more extensive on the use of human interest frame. Figure 4.20 depicts that Conflict frame in NSTP was published in 16 (61.5%) news versus 10 (38.5%) for the Star. For example, on 26 February 2003, NSTP published on the abolition of wars like Iraq war through working toward a new world order, and working for the revival of the United Nations and multilateralism.

Responsibility frame in NSTP was represented in 85 (60.7%) news versus 55 (39.3%) for the Star. One example of news published in NSTP using the responsibility frame was the news which reported "that the US wants to bring about a regime change (a polite euphemism these days for foreign-backed coup) that aims not only to topple Saddam Hussein but also to install a pro-Western (and more importantly, pro-American) Government that will emulate American values and principles and make them the norm for social life in the Arab world" (New Straits Times, 15 March, 2003, Para. 6).

Next, the Economic consequences frame in NSTP was present in 38 (69.1%) articles and news stories versus 17 (30.9%) for the Star. For instance, NSTP reported that "Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad said he believed that oil prices could increase to about US\$50 per barrel if the US launched an attack on Iraq" (New Straits Times, 12 March, 2003, Para. 9).

On the contrary, the Human interest frame in the Star was published in 18 (72.0%) news which is more than NSTP which only published 7 (28.0%) news. The Star reported that "Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi has appealed to Malaysians to donate generously to help Iraqis now facing tremendous hardship due to the continuous bombings by the US led allied forces. The government has given its blessing that humanitarian funds be set up to help the Iraqis" (the Star, 1 April, 2003; Para. 1-2).

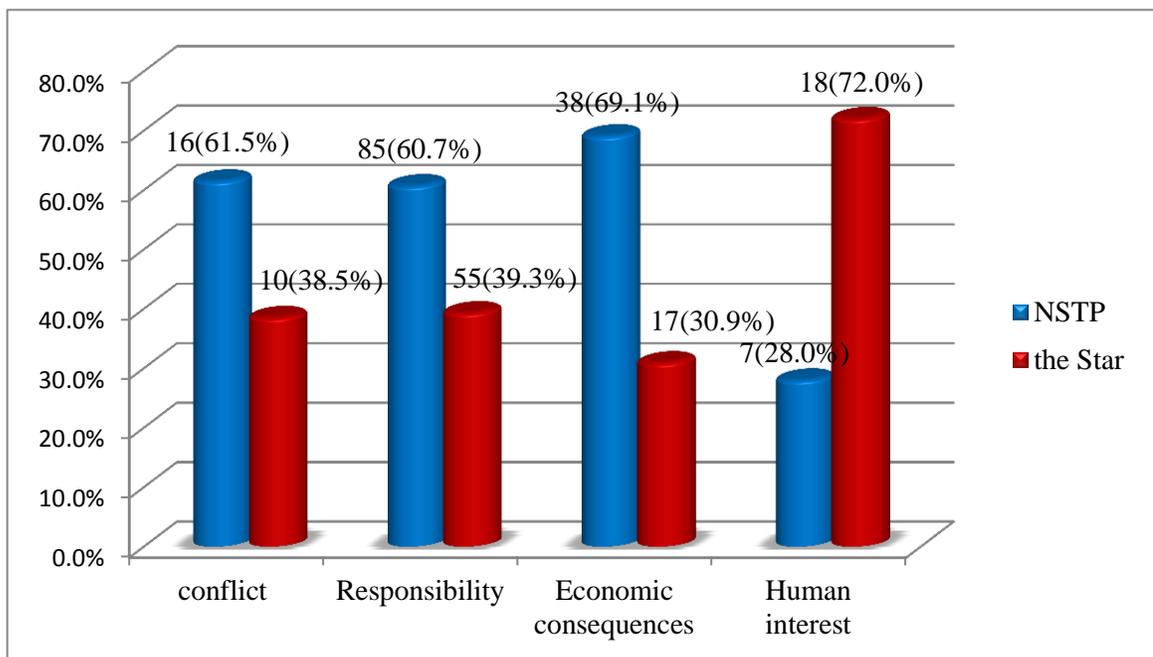


Figure 4.20. Comparison Framing Categories before the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Next analysis focused on differences among the prominent frames constructed by NSTP and the Star during the occupation. In general we can see the similar trend frames used in the period before the occupation. However, a graphical representation showed that NSTP dominated the use of the three frames of conflict, responsibility and economic consequences, while the Star was more extensive in the use of human interest frame (Figure 4.21).

Figure 4.21 indicates that NSTP used more frames compared to the Star. NSTP published 15 (60.0%) articles and news stories in the Conflict frame compared to 10 (40.0%) articles and news stories in the Star; 64 (72.7%) articles and news stories in Responsibility frame compared to 24 (27.3%) articles and news stories in the Star; and 21(61.8%) articles and news stories in the Economic consequences frame compared to 13 (38.2%) articles and news stories in the Star. Conversely, the Star published 35 (76.1%) articles and news stories for Human interest frame which is more than NSTP with 11(23.9%) articles and news stories.

The findings showed that NSTP published more articles and news stories on Conflict frame. For example, it was reported that the soldiers serving in Iraq would be attacked by the Iraqi people who are unhappy with the presence of the American and British troops. There are some countries, the US in particular, which are prepared to ignore completely the UN, and this would lead to imbalance of power (New Straits Times, 16 November, 2003).

Responsibility frame concerns about US being responsible on what is happening in Iraq. France and Malaysia have warned that Iraq is shaping up into another Vietnam as a result of the US continuous doubts over the intelligence assessments that fed the case for war with regard to weapons of mass destruction. The weapons, however, have not been found (New Straits Times, 23 July, 2003).

Economic consequences frame, symbolized by "IRAQ and her people should not be made to pay a high price for the country's reconstruction and further development by awarding contracts to higher-cost Western companies. Iraqis, given nominal authority,

should insist that savings be made by awarding contracts to countries like Malaysia. They should also bear in mind the willingness of Malaysian companies to go on a joint-venture basis with locals" (New Straits Times, 15 April, 2003, Para.1-2).

Contrarily, the Star focused more on Human interest. For example Iraqis are in desperate need of food, clothing and medicine. Similarly, orphanages and hospitals are facing a shortage of food, while some lack water supply. It was also reported that when the war broke out, 21 orphanages, each housing 60 to 80 orphans were left to fend for themselves. (the Star, 25 December, 2003).

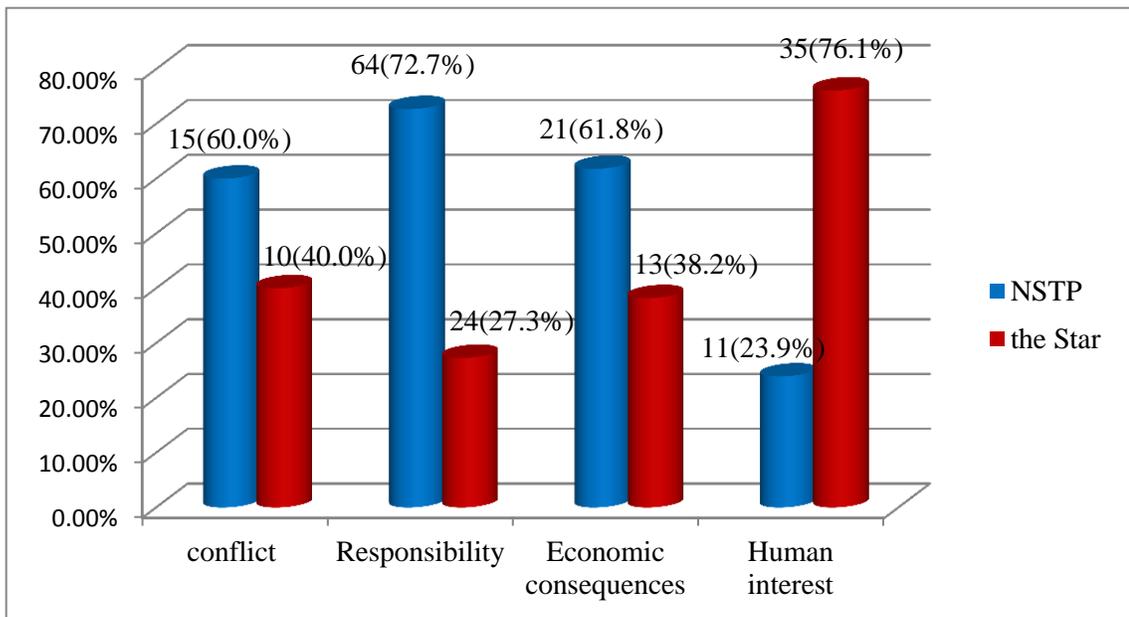


Figure 4.21. Comparison Framing Categories during the occupation between NSTP and the Star

To summarize, for the period before and during the occupation it was found that NSTP focused more on responsibility, Economic consequences and Conflict frames compared to the Star, whereas in the period before and during the occupation the Human interest frame was more evident in the Star compared to NSTP.

As for the period after the occupation, descriptive analysis indicated that NSTP used more of all frames categories compared to the Star (Figure 4.22). NSTP published 30 (76.9%) articles and news stories about Responsibility frame compared to 9 (23.1%) published in the Star. For example, NSTP reported that "Dr. Mahathir was spot-on when he accused the United States and Britain of "multiple standards" when dealing with countries, especially Muslim countries that do not bow to them, such as Iraq, Syria and Iran. Is Dr. Mahathir wrong to criticize the US and Britain for invading Iraq on trumped-up charges that Iraq had in his possession weapons of mass destruction? Isn't it right to say that the Western world (read the US, Britain and some other NATO powers) condones Israel's possession of nuclear weapons but woe betide any Muslim country that even thinks of trying to develop nuclear capability?" (New Straits Times, 14 September 2005, Para. 3-4-5). This indicated that the US was responsible for lying about Iraq due to the duplication of its policy toward the world.

There were 19(57.6%) articles and news stories on Human interest frame in NSTP compared to 14(42.4%) in the Star. So, we can conclude that the difference of news published was closer between NSTP and the Star.

Conflict frame in NSTP was published in 11 (73.3%) articles and news stories compared to 4 (26.7%) articles and news stories in the Star. It was represented by an article that reported, "Air strikes have evidently failed to break the backbone of Iraqi resistance. On the contrary, such policy has induced more enemies. Iraqis are likely to strike back at the perpetrators as part of the tribal retribution practice of an eye-for-an-eye that obligates family members to act to appease the spirit of dead souls. This practice, which has no

roots in Islam, will complicate future efforts for a quick political appeasement in Iraq" (New Straits Times, 20 November, 2004, Para. 14-15).

Next, Economic consequences frame was published in 6 (66.7%) articles and news stories in NSTP compared to 3(33.3%) articles and news stories in the Star. It was found that the Star published three news about the impact of Iraq war to tourism and oil prices in Malaysia, whereas NSTP published six news about rebuilding of Iraq.

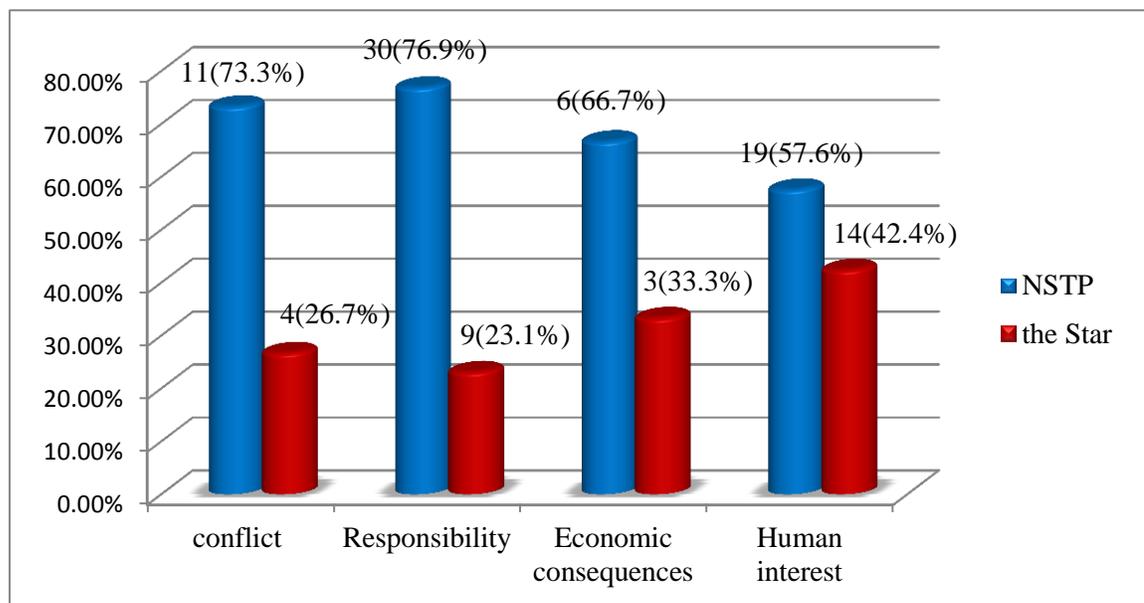


Figure 4.22. Comparison Framing Categories after the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Research question seven refers to differences among the prominent frames categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq through the three periods. Figure 4.23 indicates that with the exception of Human interest frame, three other frames were used more in NSTP than the Star.

NSTP produced a large number of articles and news stories with regard to Conflict frame with 42 (63.6%) articles and news stories versus 24 (36.4%) articles and news stories in the Star; while for Responsibility frame, NSTP published 179 (67.0%) articles and news stories versus 88 (33.0%) articles and news stories in the Star. For Economic consequences frame, NSTP published 65 (66.3%) articles and news stories versus 33 (33.7%) in the Star, and with regard to Human interest frame, the Star published 67 (64.4%) articles and news stories versus 37 (35.6%) in NSTP.

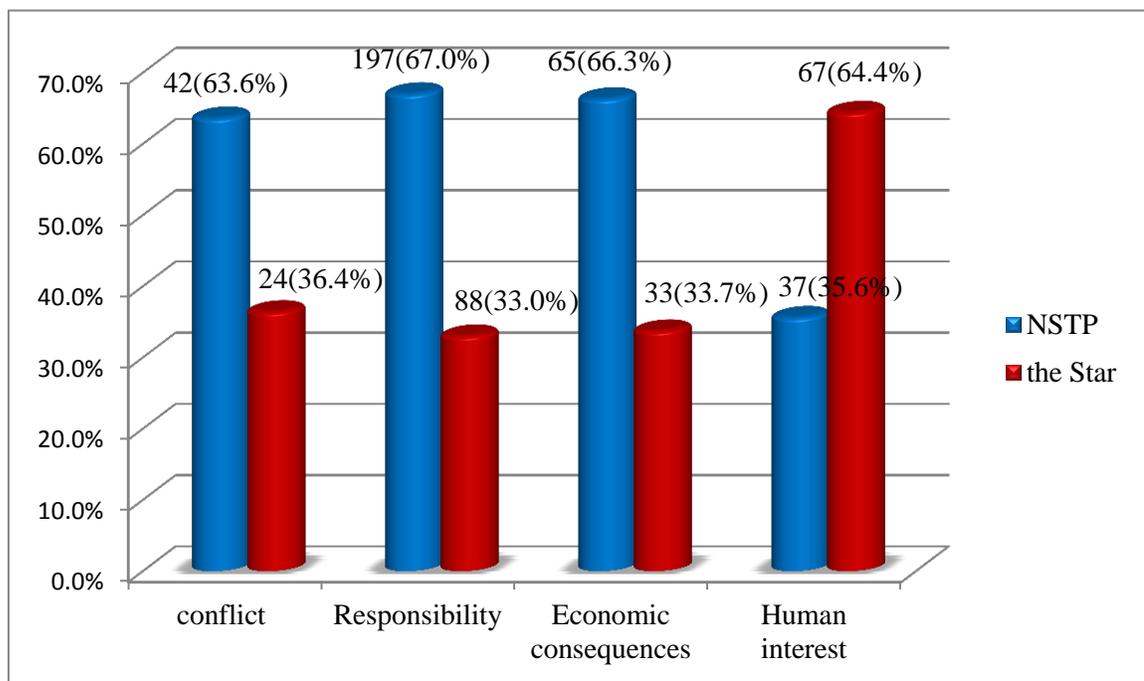


Figure 4.23. Comparison of Framing Categories in NSTP and the Star

4.2.4 Description of Image Categories

Three categories of image were studied: positive which includes positive descriptions of Iraq, negative which includes negative view expressions towards Iraq, and neutral includes view towards the Iraq is not positive neither negative.

The eighth research question asked about any differences among the prominent image categories constructed by each newspaper through each period. Further analysis is a description of the image based on articles and news stories about Iraq. Overall, the first part of this question shows that the main view of the articles and news stories by NSTP for the each period falls under the neutral category.

Majority of the articles and news stories which were published in the period before the occupation portrayed a neutral image of Iraq with 98 (67.1%) articles and news stories, followed by the positive image with 40 (27.4%) articles and news stories, and the negative image with 8 (5.5%) articles and news stories (Figure 4.24).

This means that NSTP showed neutral image of Iraq in their news, and described the US attack on Iraq as "not only was the attack totally unjustifiable - by no stretch of the imagination can Iraq be a military threat to the US nor is it in league with Al Qaeda - it was also a breach of international law. What is more, the attack is being perpetuated by a country that often holds itself up as the standard bearer of democracy and human rights and has the audacity to lecture other countries on their failure to observe human rights" (New Straits Times, 27 March, 2003, Para. 2-3).

Positive image of Iraq was represented by "claims that one out of three Malaysians support the allied forces' invasion of Iraq and that non-Malays who support the country's anti-war movement do so out of fear of Muslims are baseless and wrong, said Government and Opposition leaders. MCA Youth chief Datuk Ong Tee Keat said today these claims did not reflect the real situation in the country where Malaysians of all races are against the aggression on Iraq" (New Straits Times, 4 April, 2003, Para. 1).

Negative image of Iraq for example focused on the plight of the Iraqi women and children who "have been severely affected by the damage to the health system caused by years of conflict and international sanctions. Maternal mortality has more than trebled, rising from 117 deaths per 100,000 live births in the late 1980s to the current 370. Infant and under-five mortality has also risen sharply. Military conflict will further jeopardise the health of displaced women who are pregnant. These women will face enormous risks including an increased likelihood of miscarriage, premature delivery, and complications of pregnancy and childbirth. This is compounded by a lack of access to health professionals and care. Pregnancy and birthing complications are generally the leading causes of death for displaced women and girls in times of upheaval, as reproductive health information and services, such as assisted delivery, prenatal care and post-partum care, become unavailable" (New Straits Times, 3 April, 2003, Para. 4-5-6).

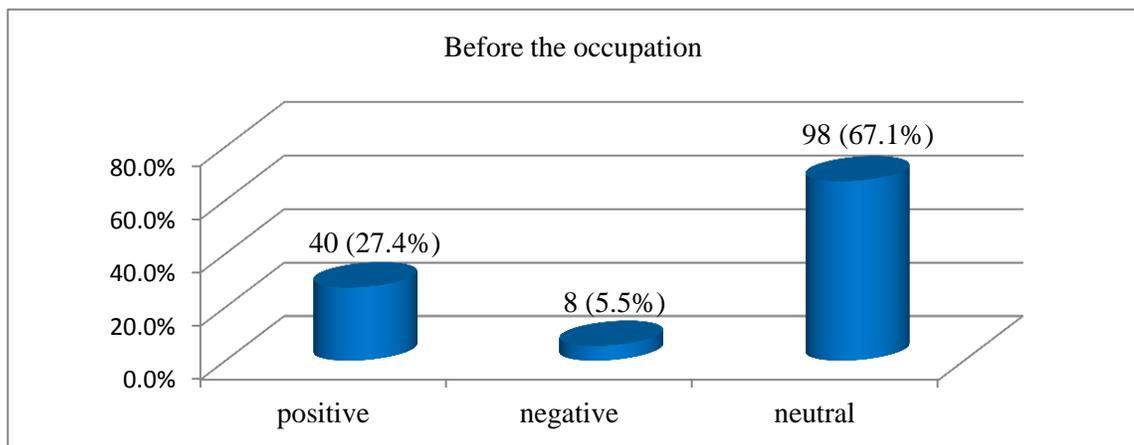


Figure 4.24. The Image categories in NSTP before the occupation

As for the period during the occupation (Figure 4.25), it was also found that the majority of the images published were the neutral image which was published in 56 (50.5%) articles and news stories. For example New Straits Times on 13 April 2003 focused on

the US did not find weapons of mass destruction - the nuclear, chemical and biological weapons in Iraq. In addition NSTP on 23 July 2003 focused on do away with unilateralism in order to achieve the multilateralism, given the changes in the world and the United States-led war in Iraq.

This was followed by the positive image which was published in 36 (23.4%) articles and news stories. For instance, NSTP reported that, "The Iraqis want to decide who will govern their country in the post- Saddam era." "This is our country and there is no need for the US to tell us how to form our own Government. We will decide who will be our leader," (New Straits Times, 24 April, 2003, Para. 3-9).

Negative image was published in 19 (17.1%) articles and news stories. For example, an article in NSTP on 16 May 2004 focused on the infamous Abu Ghraib prison and showed cases of humiliation of the Iraqi captives through stunning images of organized abuse and torture from American guards.

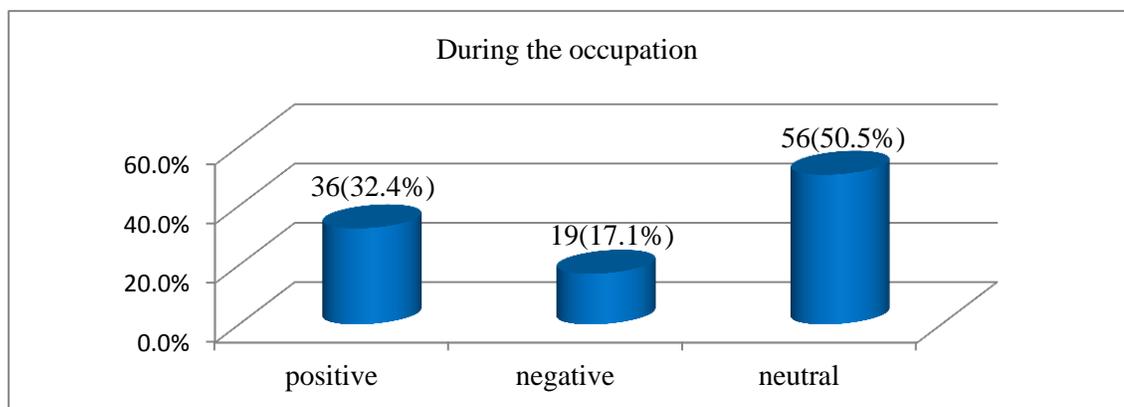


Figure 4.25. The Image categories in NSTP during the occupation

With regard to the period after the occupation, the findings indicated that the trend was similar to the trend of the periods before and during the occupation. Figure 4.26 shows

that the neutral image was dominant with 30(45.5%) articles and news stories, followed by positive image with 22(33.3%) articles and news stories and negative image with only 14(21.2%) articles and news stories.

This indicated that NSTP was more inclined to focus on the neutral image of Iraq. This was evident in one of the news which focused on how the role of the UN in the Iraq war was marginalized. The news reported, "The attempts by the United States to undermine United Nations Secretary- General Kofi Annan, and Mohamed ElBaradei, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency with the objective of replacing them with others aligned to the US, can only be attributed to one reason: Both these officials had directly or indirectly criticized the baseless and legally unsupportable invasion and occupation of Iraq. The US had not been at all pleased with the views expressed by these two gentlemen even though the inspection team sent in by Washington found no trace of weapons of mass destruction, despite earlier vociferous claims by Colin Powell, Tony Blair and other administration officials. The US must not be allowed to forget the wrongs it had committed. Though the truth stares them in the face, US officials refused to acknowledge their mistakes over Iraq" (New Straits Times, 23 February, 2005, Para. 1-2-3).

Examples of positive image portrayed by NSTP can be seen in two news which were published on 3 February 2005 and 30 June 2004 regarding how the Iraqis have successfully undergone their first free election in half a century with a very encouraging turnout of voters, and the United States transport over sovereignty to an interim Iraqi Government two days earlier than scheduled respectively.

The negative image in NSTP was published on 3 August 2004 about the bombing of several churches in Iraq. The same image was also portrayed on 22 November 2004 when the newspaper published about featuring the shooting of a wounded Iraqi by a US Marine.

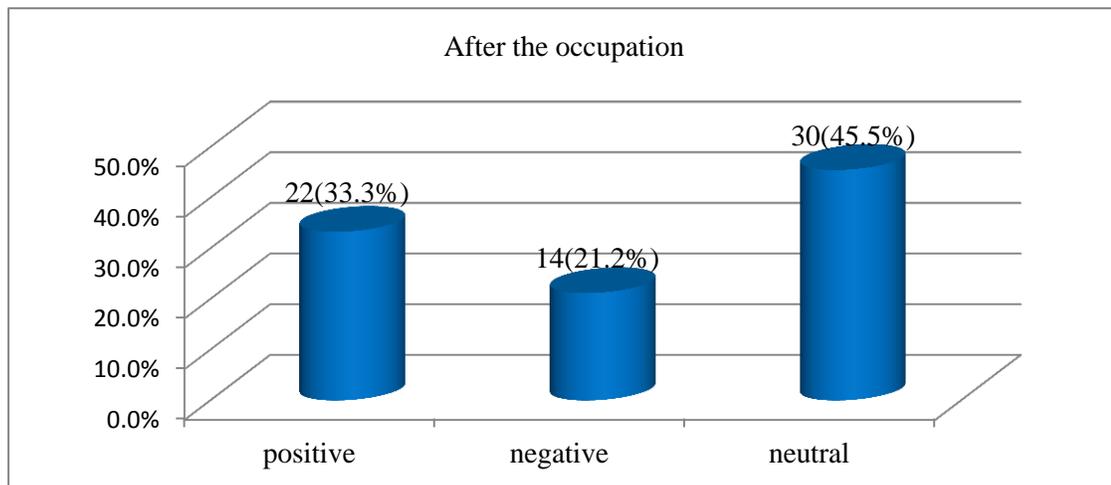


Figure 4.26. The Image categories in NSTP after the occupation

The second part of the eighth question is based on the differences among the prominent image categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

Figure 4.27 shows that the Star devoted a higher percentage in during and after the occupation periods on negative image. In the period before the occupation, the positive image was used in 45(45.0%) articles and news stories. These include reference to some of the countries such as Germany and France that rejected the decision of war and are against military action against Iraq (the Star, 31 January, 2003). In addition, on 24 February 2003, the Star also reported about "Dr. Mahathir hoped the prayers recited by people of all religions at the stadium last night would avert a war on Iraq" (Para. 7). This showed that Malaysia was voicing dissent and anger on the war.

This was followed by the neutral image with 30 (30.0%) published articles and news stories. It was represented by focusing on the continued ignorance of the US on the mandate of the United Nations and how it will erode world confidence on the superpower. The news also highlighted Washington's lack of ability to play a balanced role in the international arena, especially in Iraq, the Palestinian- Israel conflict and North Korea (the Star, 15 January, 2003).

Next, the negative image was published in 25 (25.0%) articles and news stories in the Star. It was evident in a report regarding the death of innocent civilians, including women and children, during the US led war in Iraq (the Star, 2 April, 2003). In addition, the Star also published news which reported, "Mercy international relief manager Anita Ahmad said with the current attacks on Iraq, relief organizations including the International Committee of Red Cross and the International Organization for Migration were not sending in new staff because it was "just not safe at this moment to move into Iraq." "Even those relief workers already in Iraq are unable to do a rapid assessment of the area because it is unsafe to travel due to the heavy bombings and air raids." (the Star, 30 March, 2003, Para. 3-4).

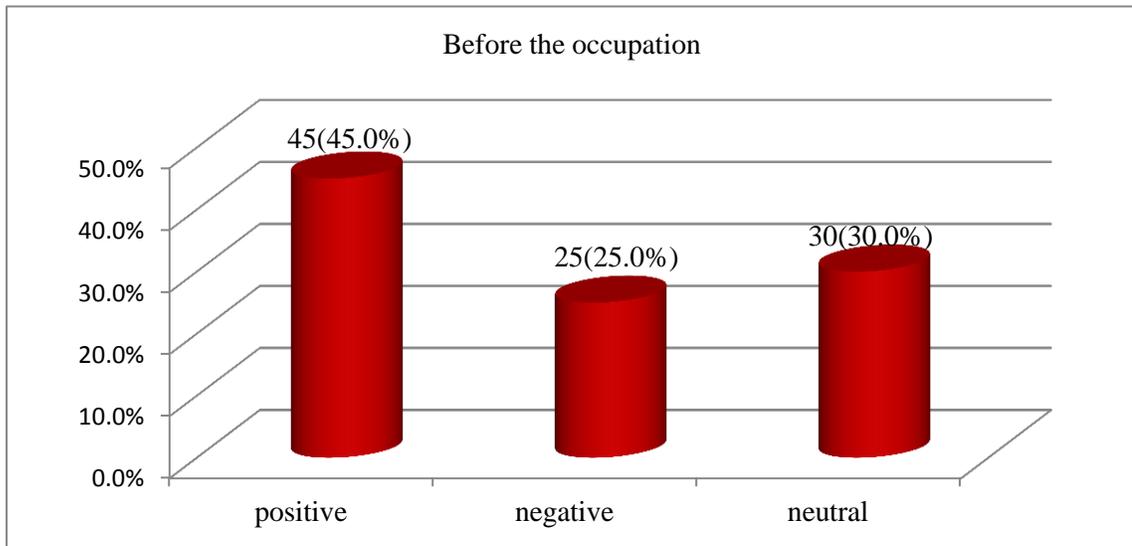


Figure 4.27. The Image categories in the Star before the occupation

Figure 4.28 shows that during the occupation, the negative image prevailed in 48 (58.5%) articles and news stories, while the neutral image and positive image were found in 18 (22.0%) and 16 (19.5%) articles and news stories, respectively.

This indicates that the Star published more negative image about Iraq. For instance the Star highlighting the existence of some factors for the current worsening situation in Iraq, such as there exists a political vacuum in Iraq and many Iraqis feel that the existing political process lacks legitimacy (the Star, 19 April, 2004). Also there are some elements still creating trouble there; some from the old regime, and some from terrorists (the Star, 14 October, 2003). In addition, looters who took advantage of the lawlessness in the country, tried to ransack the Malaysian Embassy in Baghdad (the Star, 17 April, 2003).

With regard to the neutral image on Iraq, the Star reported about US desire to control the world as the dominant power (the Star, 19 April, 2003), and also about how Tourism

Ministry in Malaysia has formed a permanent tourism crisis management committee to provide solutions due to setbacks caused by the Iraq war (the Star, 13 June, 2003).

The positive image about Iraq was represented in news about the Participation MCA and other Chinese guilds and associations in the Peace Malaysia campaign about the situation in Iraq although the majority of Chinese in the country are not Muslims. The Chinese had been active in anti-war campaigns, especially those that opposed the war in Iraq (the Star, 12 October, 2003).

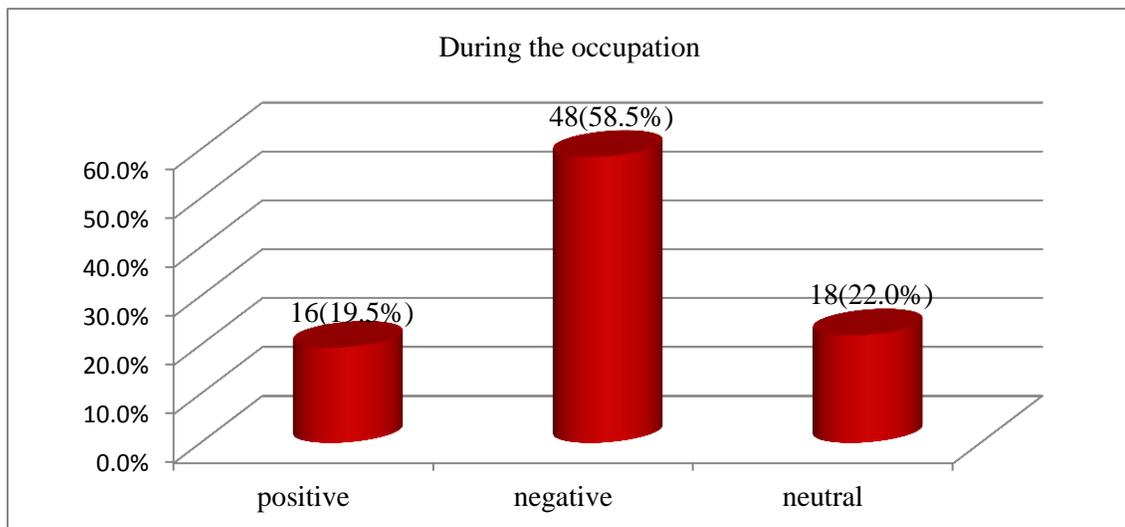


Figure 4.28. The Image categories in the Star during the occupation

For the period after the occupation (Figure 4.29), the negative image was also portrayed the highest in the Star with 17 (56.7%) articles and news stories. For example, the Star published on 18 November 2004 focused on events unfolding in Fallujah, where a wounded and unarmed Iraqi was shot by a US marine in a mosque. Another news which was published in the Star on 14 and 24 August 2004 focused on the United States' bombardment on the holy city of Najaf. The Star reported that such action would create animosity and anger among the Iraqis as there is a lot of suffering among the Iraqi

civilians. Whereas, the Star was published on 16 September 2004 about the suggested the country send reconnaissance team first go to the countries in the Gulf region to collect more information before sending medical team to Baghdad due to the tensed and unstable situation in Iraq.

As for the neutral image, the Star published 8 (26.7) articles and news stories related to this. On 6 July 2004, the Star published about the need for the United Nations to play a major role in Iraq, and on 14 July 2004 similar image was used to relate the news of the return of Mohd Abdullah Osman, a student who was detained by coalition forces for over a year in Umm Qasar

For the positive image, 5 (16.7%) articles and news stories were published in the Star which includes news on 9 and 3 February 2005 which regarded the elections in Iraq as the first step towards moving the democratic process forward.

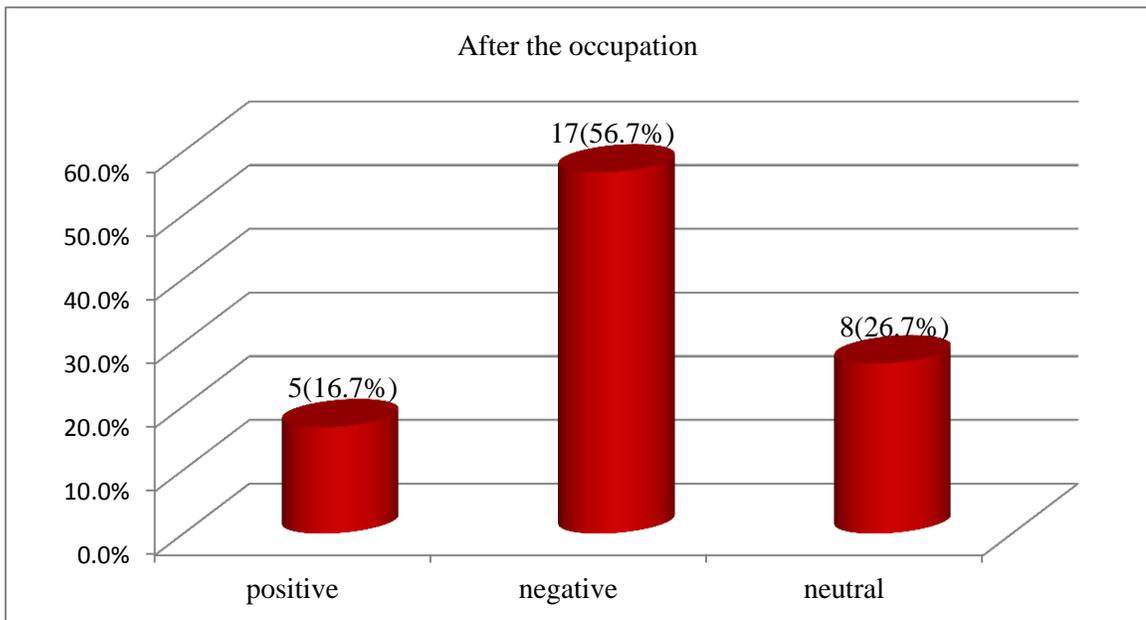


Figure 4.29. The Image categories in the Star after the occupation

The ninth research question addressed differences among the prominent image categories constructed by both newspapers through each period.

The next analysis is about the differences of prominent image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star newspapers through the period before the occupation (Figure 4.30). Both newspapers published almost equal positive articles and news stories about Iraq, with NSTP publishing 40 (47.1%) and the Star 45 (52.9%) news.

While the analysis indicated that majority of articles and news stories published by the Star were negative, it was found that NSTP published a smaller number of negative articles and news stories. There were 25 (75.8%) articles and news stories published in the Star compared to only 8 (24.2%) in NSTP. For example on 22 February 2003 in the Star reported that despite millions of people in different countries had shown their protest against war by staging street demonstrations, the Arab nations which will be the ones affected by the war, were silent.

Next, neutral image was dominant in NSTP with 98 (76.6%) articles and news stories compared to 30 (23.4) articles and news stories in the Star. For instance, NSTP published the news about "Bush and Blair have, apparently, developed similar warlike dispositions derived from similar ideologies of new imperialism." (New Straits Times Press, 26 February, 2003, Para. 5), suggesting that George Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair were imperialists who wanted to impose a new form of colonialism.

The descriptive results for the comparison of image before the occupation indicated that the highest image published was negative and then followed by positive image by the Star newspaper, while for NSTP newspaper, the highest image published was neutral.

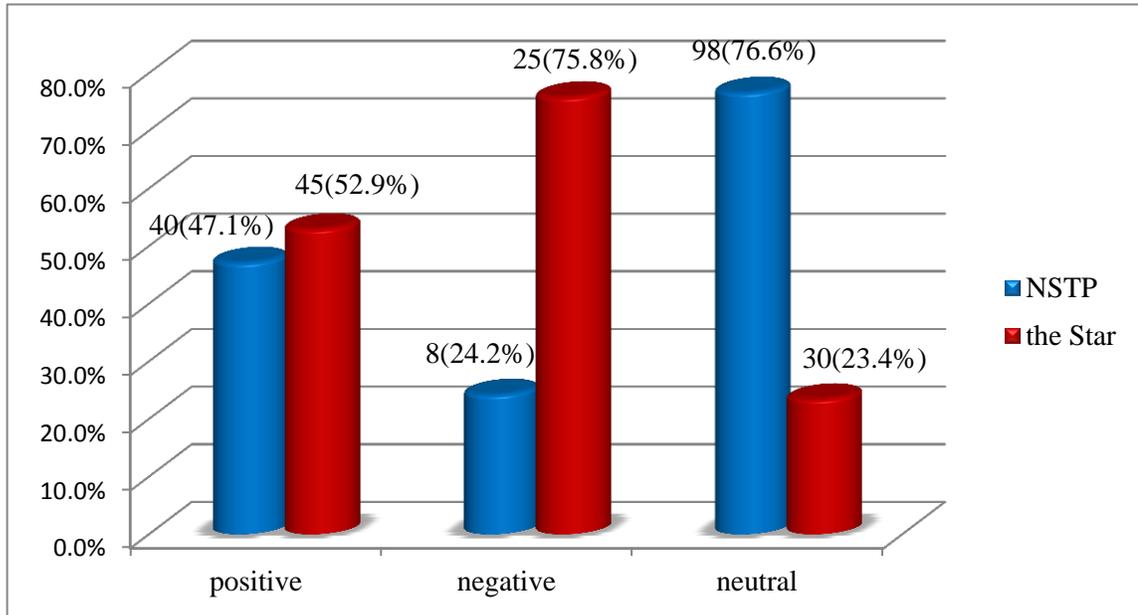


Figure 4.30. Comparison Image categories before the occupation between NSTP and the Star

The next analysis is based on the prominent image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star for the period during the occupation (Figure 4.31). For the period during the occupation, NSTP published more positive image by publishing 36 (69.2%) articles and news stories about Iraq compared to the Star with only 16 (30.8%) articles and news stories in the same category. For example, it was suggested that Malaysia should help Iraq as it had a lot to offer in the reconstruction of the war-torn country, especially in terms of road building and construction (New Straits Times, 31 December, 2003).

On the other hand, the Star newspaper published 48(71.6%) negative articles and news stories compared to only 19 (28.4%) negative articles and news stories in NSTP. An example of negative image was news featuring Yasmine, who lost both her legs in the United States-led invasion of Iraq (the Star, 4 September, 2003). The Star also portrayed a negative image on 10 November 2003 about the incident where Malaysian Medical

Relief Society (Mercy Malaysia) and Malaysian reporters were ambushed by gunmen in Iraq. It was reported that a bullet wounded Dr Baba Mohd Deni but it did not break his determination to serve again as a volunteer doctor in a war-torn country.

A total of 56 (75.7%) articles and news stories were published using the neutral image in NSTP, more than the Star which only published 18(24.3%) articles and news stories in the same category. NSTP published news calling for the United Nations to take a central role in Iraq, especially after the United States and Britain attacked Iraq without the sanction of the UN (New Straits Times, 13-16 May, 2003).

To summarize, the analysis showed that NSTP was more inclined toward neutral and positive image in its articles and news stories during the occupation, while the Star was more inclined to publish articles and news stories in the negative image for the same period.

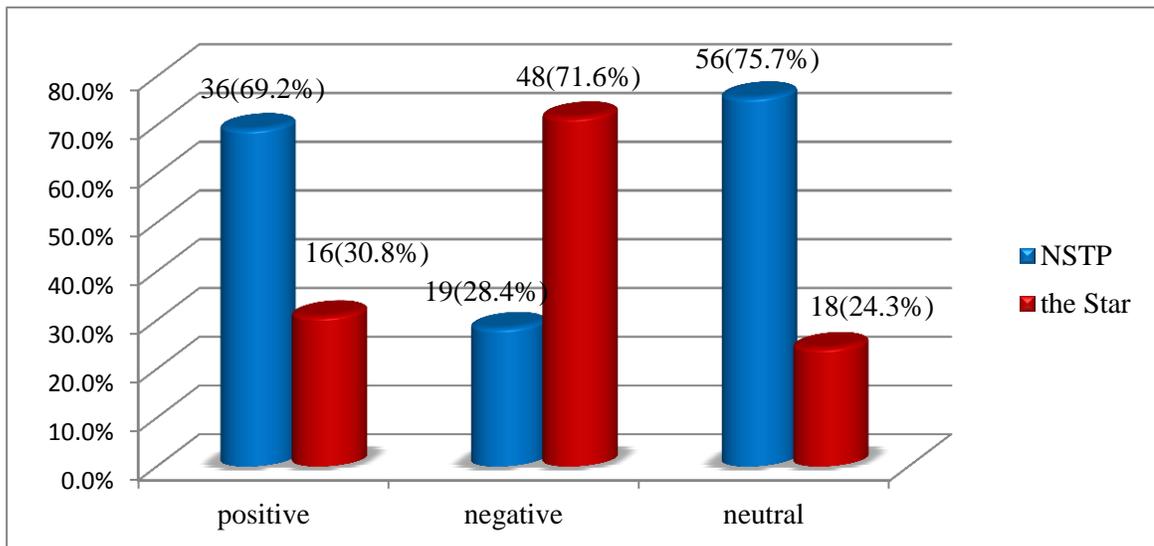


Figure 4.31. Comparison Image categories during the occupation between NSTP and the Star

In general, for the period after the occupation, the analysis showed that the positive and neutral image were displayed in the NSTP more than the Star (Figure 4.32). The result of analysis also showed that positive image was the highest in NSTP with 22 (81.5%) articles and news stories, versus the Star which only published 5 (18.5%) articles and news stories in the same category. Example of news which was published by NSTP was the report on the re-opening of Malaysia's embassy in Baghdad following the US transfer of sovereignty to Iraq (New Straits Times, 4 July, 2004).

Results showed that the negative image was the highest in the Star with 17(54.8%) articles and news stories, versus NSTP with 14(45.2%) articles and news stories. So, we can conclude that the difference of news published was closer between both newspapers.

For the neutral image, NSTP published 30 (78.9%) articles and news stories, versus the Star 8 (21.1%) articles and news stories. For instance, NSTP published about the events in Iraq, highlighting the fact that calls for the reform of the United Nations' Security Council have intensified. Events in Iraq demonstrate vividly the absence of international authority, as reposed in the council. In the end, no combination of countries could prevent the United States and the United Kingdom from pressing ahead with the invasion of Iraq (New Straits Times, 10 September, 2004). In another news. It was reported that "Malaysia, which took a slight dip last year due to the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak and the Iraq War, has recovered considerably and is poised to improve further, according to the Tourism Malaysia office here. Its director, Adlina Borhan, said there were 14,001 arrivals in the first five months of this year, an increase of 53.4% compared to 9,131 tourists during the same period last year" (New Straits Times, 23 July, 2004, Para. 1-2).

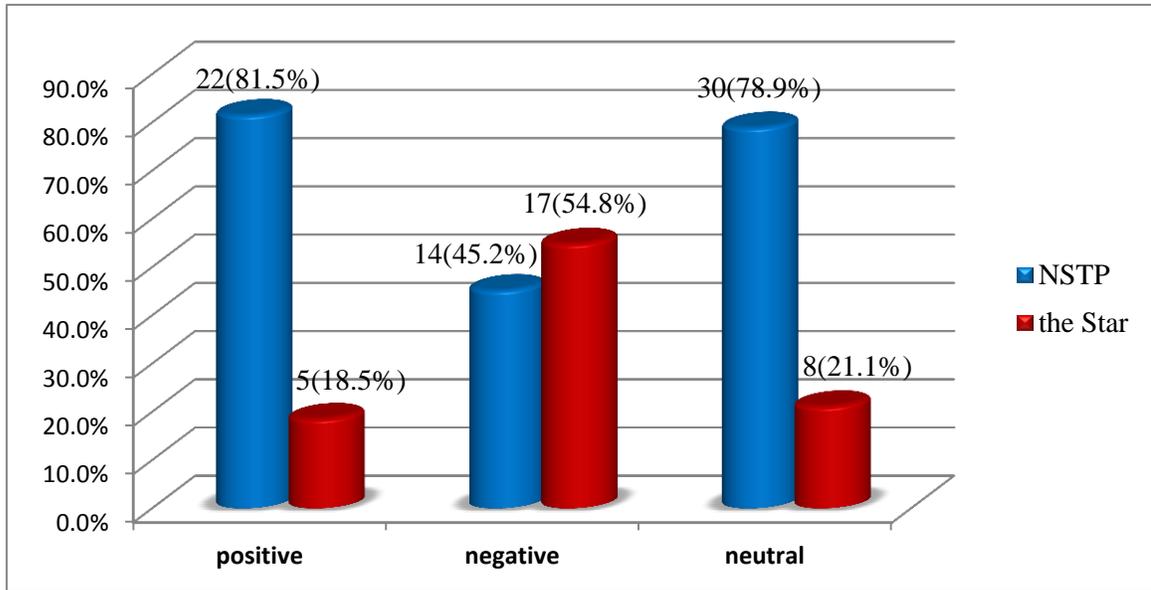


Figure 4.32. Comparison Image categories after the occupation between NSTP and the Star

The tenth research question asked about the differences among the prominent image categories constructed by the NSTP and the Star about Iraq through the three periods (Figure 4.33).

Neutral image was published in 184 (76.7%) articles and news stories by NSTP compared to the Star which only published 56 (23.3%) articles and news stories, whereas the positive image was published in 98 (59.8%) articles and news stories in NSTP compared to the Star's 66 (40.2%). With regard to the negative image, the Star published 90 (68.7%) articles and news stories which was more than NSTP which only published 41 (31.3%) negative articles and news stories.

To summarize, the analysis shows that the positive and neutral image were displayed in the NSTP more than the Star, while the negative image was displayed in the Star more than NSTP.

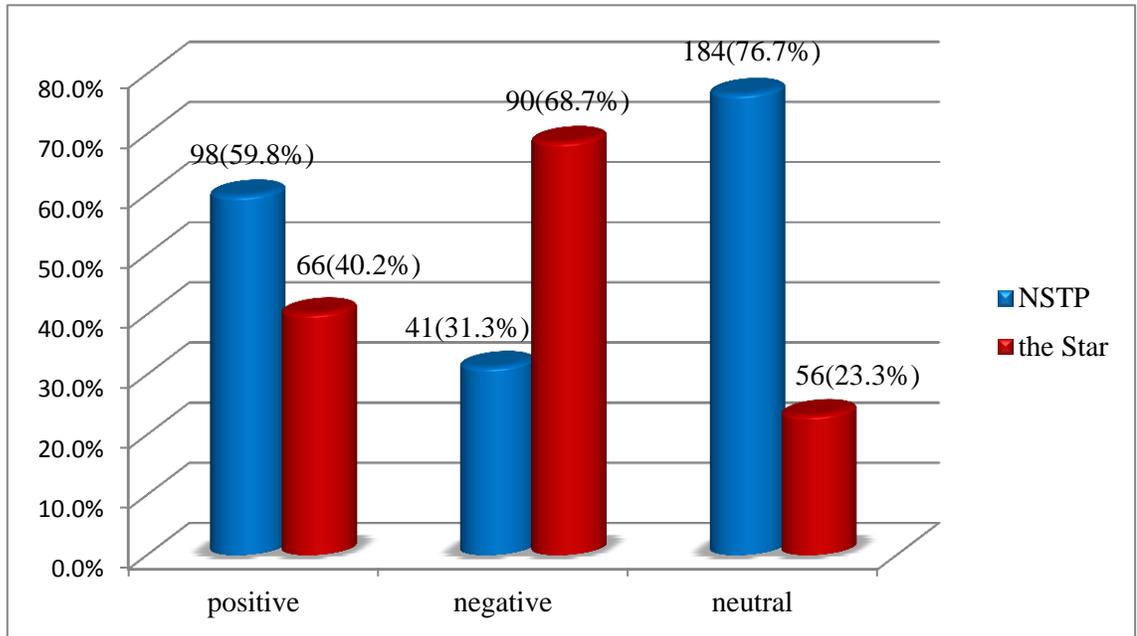


Figure 4.33. Comparison Image categories in NSTP and the Star

4.2.5 Description of Association between Agenda Setting Issues with image Categories and Framing Categories with Image Categories

Research question eleven asked about the association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods. The next analysis is descriptive analysis of association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in NSTP about Iraq through three periods (Figure 4.34).

The number of published articles and news stories in NSTP through the three periods was 323 (100.0%). The issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" recorded the highest number of articles and news stories featured in the newspaper with 21 (53.8%) portraying a negative image, followed by 17 (43.6%) articles and news stories portraying positive image and 1 (2.6%) articles and news stories portraying neutral image. This showed that this issue

was given a negative light by the newspaper. For example there was news focusing on Saddam's policy and the suffering of Iraqi which was started by the outbreak of war between Iraq and Iran in 1980 in which he ordered his army to use chemical weapons to kill thousands of Iraqi people in the north of Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war. It was also reported that in 1990, Saddam ordered his army to march southwards and invade Kuwait. This led to open conflict with the US. Then, with the backing of the United Nations, an international embargo was imposed on Iraq by the Americans and their allies, causing Iraqi civilians to suffer. Finally in April 2003, Saddam's regime was toppled during the Second Gulf War when the US and Britain, acting against the consensus of the international community, unilaterally invaded Iraq (New Straits Times, 17 February, 2003).

In addition, the Iraqi women were reported to be the primary victims of the conflict, as they stand to lose their husbands, sons and fathers to battle, especially after the war against Iran and the economic blockade (New Straits Times, 26 March, 2003).

For the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", number of articles and news stories using a positive image was the highest at 58 (60.4%), followed by neutral image with 31 (32.3%) articles and news stories, and negative image with 7 (7.3%) articles and news stories. This showed that the issue was given more positive image and it was evident in news about a peaceful march organized in which the people chanted "We want peace! We want peace! We want peace! The call for an end to hostilities in Iraq filled the air as more than 15,000 Malaysians marched peacefully towards Dataran Merdeka three Saturdays ago. Holding anti-war placards and banners which, among others, read: "Drop Bush, Not Bombs" and "Bomb Texas, they have oil too", the boisterous crowd thronged

the streets to protest the United States-led invasion of Iraq. The peace march, organized by the People's Alliance for Peace Malaysia (Peace Malaysia), was deemed one of the largest displays of public opinion the nation has seen in decades" (New Straits Times, 13 April, 2003, Para. 1-2-3).

As for the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq", neutral image received the highest percentage with 100 (76.3%) articles and news stories, followed by positive image with 23 (17.6%) articles and news stories, and followed by negative image with 8 (6.1%) articles and news stories in the same issue. The neutral image was depicted in news about how the US wants to bring about a regime change that aims not only to topple Saddam Hussein but also to install a pro-Western (and more importantly, pro-American) Government that will emulate American values and principles and make them the norm for social life in the Arab world (New Straits Times, 15 March, 2003).

The last issue, "The impact of war on Malaysia" was given neutral image in 52(91.2%) articles and news stories, followed by negative image in 5 (8.8%) articles and news stories, whereas the positive image did not get any percentage, 0 (0.0%), in the same issue. The neutral image was represented by the news published in NSTP about the additional charges imposed on air for warders operating in Malaysia to compensate for negative impacts from the US led war in Iraq (on 4 April 2003).

In conclusion it was found that the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" was the highest in negative image due to the focus of the news which was the civilian victims. On the contrary, the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" was highest in positive image because Malaysia has strongly opposed the US led invasion of Iraq. Finally, it was more

likely that the issues of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" recorded the highest percentage in neutral image due to Malaysian government's non-aligned position and neutrality in its foreign policies and international relations.

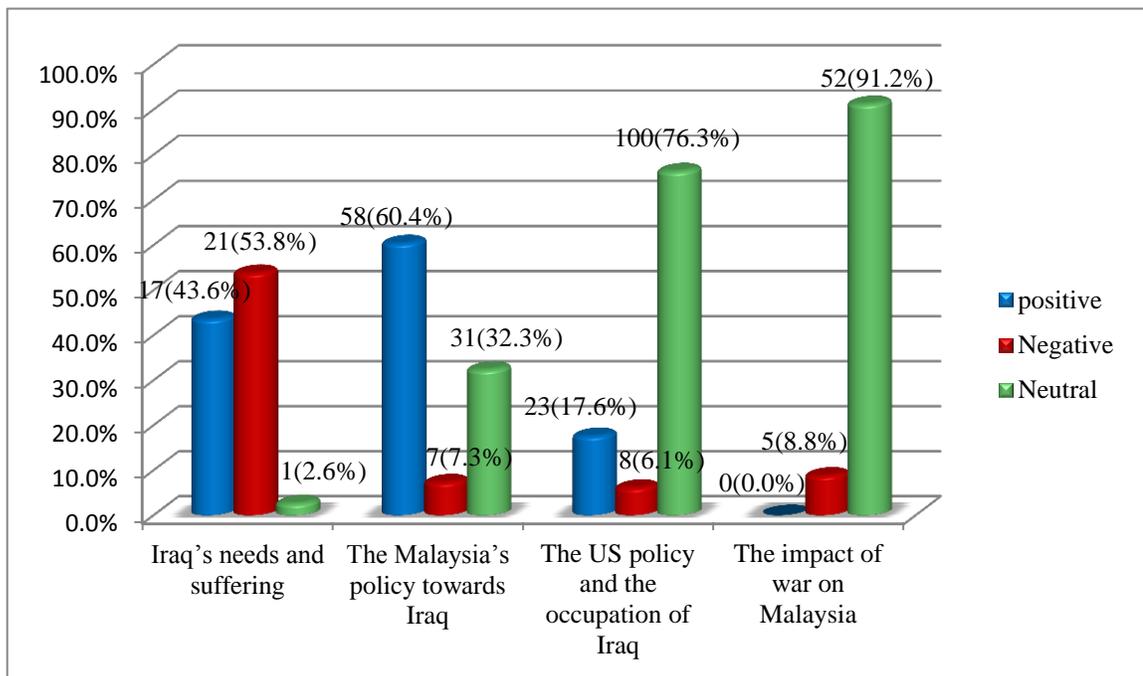


Figure 4.34. The Agenda Setting Issues and Image Categories in NSTP

The next analysis is related descriptive analysis of association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

Figure 4.35 shows that for the issue "Iraq's needs and suffering", the top image was negative image with 47 (74.6%) articles and news stories, followed by positive image with 14 (22.2%) articles and news stories, and neutral image with only 2 (3.2%) articles and news stories. For the issue "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", the top image was positive image with 38(64.4%) articles and news stories, followed by negative image with 11 (18.6%) articles and news stories, and neutral image with 10 (16.9%) articles and

news stories, whereas for the issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq", the highest image was neutral image with 18 (43.9%) articles and news stories, followed by positive image with 14 (34.1%) articles and news stories, and negative image with 9 (22.0%) articles and news stories. Finally for the issue "The impact of war on Malaysia", the highest image was neutral image with 26 (53.1%) articles and news stories, followed by negative image with 23 (46.9%) articles and news stories, and positive image did not receive any percentage at all.

The result for this newspaper showed the highest percentage was negative image for "Iraq's needs and suffering" probably because Malaysian newspapers depended on international news agencies for news and thus reporting the news provided by Western news agencies which portrayed negative images of the Third World by focusing on issues such as war, illiteracy, poverty and revolutions. While for the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" was given more positive image, whereas "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" given more neutral image.

The result showed that the Star portrayed more negative image on "Iraq's needs and suffering" and this was represented by the news about prison abuses in Iraq, in which the newspaper highlighted the need for certain authority to take measures to guarantee acceptable standards of behavior that would ensure humane and just treatment for future detainees (the Star, 12 may, 2004).

On the other hand, the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" was published in positive image. For instance "Dr. Mahathir had said in Kuala Lumpur that Malaysia would continue to voice its opinions without fear, saying Malaysia spoke the truth and

said what it believed was true. It was reported that Malaysia has been outspoken against US policies, especially on its invasion of Iraq" (the Star, 3 June, 2003, Para. 10). Another news further reported "Abdullah said we are not anti-US or against the American people. Of course, we opposed its attack on Iraq in line with our stand (of non-interference), especially without the United Nations sanction" (the Star, 12 July, 2003, Para. 6).

The issues of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" were published in neutral image. For example on 25 March 2003, the Star reported that the United States and its allies had ignored the United Nations and the voices of protests reverberating around the world, and used their military might to resolve conflicts. The Star dated 21 March 2004 reported about the impact of war in which the Malaysia Airlines (MAS) has cancelled flights to Istanbul and Beirut due to the war in Iraq.

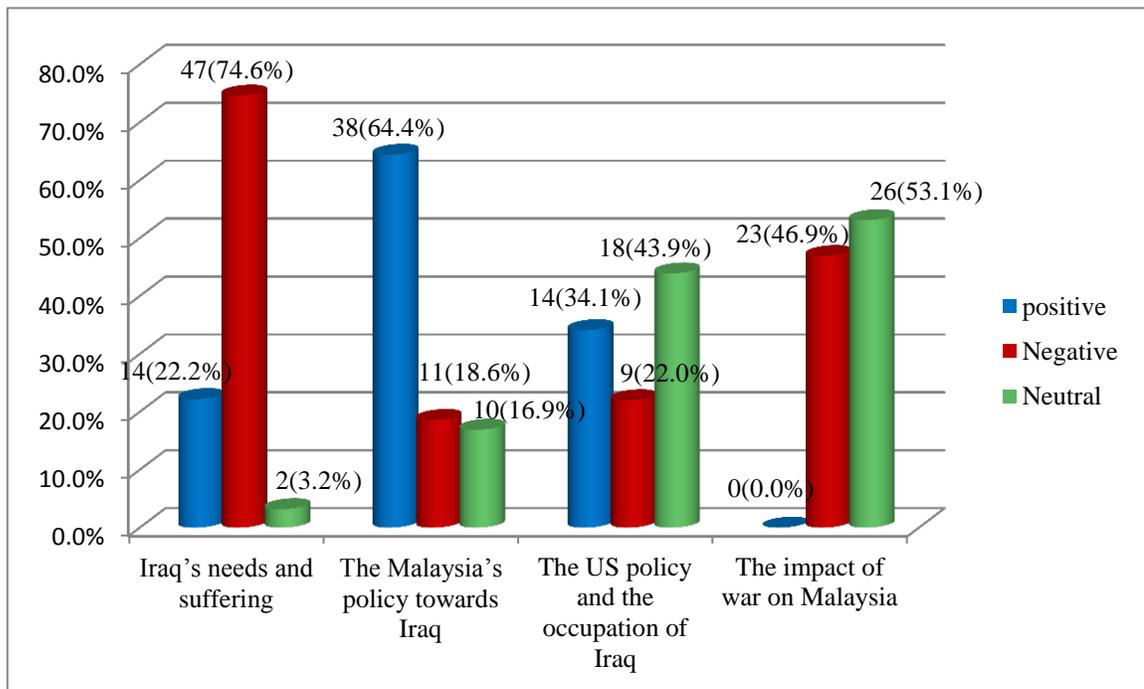


Figure 4.35. The Agenda Setting Issues and Image Categories in the Star

Research question twelve asked about the association between Framing categories and image categories about Iraq in each newspaper through the three periods. Thus, this analysis is about the association between Framing categories and image categories in NSTP about Iraq through the three periods (Figure 4.36).

For conflict frame, the overwhelmingly dominant was the neutral image which was published in 28 (66.7%) articles and news stories, followed by positive image 8 (19.0%) articles and news stories, and negative image 6 (14.3%) articles and news stories.

For Responsibility frame, the distribution revealed that neutral image was the highest with 96 (53.6%) articles and news stories, followed by positive image with 76 (42.5%) articles and news stories and the lowest was negative image with 7 (3.9%) articles and news stories.

Next, for the Economic consequences frame, neutral image was the highest with 53 (81.5%) articles and news stories, followed by positive image with 12 (18.5%) and the negative image did not receive any percentage, 0 (0.0%).

The last frame was Human interest, with negative image published in 28(75.7%) articles and news stories, followed by neutral image 7(18.9%) articles and news stories, and positive image 2(5.4%) articles and news stories (Figure 4.36).

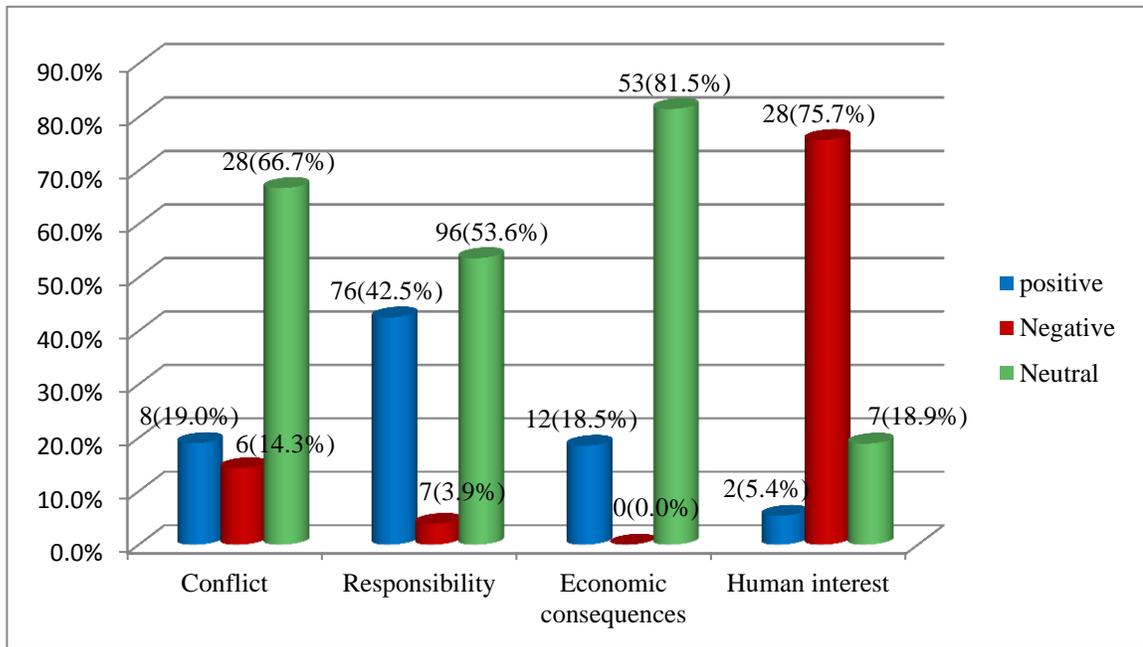


Figure 4.36. The Framing Categories and Image Categories in NSTP

The distribution in Figure 4.36 displays the image by frames in NSTP and it was revealed that for Conflict, Responsibility and Economic consequences frames, the overwhelmingly dominant image was the neutral image. This is because the primary function of the mass media in Malaysia is to help the government impart information and disseminate its policies. Thus, Malaysia's foreign policy which is based on the principle of neutrality and non-alignment is clearly reflected in the newspaper (Anuar, 2005). However, Human interest frame reflects negative image because it focuses on to the suffering the Iraqi people faced before, during and after the occupation. As a result of the military disaster, Iraqis needed food, shelter, medicine, sanitation, electricity, safety and security.

The analysis showed that NSTP was Framing the articles and news stories about Iraq more in neutral image. The conflict frame was published in NSTP about the need to re-role the United Nations especially after the invasion of Iraq, in which the Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi was reported as saying "I consider it our solemn

obligation at this 59th session of the UNGA (General Assembly) to reaffirm the rightful role of the United Nations in the management of critical issues affecting international peace and security, and commit ourselves to abide by multilateralism in the quest for a more just and equitable international order. We must also take the necessary steps to ensure that never again should the United Nations be sidelined" (New Straits Times, 28 September, 2004, Para. 13-14).

Responsibility frame was presented in New Straits Times on 15 November 2002 about the US double-standard policy with regard to Iraq and Israel, where the US insisted on disarmament in Iraq but not in Israel.

Economic consequences frame symbolized by "Expectations of a swift end to the US led war against Iraq have evaporated. If the war is prolonged, the world will have to grapple with the adverse economic impact. No country, whether developed or developing, is likely to emerge unscathed. Malaysia has taken the first step in anticipating the situation, with government ministries being directed to compile comprehensive reports on how the war might affect the sectors under their purview. As acting Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi has rightly said, such preparations will help the Government remain one step ahead in dealing with the possible effects on the domestic economy. We must be pro-active and forward-looking in dealing with any war-related economic problems, so as not to be caught off-guard by, or over-react to, the unexpected. Among the first sectors to be hit may be transportation and tourism" (New Straits Times, 1 April, 2003, Para. 1-2).

While Human interest frame, however, reflected negative image. For example, NSTP reported that "There were also reports that coalition forces had struck a house in Baghdad which they believed was occupied by rebels and that there were "no civilians in the house". Yet television images showed a baby being pulled from the smoking rubble. Was the baby a rebel? While the President continues to preach "mission accomplished" and many Americans supported him on his "freedom fries", reality is beginning to hit home that "freedom is not winning" and the situation is getting worse. The increasing number of body bags, a country in chaos, kidnappings, hostages and beheadings do not equate with an improved situation or a safer world" (New Straits Times, 8 October, 2004, Para. 6-7-8).

The next analysis is related descriptive analysis of association between Framing categories and image categories about Iraq in the Star through the three periods (Figure 4.37).

The analysis shows the Star published more articles and news stories related to neutral image with 15 (62.5%) articles and news stories published for conflict frame, followed by negative image with 8 (33.3%) articles and news stories and positive image with only 1 (4.2%) of the same frame. The Responsibility frame was published in positive image in 61 (69.3%) articles and news stories, followed by negative image in 15 (17.0%) articles and news stories and neutral image in 12 (13.6%) articles and news stories. For the Economic consequences frame, 28 (84.8%) articles and news stories were published with neutral image, followed by 3 (9.1%) articles and news stories with positive image, and 2 (6.1%) articles and news stories with negative image. With regard to the Human interest frame, the highest image was negative image which was published in 65 (97.0%) articles

and news stories, whereas the positive and negative image got equal percentage of 1(1.5%).

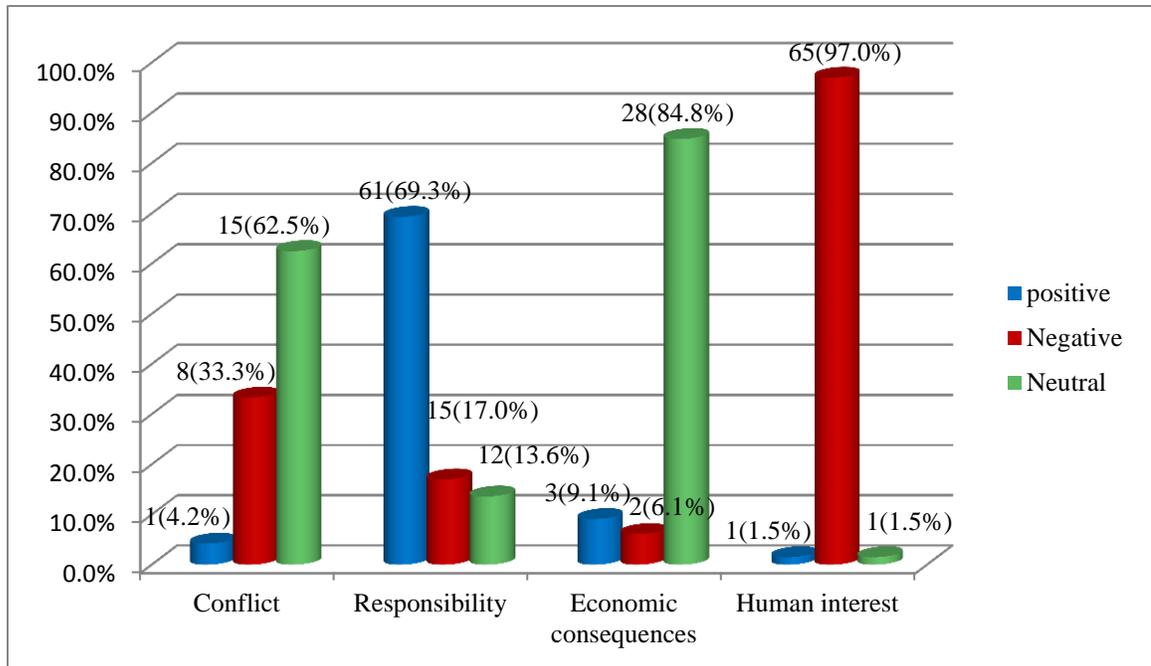


Figure 4.37. The Framing Categories and Image Categories in the Star

We can conclude that the Conflict and Economic consequences frames were the highest in neutral image. The most likely reason for the predominantly neutral coverage was that journalistic norms of neutrality and objectivity stipulate that the news should be balanced and unbiased; these norms lead journalists to avoid explicitly taking a side in the coverage. As for the Responsibility frame, positive image was dominant probably because Malaysia held America responsible for what happened in Iraq. A possible reason that the responsibility frame was also positive in the Star could be that it was done to please the authorities. The Human interest frame was mainly portrayed in negative image, possibly to attract attention through sensationalism due to the fact that human interest stories are best to trigger readers' emotions, knowing that the negative information

always captures one's attention much easier than information with a positive information.

For instance, the Conflict frame in the Star was evidenced in the news that reported "the Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum annual meeting has adopted a resolution on Iraq conflict that the matter should be resolved through international co-ordination and peaceful dialogues under the United Nations framework. APPF president Yushiro Nakasone said: The Iraq conflict is still developing as we talk now. What we discuss during the meeting is that this issue should be solved through discussion and dialogues through the UN framework hopefully with verification that can produce some proof" (the Star, 16 January, 2003, Para. 1-2).

The Star used Economic consequences frame to publish a news story that reported, "Datuk Dr. Gan Khuan Poh said, we are a resource-rich country. We have resources that can counter the impact of the war. For example, supposing that oil price rise, we will benefit because we are an exporter of oil. We have palm oil, which would normally get better demand during war. We also have a lot of local production, particularly food and agricultural products, to supply our internal demand," (the Star, 1 March, 2003, Para. 3).

The Star published more positive image with regard to the Responsibility frame, and this was evident in "the handing over of Iraq by the United States is a positive step towards returning sovereignty to the Iraqi people, said Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak "We have said from the beginning that there is no reason why the United States should continue having power in Iraq and over her people. The decision to hand

over Iraq to the interim government is a positive step towards freeing Iraq and returning sovereignty to the Iraqis" (the Star, 29 June, 2004, Para. 1-2).

Human interest frame, on the contrary, reflected more negative image. For example, the Star highlighted about "the shipment containing, among others, orthopedic external fixators, surgical and dialysis supplies as well as medicines, would leave by the end of this week and arrive in Baghdad by Dec 9" (the Star, 19 November, 2003, Para. 3).

4.3 Hypothesis Testing

This section is structured to provide a detailed discussion of the results of hypothesis testing. Hypothesis testing was accomplished using one sample nonparametric tests based on binomial and Chi-square test, and was also ascertained from association using Cramer's V. Hypotheses (H1c, H3, H4, H6, H7, H9, H10) were tested by Binomial tests, while hypotheses (H1a, H1b, H2, H5, H8) were tested using Chi-square test for the comparison between two newspapers. Meanwhile, hypotheses (H11 and H12) were tested by Cramer's V to test the significant association between the Agenda Setting issues and image categories, and also between Framing categories and image categories in NSTP and the Star.

4.3.1 Comparison on the difference of total articles and news stories published

A total of 535 articles and news stories (323 from NSTP, 212 from the Star) were collected and analyzed was in this study. The first main hypothesis assumes that there is a significant difference in the total number of articles about Iraq in NSTP and the Star.

The first part of the first hypothesis is based on the hypothesis that there is a significant difference in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in NSTP by the three periods.

As indicated by table 4.1, based on the total number of articles and news stories published by each period, the highest number of articles and news stories was published in the period before the occupation with 146 (45.2%) news, and the lowest in the period after the occupation with only 66 (20.4%) news. The one sample Chi Square test revealed

a significant difference to the total number of articles and news stories in NSTP (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). It was found that articles and news stories published decreased gradually through the three periods. Thus, there was a significant difference between the total of number of articles and news stories in NSTP by the three periods.

Table 4.1

Comparison total of articles and news stories for NSTP in before, during and after the occupation

Newspapers	Before	During	After	Total	Sig.
NSTP	146(45.2%)	111(34.4%)	66(20.4%)	323(100.0%)	0.000*

* $p \leq 0.05$

The second part of the first hypothesis is there is a significant difference in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq in the Star by the three periods.

Table 4.2 shows the total number of articles and news stories published in the Star by each period, in which the highest number was recorded in the period before the occupation with 100 (47.2%) news stories and articles, and the lowest was recorded in the period after the occupation with 30 (14.2%) news stories and articles. The one sample Chi Square test revealed a significant difference between the Star and periods, where significant emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). Specifically, the Star featured the most number of articles and news stories in the period before the occupation, followed by during the occupation, then after the occupation. Thus, there was a significant difference between the total of number of articles and news stories in the Star by the three periods.

The findings indicated that the total number of articles for NSTP and the Star by the three periods decreased gradually because of the war's longevity and the lack of coverage of the topic as the war progressed.

Table 4.2

Comparison total of articles and news stories for the Star in before, during and after the occupation

newspapers	Before	During	After	Total	Sig.
The Star	100(47.2%)	82(38.7%)	30(14.2%)	212(100.0%)	0.000*

* $p \leq 0.05$

The third part of the first hypothesis that was tested was there is a significant difference in the total number of articles and news stories about Iraq published by the two newspapers by each period.

Table 4.3 depicts the total of articles and news stories published by the two newspapers by each period. It was shown that in the period before the occupation, NSTP published more articles and news stories compared to the Star, with 146 (59.3%) and 100 (40.7 %) news respectively. In the period during the occupation, NSTP published more news about Iraq with 111 (57.5%) news compared to 82 (42.5%) news in the Star; whereas in the period after the occupation, NSTP published more news compared to the Star with 66(68.8%) and 30 (31.3%) articles news stories respectively. The one sample Binomial test was implemented and the results indicated that there was a significant difference regarding the number of articles and news stories published by two newspapers for each period. For the period before the occupation, significant emerged (sig. 0.004, $p \leq 0.05$), for

the period during the occupation (sig. 0.044, $p \leq 0.05$) and the period after the occupation (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). Specifically, NSTP featured the most number of published news in the three periods compared to the Star. Thus, there was a significant difference between the total number of articles and news stories in NSTP and the Star by each period.

For each period, it was shown that NSTP published more articles and news stories compared to the Star due to two reasons: the influence of political elites on Malaysian newspapers and the ownership of the newspapers.

Table 4.3

Comparison of articles and news stories in NSTP and the Star by each period

Periods	Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Before	NSTP	146	59.3%	246(100.0%)	0.004*
	The Star	100	40.7%		
During	NSTP	111	57.5%	193(100.0%)	0.044*
	The Star	82	42.5%		
After	NSTP	66	68.8%	96(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	30	31.3%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

4.3.2 Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues

In this research, the researcher determined four Agenda Setting issues that appeared in newspapers (NSTP and the Star). The second main hypothesis assumes that there will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by each newspaper about Iraq before, during and after the occupation. So, the first part of this

hypothesis is based on the hypothesis that there will be a significant difference in prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

Table 4.4 shows the result of one sample Chi Square test. The result displayed all categories from Agenda Setting issues by NSTP through the period before, during, and after the occupation. In the period before the occupation, the issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" was the top news published, followed by the issues "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia". This was followed by the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" which was published the lowest. Hence, in the period before the occupation, significant emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$).

One sample Chi Square test indicated that during the occupation, the top published news was the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq", followed by "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "Iraq's needs and suffering". The lowest published news was the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia". Thus, in the period during the occupation, significant emerged (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$).

Similarly, in the after occupation period, the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" was the top news published, followed by "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "Iraq's needs and suffering", while the issue "The impact of war on Malaysia" recorded the lowest number of news published. Thus, in the period after the occupation, significant emerged (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$).

Finally, there was a significant difference in Agenda Setting issues in NSTP in the period before, during and after the occupation. Analysis of issues of Agenda Setting in NSTP

across periods revealed that the theme "The U.S policy and the occupation of Iraq" has been used more frequently through the three periods. This showed that the mass media determine which issues are important by arranging and organizing the priorities of the issues that must be understood by the audience. In addition, the Malaysian media is controlled by the government through the regulation on the ownership of newspapers.

Table 4.4

The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP in the period before, during and after the occupation

Periods	Iraq's needs and suffering	The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	The impact of war on Malaysia	Total	Sig.
Before	2(1.4%)	44(30.1%)	63(43.2%)	37(25.3%)	146(100.0%)	0.000*
During	19(17.1%)	31(27.9%)	44(39.6%)	17(15.3%)	111(100.0%)	0.001*
After	18(27.3%)	21(31.8%)	24(36.4%)	3(4.5%)	66(100.0%)	0.001*

* $p \leq 0.05$

Next, the second part of the second hypothesis is based on significant difference in prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

Table 4.5 shows that the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" in the period before the occupation recorded the highest percentage of news published, followed by "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq", while "Iraq's needs and suffering" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" recorded a smaller percentage of news published. The one

sample Chi Square test result indicated that, in the period before the occupation, significant emerged (sig. 0.008, $p \leq 0.05$).

In the period during the occupation, the highest percentage of news was seen for the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" followed by "The impact of war on Malaysia", "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", and "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq". The one sample Chi Square test result indicated that, in the period during the occupation, significant results emerged (sig. 0.013, $p \leq 0.05$).

For the period after the occupation, the highest percentage of news was the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering", followed by "The impact of war on Malaysia", "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq", and "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq". The test of one sample Chi Square indicated that in the period after the occupation, significant results emerged (sig. 0.016, $p \leq 0.05$).

Finally, there was a significant difference in Agenda Setting issues in the Star in the period before, during and after the occupation, in which it was found that the focus was more on the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" across the periods. Perhaps this personalization of the war can be seen in the broader context of making news more personal and accessible for the audience.

Table 4.5

The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star in the period before, during and after the occupation

Periods	Iraq's needs and suffering	The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	The impact of war on Malaysia	Total	Sig.
Before	18(18.0%)	39(39.0%)	25(25.0%)	18(18.0%)	100(100.0%)	0.008*
During	30(36.6%)	16(19.5%)	11(13.4%)	25(30.5%)	82(100.0%)	0.013*
After	15(50.0%)	4(13.3%)	5(16.7%)	6(20.0%)	30(100.0%)	0.016*

* $p \leq 0.05$

The third main hypothesis assumes that there will be a significant difference in prominent Agenda Setting issues constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period. The first part of the third hypothesis proposed was there will be a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation.

Table 4.6 explains each issue from Agenda Setting by two newspapers in the period before the occupation. One sample Binomial test was conducted on the four Agenda Setting issues in the two newspapers in the period before the occupation, and it was found that three of them emerged significant. The result indicated that the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" was published more in the Star compared to NSTP, thus, significant results emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). The second issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" was published more in NSTP compared to the Star, so significant results emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). Similarly, the third issue "The impact of war on

Malaysia" was published more in NSTP compared to the Star, so significant results emerged in the sample (sig. 0.015, $p \leq 0.05$). Contrarily, the test on the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" revealed no significant difference (sig. 0.661, $p \leq 0.05$). In conclusion, while there was a significant difference in the two newspapers during the period before the occupation in three issues, there was no significant difference in one issue. The findings revealed significant differences. Before the occupation, the category of "Iraq's needs and suffering" was published in the Star more than NSTP. This was due to the fact that the Star focused more about human issues. In contrast, the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" were more prominent in NSTP compared to the Star in the period before the occupation, due to the fact that America change in its foreign policy toward the world which led Malaysia refused this unipolar policy toward the world. With regard to the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia" because it explanation how the government handled the economy by taking the necessary measures to cushion the effects of war.

Table 4. 6

The Agenda Setting Issues before the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Iraq's needs and suffering	NSTP	2	10.0%	20(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	18	90.0%		
The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	NSTP	44	53.0%	83(100.0%)	0.661
	The Star	39	47.0%		
The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	NSTP	63	71.6%	88 (100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	25	28.4%		
The impact of war on Malaysia	NSTP	37	67.3%	55(100.0%)	0.015*
	The Star	18	32.7%		

* p ≤0.05

The second part of the third hypothesis is based on a significant difference in prominent Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation.

Table 4.7 depicts each Agenda Setting issue published by the two newspapers during the occupation period. The result for the period during the occupation indicated that NSTP published more news on the issue "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" compared to the Star, so the one sample Binomial test revealed that significant results emerged (sig. 0.041, $p \leq 0.05$). Significant results also emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$) for the issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" in which NSTP published more news than the Star. Whereas no significant differences were found for the issues "Iraq's needs and suffering" and "The impact of war on Malaysia". In short, there was a significant difference in the two newspapers through the period during the occupation in two issues, while for the

other two issues, there appeared to be no significant difference. The reason for this trend is that the majority of Malaysian Muslim population are against the US invasion of Iraq and Malaysia viewed Washington's policy as the one that represented war against Islam.

Table 4.7

The Agenda Setting Issues during the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Iraq's needs and suffering	NSTP	19	38.2%	49 (100.0%)	0.153
	The Star	30	61.2%		
The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	NSTP	31	66.0%	47 (100.0%)	0.041*
	The Star	16	34.0%		
The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	NSTP	44	80.0%	55 (100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	11	20.0%		
The impact of war on Malaysia	NSTP	17	40.5%	40(100.0%)	0.280
	The Star	25	59.5%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

The third part of the third hypothesis is a significant different prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation.

Table 4.8 shows each issue of Agenda Setting published by NSTP and the Star newspapers for the period after the occupation. The result of One sample Binomial test conducted on the four Agenda Setting issues showed that there was a significant difference between NSTP and the Star. Findings showed that the issue of "The Malaysia's policies towards Iraq" was published more in NSTP compared to the Star.

Hence, significant results emerged (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$). The second issue which was "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" also was published more in NSTP compared to the Star, so significant results emerged (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$). On the contrary, no significant differences were found for the issues "Iraq's needs and suffering" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" as the two issues appeared to be convergent in both newspapers. To summarize, there was a significant difference in the two newspapers through the period after the occupation in two issues namely "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq". This was due to the fact that Malaysia believed US attack on Iraq was done without the U.N's permission and the Malaysian government had opposed military action against Iraq by the US.

Table 4. 8

The Agenda Setting Issues after the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Iraq's needs and suffering	NSTP	18	54.5%	33 (100.0%)	0.728
	The Star	15	45.5%		
The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	NSTP	21	84.0%	25 (100.0%)	0.001*
	The Star	4	16.0%		
The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	NSTP	24	82.8%	29(100.0%)	0.001*
	The Star	5	17.2%		
The impact of war on Malaysia	NSTP	3	33.3%	9 (100.0%)	0.508
	The Star	6	66.7%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

The fourth hypothesis states that there will be a significant difference in the prominent of Agenda Setting issues constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

Table 4.9 indicates each issue from Agenda Setting by NSTP and the Star through three periods. The issue "Iraq's needs and suffering" was published more in the Star compared to NSTP, thus the one sample Binomial test revealed the significant results emerged (sig. 0.023, $p \leq 0.05$). In addition, two issues were published more in NSTP than the Star: "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" emerged (sig. 0.004, $p \leq 0.05$), and the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). Thus, there are significant prominent of Agenda Setting issues through the three prominent issues, except for the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia" in which there was no significance. The above findings indicated that Agenda Setting is the phenomenon of the mass media selecting certain issues and portraying them frequently and prominently, which leads people to perceive those issues as more important than others. The first level of Agenda Setting focuses on the amount of coverage of an issue, suggesting that the media decide what issues the public will be aware of.

Table 4.9

The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	percentage	Total	Sig.
Iraq's needs and suffering	NSTP	39	38.2%	102 (100.0%)	0.023*
	The Star	63	61.8%		
The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	NSTP	96	61.9%	155 (100.0%)	0.004*
	The Star	59	38.1%		
The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	NSTP	131	76.2%	172 (100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	41	23.8%		
The impact of war on Malaysia	NSTP	57	53.8%	106 (100.0%)	0.497
	The Star	49	46.2%		

* $p \leq 0.05$ **4.3.3 Comparison of Framing Categories**

The researcher has identified four frames from Framing Theory that appeared in both newspapers (NSTP and the Star), and analyzed these frames through the following hypothesis. The fifth main hypothesis assumes that there will be a significant difference of prominent frames categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period.

The first part of the fifth hypothesis is: There will be significant different prominent frames categories constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

This hypothesis was tested across the One Sample Chi Square test (Table 4.10). The result showed significant differences regarding prominent frames for each period. For the period before the occupation, the Responsibility frame was found to be the highest category followed by Economic consequences frame and Conflict frame, while Human interest frame was the lowest frame. Thus, the significance emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$).

The result for One Sample Chi Square test for the period during the occupation revealed significant results emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$), due to the differences prominent in frames categories in which the highest frame was Responsibility followed by Economic consequences frame, Conflict frame, and Human interest frame.

In the period after the occupation, significant results also emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). It was shown that the frame with the highest published news was Responsibility followed by Human interest frame, Conflict frame and Economic consequences frame. Thus, there was a significant difference in Framing categories in NSTP before, during and after the occupation. This indicated that Malaysia believed that the US was responsible for what was happening in Iraq, such as the economic blockade before the war and the occupation of Iraq in 2003 which took place on the pretext that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction.

Table 4.10

The Framing categories in NSTP in the period before, during and after the occupation

Periods	Conflict	Responsibility	Economic consequences	Human interest	Total	Sig.
Before	16(11.0%)	85(58.2%)	38(26.0%)	7(4.8%)	146 (100.0%)	0.000*
During	15(13.5%)	64(57.7%)	21(18.9%)	11(9.9%)	111 (100.0%)	0.000*
After	11(16.7%)	30(45.5%)	6(9.1%)	19(28.8%)	66 (100.0%)	0.000*

* $p \leq 0.05$

The second part of the fifth hypothesis is: There will be a significant different in prominent frames categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

As indicated by table 4.11, the Star through these three periods tended to frame the issue in different manner. Results of the one sample Chi Square test revealed there was a significant difference in prominent frames categories constructed for the three periods, in which before the occupation the highest frequency was the Responsibility frame, followed by Human interest frame and Economic consequences frame, whereas the Conflict frame recorded the lowest frequency. Hence, the significant results emerged in the sample (sig. 0.000).

For the period during the occupation, it was found that the highest frequency was Human interest frame, followed by Responsibility frame, Economic consequences frame, and Conflict frame. Thus, the significance emerged (sig. 0.000).

As for the period after the occupation, the highest frequency was Human interest frame, followed by Responsibility frame, Conflict frame, and Economic consequences frame,

thus, the significance emerged (sig. 0.016, $p \leq 0.05$). So, there was a significant difference in Framing categories in the Star before, during and after the occupation, in which it focused more on Human interest frame in the period during and after the occupation. This reflects Malaysia's refusal to attack Iraq to give more space to Iraqi victims.

Table 4.11

The Framing categories in the Star in the period before, during and after the occupation

Periods	Conflict	Responsibility	Economic consequences	Human interest	Total	Sig.
Before	10(10.0%)	55(55.0%)	17(17.0%)	18(18.0%)	100(100.0%)	0.000*
During	10(12.5%)	24(29.3%)	13(15.9%)	35(42.7%)	82(100.0%)	0.000*
After	4(13.3%)	9(30.0%)	3(10.0%)	14(46.7%)	30(100.0%)	0.016*

* $p \leq 0.05$

The sixth main hypothesis assumes that there will be a significant difference in prominent frames categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period. This hypothesis consists of three parts. The first part is: There will be a significant difference in prominent frames categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation.

Table 4.12 indicates each category from Framing Theory by two newspapers through the period before occupation. NSTP used more Responsibility frame compared to the Star. Result of the one sample Binomial test found a significant result emerged (sig. 0.014, $p \leq 0.05$). Economic consequences frame was also reported more in NSTP compared to the Star, thus significant results emerged (sig. 0.007, $p \leq 0.05$). As for the Human interest

frame, the Star published more of it compared to NSTP, and significance emerged (sig. 0.043, $p \leq 0.05$). On the other hand, the test on Conflict frame showed no significant difference. Thus, there was a significant difference of Framing categories between NSTP and the Star for Human interest, Responsibility and Economic consequences frames in the period before the occupation. However, there was no significant difference between NSTP and the Star for the conflict frame.

Table 4. 12

The Framing categories before the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Conflict	NSTP	16	61.5%	26(100.0%)	0.327
	The Star	10	38.5%		
Responsibility	NSTP	85	60.7%	140 (100.0%)	0.014*
	The Star	55	39.3%		
Economic consequences	NSTP	38	69.1%	55 (100.0%)	0.007*
	The Star	17	30.9%		
Human interest	NSTP	7	28.0%	25 (100.0%)	0.043*
	The Star	18	72.0%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

The Second part of the sixth hypothesis is based on hypothesis that there will be different prominent frames categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation.

This hypothesis was tested through one sample Binomial test. The results indicated that the use of the Responsibility frame was more evident in NSTP compared to the Star, hence, the significance emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). For the Human interest frame, the

Star published more articles and news stories compared to NSTP. Therefore, the significant result emerged (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$). To summarize, there was a significant difference of Framing categories during the occupation between NSTP and the Star for Responsibility and Human interest frames, whereas there was no significant difference with the Conflict and Economic consequences frames.

Table 4. 13

The Framing categories during the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Conflict	NSTP	15	60.0%	25(100.0%)	0.424
	The Star	10	40.0%		
Responsibility	NSTP	64	72.7%	88(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	24	27.3%		
Economic consequences	NSTP	21	61.8%	34(100.0%)	0.230
	The Star	13	38.2%		
Human interest	NSTP	11	23.9%	46(100.0%)	0.001*
	The Star	35	76.1%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

The third part of the sixth hypothesis is: There will be a significant different prominent frames categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation.

Table 4.14 showed the each category from Framing analysis by two newspapers through the period after occupation. The one sample Binomial test revealed that Responsibility frame emerged significant (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$). However there were no significant differences in the rest of the Framing categories which are Economic consequences, Human interest, and Conflict frames.

Table 4. 14

The Framing categories after the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Conflict	NSTP	11	73.3%	15(100.0%)	0.118
	The Star	4	26.7%		
Responsibility	NSTP	30	76.9%	39(100.0%)	0.001*
	The Star	9	23.1%		
Economic consequences	NSTP	6	66.7%	9(100.0%)	0.508
	The Star	3	33.3%		
Human interest	NSTP	19	57.6%	33(100.0%)	0.486
	The Star	14	42.4%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

To sum up, it was found that for the period before, during and after the occupation, the Responsibility frame was published more in the NSTP than the Star. This might be due to the fact that NSTP is a political party's media which is more closely related with the government. Whereas, the human interest frame was published more in the Star than NSTP in the period before and during the occupation of Iraq. This might be due to Malaysian government's decision to provide Malaysians with information on the war by focusing on the impact of the war on Iraq and her people. Next, the Economic consequences frame was used more in NSTP than the Star in the period before the occupation probably because tourism is an important economic sector in several Asia Pacific countries including Malaysia. So, any external shocks such as wars will have adverse impacts on tourism.

The seventh hypothesis states there will be a significant different prominent Frames categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

Table 4.15 lists out each frame category by NSTP and the Star through the three periods. NSTP produced a large number of Conflict, Responsibility and Economic consequences frames, while the Star published less news for the same frames. Human interest frame was produced more in the Star compared to NSTP. One sample Binomial test showed that there are significant differences in NSTP and the Star in all categories: Conflict frame emerged significant (sig. 0.036, $p \leq 0.05$), Responsibility frame (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$), Economic consequences frame (sig. 0.002, $p \leq 0.05$) and Human interest frame (sig. 0.004, $p \leq 0.05$). In other words, NSTP and the Star featured a significant difference of prominent frames categories.

Table 4. 15

The Framing categories in NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Conflict	NSTP	42	63.6%	66(100.0%)	0.036*
	The Star	24	36.4%		
Responsibility	NSTP	179	67.0%	267(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	88	33.0%		
Economic consequences	NSTP	65	66.3%	98(100.0%)	0.002*
	The Star	33	33.7%		
Human interest	NSTP	37	35.6%	104(100.0%)	0.004*
	The Star	67	64.4%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

The findings revealed that each newspaper highlighted some facets of events and revealed manner which is in line with its policy. Thus, the results indicated that differences in media organizations have a profound impact on the way important social issues are framed in the newspapers.

4.3.4 Comparison of Image Categories

The next hypothesis is about categories on the image of Iraq through the multi ethnic country like Malaysia. Three types of image: positive, negative and neutral that appeared in newspapers (NSTP and the Star) were studied.

The eight main hypothesis assumes that there will be a significant different prominent image categories constructed by each newspaper about Iraq through each period. This hypothesis consists of two parts. The first part is there will be a significant different prominent image categories constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

The analysis of articles and news stories about Iraq published in NSTP for the three periods showed significant difference about the portrayal of Iraq image in Malaysia for the period before and during the occupation as shown in Table 4.16. The one sample Chi Square test revealed that for image before and during the occupation periods, significant result emerged (sig. 0.000). It was found that, during the period before the occupation, the most prominent image about Iraq was neutral image followed by positive image, and finally the negative image. The ranking was exactly the same for the period during the occupation. In short, there was a significant difference for the Image categories in NSTP

for the period before and during the occupation, while there was no significant difference for the period after the occupation.

The most noticeable aspect of the findings obtained in this study is that the news coverage in NST during the three periods tended to take a neutral image. In a way, such a stand by the newspaper reflects Malaysia's foreign policy of being non-aligned and neutral.

Table 4.16

The Image categories in NSTP in the period before, during and after the occupation

Periods	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total	Sig.
Before	40(27.4%)	8(5.5%)	98(67.1%)	146(100.0%)	0.000*
During	36(32.4%)	19(17.1%)	56(50.5%)	111(100.0%)	0.000*
After	22(33.3%)	14(21.2%)	30(45.5%)	66(100.0%)	0.055

* $p \leq 0.05$

The second part of the eighth hypothesis proposed was there will be a significant different prominent image categories constructed by the Star about Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

Table 4.17 depicts image categories through the three periods in the Star. For the period before the occupation, the category of positive image about Iraq was extensively used, followed by neutral image and negative image, thus significant result emerged (sig. 0.039, $p \leq 0.05$). Whereas during the occupation, negative image was more extensively used, followed by neutral image, and finally positive image. Thus, significant result emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). However, in the period after the occupation, more negative

image was used followed by neutral and positive image. Therefore, significant result emerged (sig. 0.020, $p \leq 0.05$). In sum, there was a significant difference of Image categories in the Star in the periods before, during and after the occupation.

To sum up, in the period during and after the occupation, the news published in the Star were more negative, because it seemed that the Star wanted to stir up its readers. In contrast, during the period before the occupation, the Star published more positive image about Iraq, probably because the world had a good impression on Iraq before the war.

Table 4. 17

The Image categories in the Star in the period before, during and after the occupation

Periods	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total	Sig.
Before	45(45.0%)	25(25.0%)	30(30.0%)	100(100.0%)	0.039*
During	16(19.5%)	48(58.5%)	18(22.0%)	82(100.0%)	0.000*
After	5(16.7%)	17(56.7%)	8(26.7%)	30(100.0%)	0.020*

* $p \leq 0.05$

The ninth main hypothesis assumes that there will be a significant different prominent image categories constructed by both newspapers about Iraq through each period. So, the first part of this hypothesis is: There will be significant different prominent image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq before the occupation

As indicated by table 4.18, NSTP in its coverage has given more neutral image to Iraq compared to the Star. The results of the One Sample Binomial test indicated that there was a significant difference between NSTP and the Star regarding neutral image (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). The negative image also showed a significant difference between NSTP

and the Star, so significant result emerged (sig. 0.005, $p \leq 0.05$). On the other hand, the positive image showed no significant differences between NSTP and the Star. Thus, there was a significant difference of image categories in before the occupation between NSTP and the Star for negative and neutral image, but no significance for positive image.

Table 4. 18

The Image categories before the occupation between NSTP and the Star

categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
positive	NSTP	40	47.1%	85(100.0%)	0.664
	The Star	45	52.9%		
negative	NSTP	8	24.2%	33(100.0%)	0.005*
	The Star	25	75.8%		
neutral	NSTP	98	76.6%	128(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	30	23.4%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

It seemed clear from the findings that there were more neutral images in NSTP than the Star in the period before the occupation. This might be due to the fact that NSTP represents the ruling party. In contrast, because of its dependency on international news agencies which have more negative images on coverage about foreign countries and the Muslim world, it was found that the Star published more negative images of Iraq.

The second part of the ninth hypothesis is there will be a significant different prominent image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq during the occupation.

The One Sample Binomial test was run to test the significant difference for each image category published by both newspapers in the period during the occupation. The positive image category about Iraq was published more in NSTP than the Star, thus the significance emerged (sig. 0.008, $p \leq 0.05$). Similarly, the neutral image about Iraq was published more in NSTP than the Star and thus significant result emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). In contrast, the Star published more negative image on Iraq than NSTP and the significance emerged (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$) (Table 4.19).

Table 4. 19

The Image categories during the occupation between NSTP and the Star

categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
positive	NSTP	36	69.2%	52(100.0%)	0.008*
	The Star	16	30.8%		
negative	NSTP	19	28.4%	67(100.0%)	0.001*
	The Star	48	71.6%		
neutral	NSTP	56	75.7%	74(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	18	24.3%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

The third part of the ninth hypothesis focused on a significant different prominent image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq after the occupation.

The data revealed that positive and neutral image about Iraq was published more in NSTP compared to the Star, thus the one sample Binomial test revealed that significant result emerged for positive image (sig. 0.002, $p \leq 0.05$) and neutral image (sig. 0.001, $p \leq 0.05$).

Thus, there was a significant difference of image categories in the period after the

occupation between NSTP and the Star for positive and neutral image, while there was no significance for negative image. (See table 4.20).

Table 4.20

The Image categories after the occupation between NSTP and the Star

categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
positive	NSTP	22	81.5%	27(100.0%)	0.002*
	The Star	5	18.5%		
negative	NSTP	14	45.2%	31(100.0%)	0.719
	The Star	17	54.8%		
neutral	NSTP	30	78.9%	38(100.0%)	0.001*
	The Star	8	21.1%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

In conclusion, for the period during and after the occupation, the news published by NSTP was more positive and neutral image compared to the Star. This is could be because of the good relationship between Iraq and Malaysia in cultural and commercial affairs. In contrast, the Star published more articles and news stories that fall into negative image categories compared to NSTP in the period before and during the occupation in which during this period the Star showed more images of dead or wounded Iraqi people in its news coverage.

Hypothesis tenth focused on there will be significant different prominent image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

The study revealed that NSTP showed higher positive and neutral image about Iraq compared to the Star. One Sample Binomial test revealed significant differences between the two newspapers for each category image, for positive (sig. 0.015, $p \leq 0.05$) and for neutral (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$). On the contrary, the Star focused more on the negative image about Iraq compared to NSTP, and thus significant result emerged (sig. 0.000, $p \leq 0.05$) (Table 4.21).

In summary, the newspapers seemed to be very careful in transmitting images of other countries particularly the Islamic countries in their news coverage as it could affect Malaysia and its neighbors politically, economically and socially. Thus it can be concluded that the media's ownership position plays a vital role in shaping countries image through media coverage. The current study indicated that the positive and neutral image of Iraq in NSTP is considered important to the Malaysian government to advance its domestic and foreign policies to Malaysians, and also due to its political and economic interests in Iraq which is a Muslim country. Contrarily, the Star seemed to oppose the Malaysian government policies but this opposition is marginal.

Table 4. 21

The Image categories in NSTP and the Star

Categories	Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Total	Sig.
Positive	NSTP	98	59.8%	164(100.0%)	0.015*
	The Star	66	40.2%		
Negative	NSTP	41	31.3%	131(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	90	68.7%		
Neutral	NSTP	184	76.7%	240(100.0%)	0.000*
	The Star	56	23.3%		

* $p \leq 0.05$

4.3.5 Association between Agenda Setting Issues with Image Categories and Framing Categories with Image Categories

The eleventh main hypothesis assumes that there will be an association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods. This hypothesis consists of two parts. The first part is: There will be association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in NSTP about Iraq through the three periods.

Table 4.22 indicates the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" was mainly portrayed as negative, followed by positive and neutral. The issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" used positive image the highest, followed by neutral and negative. The issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" received more neutral image, followed by positive and negative image. Finally the issue "The impact of war on Malaysia" also has more neutral image than the negative image, whereas there was no frequency for the positive image.

The test for a significant association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in NSTP showed large effect size, in which $X^2 (6, n=323) = 165.531, p = 0.000$; with Cramer's $V = 0.506$. This proves that the Agenda Setting issues in NSTP newspaper has bigger association on image.

The study concluded that the association between Agenda Setting issues and image in NSTP was evident in news coverage about Mahathir's decision to criticize the US invasion on Iraq which was rooted in the scenario of local politics in Malaysia at that time. He seemed to be concerned about the possibility of militant reaction from Muslims

in the country and this concern about losing Muslim support seemed to continue even after Abdullah Badawi, took over as the Prime Minister albeit much softer and gentler.

Table 4. 22

The Agenda Setting Issues and image categories in NSTP

Agenda Setting	Image			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
Iraq's needs and suffering	17(43.6%)	21(53.8%)	1(2.6%)	39 (100.0%)
The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	58(60.4%)	7(7.3%)	31(32.3%)	96(100.0%)
The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	23(17.6%)	8(6.1%)	100(76.3%)	131(100.0%)
The impact of war on Malaysia	0(0.0%)	5(8.8%)	52(91.2%)	57(100.0%)
Total	98(30.3%)	41(12.7%)	184(57.0%)	323 (100.0%)

$X^2=165.531df=6 p=0.000$ Cramer's V=0.506

In the second part, there will be association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in the Star about Iraq through the three periods.

Table 4.23 shows result of cross tabulation conducted between Agenda Setting issues and image of Iraq in the Star. The percentage was bigger for "Iraq's needs and suffering" with negative image, followed by positive and neutral. Whereas the highest positive image was used for the issue "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", followed by negative and neutral. The issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" portrayed more neutral image, followed by positive and negative image. With regard to the issue of "The impact

of war on Malaysia", the highest image was neutral image and the lowest was negative image, while there was no frequency for positive image about Iraq.

The test for a significant association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories indicated that large effect size in which $X^2 (6, n=212) = 98.274, p = 0.000$; with Cramer's $V = 0.481$.

In conclusion, there was an association between Agenda Setting issues and image in the Star because it seemed that the Star gave priority to profits by attracting the attention of its audience through its news reports and stories that focused on the sufferings of Iraqis.

Table 4. 23

The Agenda Setting Issues and image categories in the Star

Agenda Setting	Image			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
Iraq's needs and suffering	14(22.2%)	47(74.6%)	2(3.2%)	63 (100.0%)
The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq	38(64.4%)	11(18.6%)	10(16.9%)	59(100.0%)
The US policy and the occupation of Iraq	14(34.1%)	9(22.0%)	18(43.9%)	41(100.0%)
The impact of war on Malaysia	0(0.0%)	23(46.9%)	26(53.1%)	49(100.0%)
Total	66(31.1%)	90(42.5%)	56(26.4%)	212 (100.0%)

$X^2=98.274, df=6, p=0.000$ Cramer's $V=0.481$

The twelve main hypothesis assumes that there will be an association between Framing categories and image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods.

The first part of this hypothesis is there will be association between Framing categories and image categories in NSTP about Iraq through the three periods.

Table 4.24 shows the variation for Framing categories with image categories in NSTP newspaper about Iraq. The Conflict frame focused more on neutral image, followed by positive and negative image. Similarly, Responsibility frame used more neutral image followed by positive and negative image. Meanwhile, Economic consequences frame focused on neutral image, then positive negative image. For Human interest frame, the focus was more on negative image followed by neutral and positive image about Iraq.

Analysis of Cramer's V was conducted to find out whether there was any significant association between image and Framing in NSTP. From the analysis, the result indicated that the effect size for the test was large with the Cramer's $V = 0.518$ and the test statistics were $X^2(6, n=323) = 173.207, p = 0.000$.

Thus, the most noticeable aspect of the findings obtained in this study is that NSTP tended to take a neutral Responsibility frame where the U.S. is concerned which reflects the Malaysian government's neutrality in its foreign policies.

Table 4. 24

The Framing categories and image categories in NSTP

Framing	Image			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
Conflict	8(19.0%)	6(14.3%)	28(66.7%)	42 (100.0%)
Responsibility	76(42.5%)	7(3.9%)	96(53.6%)	179(100.0%)
Economic consequences	12(18.5%)	0(0.0%)	53(81.5%)	65(100.0%)
Human interest	2(5.4%)	28(75.7%)	7(18.9%)	37(100.0%)
Total	98(30.3%)	41(12.7%)	184(57.0%)	323 (100.0%)

$X^2=173.207$ $df=6$ $p=0.000$ Cramer's V=0.518

In the second part, there will be association between Framing categories and image categories in the Star about Iraq through three periods.

The Star showed association between Framing categories and image categories about Iraq. The result indicated that the percentage for negative image with Human interest frames was the highest, while the percentages for positive and neutral image were the lowest. The percentage for neutral image with Conflict frame was the highest, followed by negative and then positive image. Whereas, Responsibility frame put positive first, followed by negative and neutral, Economic consequences frame ranked neutral image first, then followed by positive and negative image. From the analysis, the result indicated that the effect size for the test was large with the Cramer's V = 0.717 and the test statistics were $X^2 (6, n=212) = 217.692$, $p = 0.000$ (Table 4.25). So this proves the Framing has bigger association on image in the Star.

In summary, with regard to the association between Framing categories and image in the Star, it can be seen that the Star selected some aspects of war reality such as Human interest frame and made them more salient. This showed that the Star acted in line with its policy, which is profit orientation, and responded to Human interest frame within the framework of the ownership stance by attracting attention from its audience.

Table 4. 25

The Framing categories and image categories in the Star

Framing	Image			Total
	positive	Negative	Neutral	
Conflict	1(4.2%)	8(33.3%)	15(62.5%)	24 (100.0%)
Responsibility	61(69.3%)	15(17.0%)	12(13.6%)	88(100.0%)
Economic consequences	3(9.1%)	2(6.1%)	28(84.8%)	33(100.0%)
Human interest	1(1.5%)	65(97.0%)	1(1.5%)	67(100.0%)
Total	66(31.1%)	90(42.5%)	56(26.4%)	212(100.0%)

$X^2=217.692df=6 p=0.000$ Cramer's V=0.717

4.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter discusses the image of Iraq as portrayed by the two Malaysian English newspapers which are NSTP and the Star. It also explains through descriptive analysis the results for Agenda Setting issues, Framing categories and image categories, and further, discusses its hypotheses testing.

The result reveals that NSTP and the Star have different role in the reporting of news about Iraq, through the different focus on different Agenda Setting issues and Framing categories and finally this reflects the portrayal of image of Iraq in these newspapers.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate the image of Iraq as portrayed by the Malaysian newspapers through Agenda Setting and Frames Theories over the three periods from before, during and after the occupation of Iraq. In the previous chapter, the researcher answered the research questions through content analysis of two Malaysian English newspapers. This chapter discusses the findings of the research in order to provide overall picture of the phenomenon based on the content analysis conducted. Chapter Five firstly focuses on the summary of the study and discussions of the articles and news stories published in NSTP and the Star; Agenda Setting issues, Framing categories, Image categories, and association between Agenda Setting issues with image categories, and association between Framing categories with image categories. It also focuses on implication of study which includes policy implication and theoretical implication. Finally, it suggests future research and outlines chapter conclusion.

5.2 Research Summary

The mass media play a crucial role in constructing the image of various societies and their people (Saleem, 2002). Zelizer and Allen (2002) noted that, "it is based largely on journalism that we make up our national mind" (p.1). Given that the war in Iraq still remains as one of the most important events in the world, having an understanding of this event from different perspectives has a paramount significance. Despite many extensive studies on the image of Iraq, reviews of literature reveal that there are still certain gaps in

the present literature regarding news of Iraq. Many studies focused about how Iraq was portrayed in the Western media, the US liberation of Iraq, how Iraq war can be seen as part of the war on terror, and the association of Iraq to weapons of mass destruction. However, very little research is found about the role of Agenda Setting Theory through the study of images, also with regard to Framing Theory which will give assistance to a further understanding of war coverage in the media.

The current study can fill the gap in the literature of Eastern media in multi-ethnic country like Malaysia and of Iraq image through content analysis of two Malaysian English newspapers: NSTP and the Star. These newspapers are owned by two largest parties in Malaysia in which NSTP belong to the United Malays National Organization, the largest party in the Barisan Nasional and the Star is owned by Malaysian Chinese Association which is the second largest party. These two newspapers are mainstream newspapers which represent the English sector and the most influential dailies in Malaysia (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, andKee, 2010; Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee, and Ahmad, 2011).

Iraq is considered as a primary origin of civilizations and the source of development of many aspects of modern life. The region called Iraq today has constantly been the stage of continued struggle. Indeed, much of the history of this region shows a constant conflict to control this strategic land nestled in the heart of the Middle East (Akoum, Zbib & Ahmed, 2007). With regard to Malaysia-Iraq relationship, Malaysia established relations with Iraq in the 1960s and the country became one of the more familiar polities to Malaysians. Many Malaysian students went to Iraq to study. However, when Iraq invaded Kuwait in the war in August 1990, Malaysia voted in favour of the UN Resolution 678 calling for the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait territories. Despite stringent economic

sanctions on Iraq by the UN Security Council after the invasion, Malaysia and Iraq were negotiating for Iraq's purchase of Malaysia's palm oil (Harun, 2009). Although Malaysia has been a long-term ally of the US, relations have been complicated and reached an all-time low during the aggression of the US on Iraq, because this situation was a reflection of US hegemony in world politics (Khalid, 2003).

The war of Iraq was the most heavily covered war by the news media (Carpenter, 2007). It can be said that the Western media had played a major role in shaping the image of Iraq as they mainly focused on frameworks such as the war on Iraq was necessary to save the Iraqi people and essential in order to the search for weapons of mass destruction. In addition, they also focused on the Iraq's link to Al Qaeda and terrorism, therefore reflecting a negative image of Iraq. Western media also focused on the soldiers of war and their victory and they minimized the effects of the war on Iraq. This showed that some other foreign media was not objective in reporting the Iraq war (Dittmer, 2009; Lindner, 2009; Zheng, 2006; Fried, 2005; Griffin, 2004; Hiebert, 2003).

The study focused on the image of Iraq as portrayed by the Eastern media through the two Malaysian English newspapers. Reviews of the literature have revealed the communal nature of the Malaysian press, so the ownership of newspapers probably, to a greater degree, influenced the Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory about the image of Iraq.

This study used a sample from NSTP and the Star in which a total of 535 article and news stories were analyzed. The sample involved three periods; before, during and after the occupation for each newspaper. For the whole period, NSTP published 323 articles and

news stories where 146 news were published before the occupation, 111 news during the occupation, and 66 news after the occupation. Meanwhile, the Star published 212 articles and news stories where 100 news were published before the occupation, 82 news during the occupation and 30 news after the occupation. The data were analyzed with one sample nonparametric tests based on binomial and Chi-square, and Cramer's V in order to achieve the research objectives. A longitudinal content analysis of Agenda Setting and Framing of Iraq image in Malaysian English newspapers indicated that NSTP more neutral while the Star more negative in reported the news of Iraq before, during and after the occupation.

5.3 Discussions

This sub-section is mainly concerned with the discussion on findings on the coverage of the image of Iraq in the two newspapers (NSTP and the Star) of the three periods before, during and after the occupation of Iraq by using descriptive content analysis.

5.3.1 Difference in Total Articles and News Stories Published in NSTP and the Star

The analyses showed significant differences in the Malaysian newspapers coverage on Iraq's crisis through the volume of coverage. With regard to the difference of total number of articles and news stories published by NSTP and The Star, it was clear from the findings that the total number of articles for NSTP and the Star by the three periods decreased gradually. This could be attributed to the war's longevity and the lack of coverage of the topic as the war progressed (Fritz, 2011). This may also be due to the

fact that the Malaysian government played fewer roles with the passage of time due to the formation of the new Iraqi government after the occupation of Iraq, therefore attributed the cause of the gradual decrease.

The findings on the total number of articles published by two newspapers by each period indicated that NSTP published more articles and news stories compared to the Star through each period, due to two factors.

First, this is probably because Malaysian newspapers are influenced by the political elites (Hamzah; 2009, 2008). The New Straits Times is regarded as to be closely linked with the government and the ruling coalition compared to the Star, and therefore it might have emphasized publications as a reflection of official Malaysian policies (Magpanthong & McDaniel, 2012), especially after the Malaysian government had opposed military action against Iraq by the US (Liow, 2003). That meaning NSTP is owned by the United Malays National Organization (Nain and Kim, 2004) which consists of a majority of Malays (Singh, 1995). Moreover, UMNO dominates the political system (Humphreys, 2010) thus; NSTP reflects the influence of feelings of Muslim Malaysians because Iraq is a Muslim country.

Second, considering the ownership of the Star to the Chinese political party (MCA), it is likely that the low level of coverage in the Star was also probably due to ownership influence. Since Chinese newspapers in Malaysia were partisan and sympathetic to the Chinese Revolution in China or focused their attention on business in Malaysia (this has its roots in the colonial era), and thus they are not interested in covering the Muslim

country. It shows that each party cares for its ethnic interests (Shaari, Hua & Raman, 2006).

In summary, the analyses showed important and fascinating variation in the NSTP and the Star newspapers coverage of the Iraq crisis in Malaysia through three time periods. It is acknowledged that not all of the coverage are of equal importance in their number of articles and news stories. While both newspapers are owned by the ruling government, it is not necessary that the level of media attention in them follow largely the same pattern. Ethnic issues still play an important role in deciding news and coverage to be published.

The researcher believed the difference in the total number of articles and news stories published through NSTP and the Star showed that media create the meaning of the events that often reflects the political beliefs and interests of the owners. Thus, diversity of ownership is critical to diversity of viewpoints and the coverage. This can clearly be seen by both newspapers. The Star is owned by MCA, and therefore reflects Chinese views and NSTP is owned by UMNO and therefore reflects Malay views.

According to the ownership theory, the ownership often influences the news coverage of a particular medium, and the Theory of media ownership developed by Altschull (1984) contends that "the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press" (Altschull as cited in Khudiyev, 2005, p.181). To in their effort to refine Altschull's (1984) theory, Shoemaker and Reese (1991) developed the Ownership Theory that says the owners of a media organization have the ultimate power over the news content of the newspapers. In conclusion, in the current study, it can be seen that

the ownership of the newspapers influenced the coverage of the Iraq war in which the NSTP published more articles and news stories about Iraq war compared to the Star.

5.3.2 Agenda Setting Issues

The results of this study contribute toward the understanding of the Agenda Setting process in mass communication (Curtis, 2000). Agenda Setting is a function that the media can play. By deciding what is important, media set the agenda for content within their own pages. For example, it can change a position on an issue such as war. At the very least, media attention on a topic turns the eyes of the public and policy makers to a problem (Wallace, n.d.). To examine Agenda Setting Theory in this study, four major themes are examined in the two newspapers (NSTP and the Star) which were "Iraq's needs and suffering" that describes the Iraqi people and their tribulations;"The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" that refers to Malaysia's policy and opposition to Iraq war; "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" that describes the US policy toward Iraq; and "The impact of war on Malaysia" which refers to the impact of Iraq war on Malaysia.

Analysis of issues of Agenda Setting in NSTP across periods revealed that the theme "The U.S policy and the occupation of Iraq" has been used more frequently through the three periods. McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Shaw, 1979 believed the mass media determine the important issues by arranging and organizing the priorities of the issues that must be understood. In addition, the Malaysian media is controlled by the government through media control ownership (Lim, 2007). Thus the focus of this issue is trying to get the readers to understand that the decision by the United States to invade Iraq is due to its imperialist impulses and this powerfully reinforces the fact that we live

in a unipolar world ruled by Maharaja Uncle Sam. the Malaysian government had opposed to this situation, and this is reflected in NSTP.

In contrast, the Star focused more on the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering" across the periods during and after the occupation through its news on how Iraqi civilians were affected and the consequences of war. Perhaps this personalization of the war can be seen in the broader context of making news more personal and accessible for the audience (Dimitrova & strömbäck, 2005). In the period before the occupation, the Star focused more on issue "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq". One explanation which may be offered is that the Star was controlled by a component party of the ruling coalition, thus invariably propagates the agenda and policies of its owners in order to maintain the hegemony of the ruling group. This finding is consistent with the study of Vliegthart and Walgrave (2008) who found that newspapers focus on issues that were of interest to the readers in each period.

With regard to the results for the differences between prominent issues constructed by NSTP and the Star newspapers through each period, the findings revealed significant differences. Before the occupation, the category of "Iraq's needs and suffering" was published in the Star more than NSTP. This was due to the fact that the Star focused more about human issues, this finding is consistent with the research conducted by Sern and Zanuddin (2011).

In contrast, the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia" were more prominent in NSTP compared to the Star in the period before the occupation. With regard to the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of

Iraq", the events of 11 September 2001 led to a change in the relationship between the United States and Malaysia, due to the fact that America emerged as the only superpower since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus United States had a change in its foreign policy toward the world. This is evident through Bush's decision to liberate Iraq without the UN's permission (Khalid, 2003). Obviously, Malaysia refused this unipolar policy toward Iraq and the world.

With regard to the issue of "The impact of war on Malaysia" it is not surprising that NSTP published more news on this, considering that the largest ruling political party, UMNO controls the New Straits Times Press (Halim, 2012), and it targeted the issue of how the government handled the economy by taking the necessary measures to cushion the effects of war in order not to affect the popularity of the government (Suffian, n.d.).

For the period during the occupation, it revealed significant differences in two issues which are "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" in which NSTP published more news than the Star. The reason for this trend is that majority of Malaysian Muslim population are against the US invasion of Iraq (Smith, 2003). Another reason for Malaysia's opposition to the war in Iraq was because it viewed Washington's policy as the one that represented war against Islam (Liow, 2003).

For the period after the occupation, the two issues which were dominant in NSTP are "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq". This is because the end of the political phase of US occupation did not erase the most pressing problems confronting Iraq as shattered state as a result of US miscalculations hubris (Diamond, 2004). In addition, the US attack on Iraq was done without the U.N's permission and therefore it was a violation of

international law (Liow, 2003). Thus, the focus to this issue reflects the position of Malaysia which refused this US policy toward Iraq and the world.

The second issue which is dominant in NSTP is "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq". This might be due to the fact that the role of the media in Malaysia is shaped not only to disseminate information and to educate as envisaged in the government's policy, but also to guide the people to walk hand in hand with the government's aspiration and policy (Ahmad, Kee, Mustaffa, Ibrahim, Wan Mahmud, and Dafrizal, 2012). Thus the function of the media in Malaysia is to support the goals of the government and in this case, the Malaysian government had opposed military action against Iraq by the US (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee, & Ahmad, 2011).

The result of the study proved that the NSTP and the Star focused on different Agenda Setting issues about Iraq through the three periods. NSTP published more articles and news stories about "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" than the Star. These findings are consistent with the foreign policy which turned Malaysia from having a pro-Western stance in the fifties and sixties to the policy of Non-Aligned Movement in the seventies and after the advent of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad in 1981 (Harun, 2009). In addition, Malaysia continued to support the Iraqi people in the face of UN sanctions and US military strikes. The former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir condemned the plans of the United States and Britain to launch an attack against Iraq without a good reason (Ali, 2002). Whereas, Bakar's study explained that the majority of Muslims in Malaysia have become more critical to the US policy since the US war on terrorism began in Afghanistan and Iraq. According to a survey conducted by NSTP, the reasons that led to the transformation of

feelings of sympathy for US after the events of September 11 to hostility were America's support for Israel's and America's invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. Thus US war against terrorism was "seen as a war against Islam and Muslim" (Bakar, 2005), in addition to the failure to find weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq (Heinze, 2006).

Furthermore, the US and its allies were obviously going against the international law and system when they attacked Iraq without the consent of the United Nations or anti-war powers including France, Germany and Russia. This action clearly showed that the US was undermining the UN role in world politics. The US action of attacking Iraq without the approval from the UN gave the message that even if a powerful nation like the US couldn't get the approval of the UN, it is still free to do what it wants and violate the rights of other sovereign nations (Özdemir, 2011). Whereas Ufomba (2010) was of the opinion that the invasion of Iraq in 2003 was carried out because of two major factors which are crude oil and Israel's security in the region, which are both important to the US.

The Star published more about "Iraq's needs and suffering" than NSTP. One explanation which may be offered is that the Star focused more on the negative issues of Islam and Muslims, and this is similar when the Star focused on religion and Muslim practices. There was massive press coverage of the issue on the Hudud Law in the Star which is owned by the MCA. The Hudud Law controversy dated back to the 1990 Malaysian General Election, in which the opposition parties PAS and PBS, succeeded in taking over the state government in Kelantan and Sabah respectively. The success provided PAS the opportunity to implement Islamic teachings, one of which is Hudud Law. Hudud Law encompasses punishment such as whipping, stoning and amputation of limbs for a variety

of offences, including adultery, theft, the renunciation of Islam by a Muslim, and the drinking of alcohol. This has caused concern among the community in Kelantan (Kim, 2001).

The above findings indicated that Agenda Setting is the phenomenon of the mass media selecting certain issues and portraying them frequently and prominently, which leads people to perceive those issues as more important than others. The first level Agenda Setting focuses on the amount of coverage of an issue, suggesting that the media decide what issues the public will be aware of (Wu & Coleman, 2009).

Current study provides evidence that "what to think about" is the first level of the Agenda Setting Theory. Findings showed that the Agenda Setting for NSTP focused on the issue of "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq". It was found that NSTP highlighted Malaysia's position of Iraq through the rejection of the occupation and its rejection of the policy of America's unipolar. Also, NSTP arranged and organized the priorities of the issues that must be understood by people. So, it can be said that, when it came to reporting foreign news, the broader cultural-domestic environment that influences the journalists' professional work cannot be ignored. Accordingly, the journalist's domestic viewpoint is inseparable from his or her professional norms and considerations (Nossek, 2004). Thus, the coverage by NSTP on these two issues indicated that the wide coverage of Iraq news in the pro-government Malay newspaper was because Iraq is a Muslim country and thus important to the Malay/Muslim community. Perhaps it worried that little coverage would trigger its readers (who are mostly Malays/Muslims and English-educated readers who are mostly concentrated in the urban areas) to think and question. However, the Agenda Setting

issue for the Star focused on "Iraq's needs and suffering". This might be because the case of international conflict where national media may engender different interpretations for the audience, thus perhaps it is feasible that readers who see much reporting about war victims may become more inclined to oppose the war. In contrast, those who perceive war as a military success may be more supportive the war (Dimitrova & strömbäck, 2005).

Finally, these findings support Agenda Setting Theory that the amount of coverage devoted to an issue by the media agenda translates into salience about that issue on the public agenda. Further, a contribution is made to the discussion concerning the time frame it takes for an issue to emerge, be covered by the mass media, and translate into public salience. The findings of this study indicated that NSTP was more focused on the issue "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq", while the Star gave more focus on the issue "Iraq's needs and suffering". It can be concluded that NSTP reflects the expressive policy of UMNO which was known to be very critical of the US approach, while the Star focused more on sensationalized issues because it is one of the most profitable companies listed on the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange.

5.3.3 Framing Categories

Individuals' frames are heavily reliant on and tend to be quite similar to the media frames. Framing can be described as " a means to describe the influence of the press on an individual's information processing and social judgments" (Iyengar, 1991), and thus the process of framing's ultimate aim is to change public opinion or to slant it toward a certain perception regarding certain issues (Kee et al, 2011). This study focuses on four

frames prominent in NSTP and the Star newspapers which were Conflict frame, emphasis on US policy that led to conflict in Iraq; Responsibility frame, emphasis on the US responsibility frame for what is happening in Iraq; Economic consequences frame, emphasis on how Iraq war has the consequences economically on Malaysia; and Human interest frame, emphasis on the Iraqi people and suffering long years of before, during and after the occupation.

The media play an active role in Framing issues in time of war because the people need to have access to important, current and accurate information to help them make decision. Hence, the media have the tendency to shape people's perception (Ibrahim, Mustaffa & Kee, 2010). The findings that showed NSTP focused more on Responsibility frame through each period support the findings of many other studies which showed that journalists tend to use responsibility frame regarding political news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992). Furthermore, this indicated that Malaysia held the US responsible for what was happening in Iraq, such as the economic blockade before the war and the occupation of Iraq in 2003 on the pretext that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction.

On the other hand, the Star focused more on Human interest frame in the period during and after the occupation, in which it reflects Malaysia's refusal to attack Iraq to give more space to Iraqi victims (Lee, 2004). This shows that the newspaper's representation of the war is an extension of the political elite's discourse. With regard to the period before the occupation, the Star focused on Responsibility frame through news that critiqued the US policy toward Iraq. It was more inclined to publish news on Responsibility frame in keeping with the Malaysia policy, because the Star was

components of the ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional. This finding showed that the media in Malaysia reflect the situation of the government and the society in which they operate.

With regard to the results for the differences between prominent frames constructed by NSTP and the Star newspapers through each period, it was found for the period before, during and after the occupation, the Responsibility frame was published more in the NSTP than the Star. This might be due to the fact that NSTP is a political party's media and more related with the government (Magpanthong & McDaniel, 2012). Thus, the fact that Malaysia was criticizing the US approach to counterterrorism and its duplication policy (Martin, 2008) clearly showed that Malaysia holds the policy of America responsible for what is happening in Iraq, or maybe the invasion of Iraq by the United States led to the state of anarchy in Iraq, and thus, US bears responsibility for this mess in Iraq (Zeidan, 2005).

Whereas, the human interest frame was published more in the Star than NSTP in the period before and during the occupation of Iraq. This might be due to the Malaysian government's decision to providing Malaysians with information on the war through focusing on the impact of the war on Iraq and her people. This is because the issues of security for the media teams preclude the possibility of news reports on military activities (Halim, 2012). In short, the Star focuses more on human interest frame.

Next, the Economic consequences frame was used more in NSTP than the Star in the period before the occupation, probably because tourism is an important economic sector in several Asia Pacific countries such as Malaysia. So, the external shocks such as wars will lead to an impact to tourism especially that Malaysia was a popular destination

among Muslim visitors from Arab countries who feel unwelcome in the West (Edmonds & Mak, 2006), and thus, NSTP tried to explain how the government handled this situation to satisfy the government (Suffian,n.d.). Another reason could be the New Economic Policy (an affirmative action policy which promoted Malay interests above those of other ethnic groupings and helped cement UMNO's dominance at the center of political power) (Humphreys, 2010).

Overall, the results indicated that there were different prominent Framing categories about Iraq constructed by NSTP and the Star through the periods before, during and after the occupation. The results of the study revealed that there was a significant difference between both newspapers and Framing categories. It was found that conflict, responsibility and Economic consequences frames were more in NSTP than the Star.

In relation to the conflict frame, it is worth noting that NSTP focused heavily on the issue of marginalizing the role of the UN will lead to conflicts in the world, violence of war and the Iraqi resistance. Thus, this demonstrates conformity to Malaysia's foreign policy towards Iraq (Largio, 2004). Besides, Malaysian tended to view the US as a bully or an aggressor, oftentimes pursuing its fight against terrorism with hidden motives to attack Islam (Magpanthong & McDaniel, 2012).

The responsibility frame was also published more in NSTP where it was much likely to discuss and analyze issues such as blaming the US for the war in Iraq. This is consistent with the study of Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams and Trammell (2005) which noted that the foreign news sites framed it differently from the US news sites, the international sites focused on a framework of responsibility for the Iraq war.

With regard to Economic consequences frames, the finding maybe influenced by the New Economic Policy (NEP) years, which began in 1970 where Malaysia had undergone significant and rapid economic development (Kim, 1998). In addition, Malaysia was aggressively seeking its 'economic diplomacy' around the globe (Harun, 2009) thus it worries about its economy which is reflected through articles and news stories in NSTP, especially as this newspaper is owned by UMNO.

In contrast, the Star was more likely to discuss and analyze issues such as what the suffering Iraqi people faced before, during and after the occupation, the abuse of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison and other human interest stories. This is because the primary goal was to attract attention and boost market share through sensationalism. Hence, human interest stories are best to trigger readers' emotions (Chu, 2010).

Theoretical foundation of Framing Theory asserts that the media tell people both what is important in the world around them and how to think about the events and people who inhabit it (Yusoff, Hassan, and Hassan, 2011). Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized can have an influence over how it is comprehended by audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

This study provides support to the Framing Theory, through discussion of responsibility across the NSTP publications. Through the responsibility frame, NSTP led the audience to think about the events and about US responsibility toward Iraq. This was because the Malaysian government realized the importance of the issue for the Muslim in Malaysia because Iraq is a Muslim country, thus the selection of responsibility frame is a corollary of the political orientation of mass media and the work norms of journalists.

By focusing on human interest, the Star led the audience to think about the events through by stirring the audience's attention through the emotions of readers. This is because it is believed that sensationalism is their primary goal to profit.

The findings revealed that each newspaper highlighted some facets of events and revealed manner commensurate with its policy. Thus, the results indicated that differences in media organizations have a profound impact on the way important social issues are framed in the newspapers (Chu, 2010). This study also argues that foreign policy is another potential variable that influences the Framing process, especially in the international news Framing process. Ideology may share some overlapping meanings and implications with foreign policy (Yang, 2003). This study found that NSTP was more focused on the Responsibility frame, while the Star was more focused on the Human interest frame. This showed that these newspapers responded to the ownership stance as news coverage about Iraq in the NST indicated that UMNO held the US responsible for what was happening in Iraq. In contrast, the Star prioritized on making profits by attracting the readers' attention by focusing on news reports on human interest.

5.3.4 Image Categories

There are several factors that play a role in building the national image of a country such as friendships and alliances, hostilities and conflicts among nations, geographical space, strengths and weaknesses of nations in terms of political, military and economic field Boulding (as cited in Saleem, 2002). In addition, the media are a major barometer in constructing and deconstructing images and knowledge and promoting cultural understanding in today's world (Sati, 2009). The current study revealed three categories

for image in NSTP and the Star: positive, which shows favorable and supportive view towards Iraq; negative, which shows unfavorable and opposed view towards Iraq; and neutral, which shows neither positive nor negative views towards Iraq.

The result showed different prominent image constructed by NSTP about Iraq before, during and after the occupation. It was found that before and during the occupation there is a significant difference in image and the most noticeable aspect of the findings obtained in this study is that the three periods tended to take a neutral image. In a way, such a stand by the newspapers is taken due to the foreign policy and "It is a policy that a nation pursues in its dealings with other nations designed to fulfill its national objectives" (Harun, 2009, p 25). The Malaysian government's is extremely sensitive about local media coverage of foreign governments (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee & Ahmad, 2011) because Malaysia has strong bilateral relations with countries of the Middle East in political, economic and social aspects (Harun, 2009). Malaysia also has relations with countries of the west such as US in trade, as well as regional cooperation in the war against terrorism (Vaughn, 2003). So it can be seen Malaysia's foreign policy is the non-aligned and neutrally that influences news coverage in NSTP.

While for the Star in period during and after the occupation, the news published in the Star were more negative, because the Star wanted to stir up newspaper readers. The content that arouses negative emotions is more likely to perceive an event as being more important than the content that did not arouse negative emotions (Miller, 2007). Whereas in the period before the occupation the Star published more positive image about Iraq, probably because the world before the war, had a good impression on Iraq. However, after America attacked Iraq and the Western media played a major role in shaping the

image of Iraq, it was not objective in reporting the Iraq war. This result is similar with the study by Nalborczyk (2004). In his article entitled "The image of Islam in the Polish mass media before and after 11 September 2001" he explained that Islamic countries belonged to the so called third world, which was treated as friend and ally before 1989, and after 1989, changed and highlighted in negative or distorted manner. This is because there are influxes of texts, TV and radio broadcasts portraying negative image about Islam and Muslims in the western media especially after the event of 11 September 2001. Another reason is, after 1989, the private Polish mass media had to earn money. Consequently many journalists were made to write, for example, about Muslim women to aim to attract the attention of the audience.

Further, the results show some differences in prominent image constructed by both newspapers through each period. It seems clear from the finding that there were more neutral images in NSTP than the Star in the period before the occupation. This might be due to the fact that NSTP represents the ruling party, thus reflects the Malaysian government's foreign policies. This supports the argument that media buttresses the interests of the ruling class and works as a propaganda organ of the state (Ahmad, 2008). In contrast, the Star published more negative image of Iraq than NSTP. One explanation that can be offered for the negative image in the Star is, it is dependent on international news agencies whose coverage about foreign countries, including Muslim was negative (Ibrahim & Hashim, 1996).

While for the period during and after the occupation, the news published by NSTP was more positive and neutral image compared to the Star. This is because of the relationship between Iraq and Malaysia (cultural and commercial) which was seen through Malaysian

students studying in Iraq, and negotiation about on palm oil (Harun, 2009). This is similar to the findings of a study by Li (2012) who examined the coverage of China in Australia through these five dimensions: military, economic, cultural, political and environmental. His result showed the positive and neutral representations of China are attributed to stronger commercial links and frequent cultural exchange between China and Australia.

The Star published more articles and news stories that fall into negative image categories compared to NSTP in the period during the occupation. This is because the Star showed images of dead or wounded Iraqi people. Another reason is maybe it was heavily influenced by newsroom culture, and their preconceived understandings of the war. This is similar to findings of a study done by Cooper and Kuypers (2004) which found the stories reported by behind-the-lines journalists tended to be more negative, because the embedded journalists explained their stories often by underlining the heroic and human angle of the US troops, while the stories from behind-the-lines journalists were generally more critical and more sympathetic to the Iraqi civilians on the ground.

The results also indicated there were prominent differences in image categories constructed by NSTP and the Star about Iraq through the three periods. The comparative analysis of two newspapers showed significant difference about the image of Iraq in Malaysia. NSTP has used more neutral and positive image than the Star. The results of this study reflected that NSTP has more link with the Malaysian government which have neutral foreign policy and also strong opposition toward the war, and thus the national media are influenced by the overall political environment. This supports general arguments that mass media are inextricably linked to the broader sociopolitical

environment in which they operate and that they reflect the position of dominant national actors and institutions (Topoushian, 2002).

The Star, in contrast, has used significantly more negative image of Iraq as compared to NSTP, because the positive or negative portrayal of a country in terms of political, diplomatic, economic, military, historical and religious context in the media determines its national image (Hanan as cited in Saleem, 2002). This shows that wars and hostilities among nations have a role to formulate national images (Boulding as cited in Saleem, 2002), especially that Iraq had been involved in three wars, the first being the one with Iran in 1980-1988 ; the second war was "the mother of all battles" 1990; and the third the occupation of Iraq in 2003.

In summary, the newspapers seem to take great care in transmitting images of other countries particularly the Islamic country, which could affect Malaysia and its neighbors politically, economically and socially. Thus it can be concluded that the media's ownership position plays vital role in shaping countries image in media coverage. The current study indicated that the positive and neutral image of Iraq in NSTP are considered important to the Malaysian government to advance its domestic and foreign policies to Malaysians, and also due to its political and economic interests with Iraq which is a Muslim country.

Contrarily, the Star seemed to oppose government policies but this opposition is marginal and issue specific in nature depending upon the involvement of Malaysia interests and intensity of the government media differences on those issues (Saleem, 2002).

Generally, the findings of this study supported the media conformity Theory that claims the mass media generally conform to the foreign policy of the government. The results were consistent with the Malaysian government's anti-war stance but in different form in both NSTP and the Star newspapers.

It is worth noting that national image is referred to as "nation branding" and is often associated with public diplomacy and international relations (Zhang and Meadows III, 2012). Wang suggested that the national image consists of the "collective judgments of a foreign country's image and character" (as cited in Zhang & Meadows III, 2012). Whereas Manheim and Albritton (1984) believed there are two dimensions to form the overall national image of a country which were: visibility, that refers to the total amount of media coverage that a country receives from the media; and valence, that refers to whether a country is portrayed unfavorably or favorably in the media.

Thus, this study on Iraq image in Malaysian newspapers offers a necessary addition to other studies to examine a country's national image through the causal relationships that exist between media agenda and media frame with the public's perception of foreign country. To sum up, it can be concluded that NSTP was more neutral while the Star was more negative in their news coverage on Iraq. This reflected Malaysia's foreign policy of being non-aligned and neutral in international relations. On the contrary, the Star seemed to oppose the Malaysian government policies but this opposition was found to be marginal.

5.3.5 Association between Agenda Setting Issues with Image Categories and Framing Categories with Image Categories

This study predicted that there will be association between Agenda Setting issues and image categories in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods. The researcher found that the Agenda Setting issues have bigger association on image in NSTP than the Star.

In the context of newspapers salience and Iraq, it was found that NSTP has focused about Iraq through highlighting the issue "Iraq's needs and suffering" in the form of negative image, because the newspaper was reflecting the anti-war sentiments of the Malaysia government. This is similar with a study using the qualitative analysis by Ahmad (2008) which revealed that the Toronto Star coverage was on anti-war protests and more on the deaths of Iraqi civilian population, while The New York Times have marginalized news related to civilian casualties in Iraq. This attitude from the Toronto Star reflected the anti-war sentiments of the Canadian government, whereas there was a deliberate effort by The New York Times to convince the American public and to provide justification for US invasion of Iraq.

Besides, NSTP published the issue "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" in the positive light because Malaysia have anti-war stance and opposed the invasion of Iraq (Martin, 2008), meaning that Malaysia shows support to Iraq (Harun, 2009).

While, "The impact of war on Malaysia" was shown in neutral image. This frame reflected the economic impact of war on Malaysia, such as slowdown in the tourism sector due to Iraq war, and the Malaysian businessmen did not conduct any trading with

Iraq since they had to wait for the restoration of the banking system. In addition, Malaysia have cooperation with the superpower on matters related to economy (Chwee, 2012), so the newspapers showed neutral image in order not to affect or leave a bad impression to tourism and potential investors (Ibrahim, 2010).

NSTP has the largest proportion on the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and also the largest in neutral image. One explanation for this is the influenced by the owner of NSTP which is UMNO. The President of UMNO and the country's Prime Minister during that particular time was Dr. Mahathir. Throughout Mahathir's 22 years in office, Malaysia's US policy – particularly during the post-Cold War era – had been marked by an enduring contradiction (Chwee, 2012). Some observers have described the policy as "a combination of criticism and cooperation" (Baker, 2004), Such policy was characterized on the one hand by a pragmatic desire to cooperate with the superpower on matters related to economy and security, and on the other hand, an inclination to adopt a rhetorically confrontational stance on the political front, which was evidenced by the premier's "blunt and intemperate public remarks" critical of the United States and its policies on a range of bilateral and international issues (Martin, 2008).

The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001 provided an opportunity for the improvement of Malaysia-US ties. Mahathir not only quickly moved to condemn the terrorist attacks and send a condolence message to Bush, but he also collaborated with America in the latter's declared war against terrorism. In May 2002, Mahathir made a visit to the White House. In July 2002, during his visit to Kuala Lumpur, Secretary Powell proposed to establish a joint counter-terrorism training center in Malaysia. (Ott as cited in Chwee, 2012). The good ties between both nations did not

last long, where the bilateral relations soon became strained when the US decided to wage a war on Afghanistan and later, Iraq. When asked to respond to Bush's statement that countries not siding with US would be deemed as being the terrorists, Mahathir replied "Malaysia could not accept such a statement as it opposed terrorism" and he believed "attacking Afghanistan was not the solution to the problem", before adding that "by opposing terrorism and not siding with the terrorists did not necessarily mean that Malaysia is an American ally for the US strikes against Afghanistan" (Malaysia will not support US strikes against Afghanistan, as cited in Chwee, 2012).

The study concluded that the association between Agenda Setting issues and image in NSTP showed that Mahathir's decision to criticise the US invasion on Iraq was rooted in the scenario of local politics in Malaysia at that time. His concern was the possibility of militant reaction from Muslims in the country and the exploitation of the issue by the opposition parties which would then have an adverse effect in the form of a decreased support from Muslims to his own party (Bakar, 2005). This concern about losing Muslim support seemed to continue even after Abdullah Badawi, took over as the Prime Minister. From 2003 until 2009, Malaysia's US policy continued to be ambivalent, even though it was much softer and gentler (Ahmad as cited in Chwee, 2012).

Meanwhile, the Star highlights important issues such as "The Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", and analysis of articles and news stories salience by the Star tend to put it into the positive image, also the Star salience on other issues such as "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "The impact of war on Malaysia", and put them into the neutral image. The neutral and positive image in the Star were due to the fact that Malaysian media inclined to reflect the government policy and the society in their reports. The stand

taken by the newspaper reflects the policy of neutrality and non-alignment in international relations by the Malaysian government. It seemed that the newspapers took a great care when portraying images of other countries (Ibrahim, Mustaffa, Kee & Ahmad, 2011). In short, the newspapers are part of the government political tool to maintain its political power in Malaysia. It is because of this that the newspapers and electronic media especially the mainstream are not free (Samsudin & Ibrahim, 2010).

In contrast, the Star has the largest proportion of one issue which was "Iraq's needs and suffering" and also the largest negative image. This trend possibly existed because of the occurrence of a number of civilian casualties during the US bombing and the violence in Iraq (Crawford, 2013), another reason because in wars usually focus media rescue victims (Brunken, 2004). Finally since most coverage on issues related to Islam revolves around "war" and "terrorism", this leads to that of the majority, negative perception towards Islam (Yusoff, Hassan & Hassan, 2011). Thus the Iraq is a Muslim country.

In conclusion, there was an association between Agenda Setting issues and image in the Star because the Star is dependent on international news agencies and these agencies have negative news about Islam and Muslims (Ibrahim & Hashim, 1996), thus this was reflected on the Star. Another explanation was that the Star seeks money, so it was done with the aim to attract the attention of the audience (Wong, 2000).

Finally, with regard to the association between Agenda Setting issues with image categories, we can say that those local newspapers in Malaysia especially daily-published newspapers were owned by government coalition parties under BN or companies who have strong relations with the ruling party. When media are controlled through ownership

and legislation, media reports tend to be more biased towards individuals who have interest in the companies and the government. This situation obviously breached criteria second which refer to "Favouritism in choosing and broadcasting or publishing any public news" and sixth which refer to "Freedom to criticize issues in relation to government, government agencies, regional agencies, and civil servants" (Sani, 2004). This is proven through a study by Sani (2004) who used a content analysis of Local Newspapers (Berita Harian, Utusan Malaysia, The Star and NSTP) regarding Barisan Nasional (BN) during 1999 General Election. His findings showed that most of the news was more associated with the positive portrayal of the ruling parties. "Sensitive" political issues including race, language, and religion, are not allowed to be discussed even though they continue to dominate politics. So, we can see the Star was more positive and neutral toward Barisan Nasional, while NSTP was more neutral and positive in publishing the news.

Journalism scholars contend that "No press system is truly free, regardless of how freedom is defined. Restrictions of every kind – but in differing degree – are exerted on all national press systems" (Ibrahim, 2010, P.6). This applies to the Malaysian media system too. The questions of press freedom are interpreted according to government priorities whilst decisions on media ethics have to be balanced against the larger interests of the nation (Ibrahim, 2010). For example, the Star in the early eighties used to be able to exert some autonomy in raising issues through some critical veteran columnists and editors. However, after a spate of arrest, and the revoking of publishing license of two newspapers, the Star and Sin Chew Jit Poh, critical reporting came to an end.

The findings of the current research indicated that there was a bigger association between Agenda Setting issues and image in NSTP newspaper. This reflected Malaysia's desire to cooperate with the superpower on matters related to economy and security but at the same time being critical of the United States and its policies on a range of bilateral and international issues including the issue of Iraq.

This study further indicated that there was an association between Framing categories and image in each newspaper about Iraq through the three periods. The researcher found that the Framing category has bigger association on image in the Star than NSTP.

In the context of newspapers Framing on Iraq, it was found that NSTP has focused about Iraq through highlighting the frames of Conflict, Economic consequences, and Responsibility in the form of neutral image.

With regard to the conflict frame, the newspapers tend to report more impartially the conflicts that are not directly related to the interests of their country. Meanwhile, their coverage of the conflicts involving their own country tends to be biased, demonstrating patriotic or ethnocentric attitude (Lee, 2004), which is similar to a study by Khiang, Ahmad and Kee (2011). In an attempt to know the media frames of contemporary education issues in the ethnic media, they found that the conflict frame was most favored by the ethnic media in their reporting.

Whereas Economic consequences frames have neutral image, the fog of war extends far beyond the battlefield to include forecasts of political reactions and economic consequences (Nordhaus, 2002). The finding supports the literature that says that newspapers in Malaysia are mainly influenced by the interests of their own communities.

Thus it gives neutral image with the aim not to give negative impact to tourism and investors in Malaysia (Ibrahim, 2010).

The findings showed that NSTP was more focused on the Responsibility frame by neutral image as it is possible that NSTP put the responsibility of what is happening in Iraq on the US. Since the US has a strong social state, it is expected to provide answers to Iraq problems (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). With regard to neutral image, this argument is based on the fact that one of the objectivity norms is undertaking neutral news (Khudiyev, 2005; Lee, 2004), or due to those journalists tend to report more impartially toward News foreign that are not directly related to the interests of their country (Lee, 2004). Another indication of objectivity from NSTP could be found from the comprehensive coverage of the Iraq issues (Ruslan & Hussein, 2011).

However, NSTP gave the Human interest in the form of negative image because of the strategy of focusing on civilian deaths would seem to have been very effective in evoking sympathy in the Islamic world (Ravi, 2005). Moreover the public in the Muslim world was critical of the 2003 Iraq War and remains so today. This widespread criticism was, naturally, reflected in the national mass media. Another possible reason for negative image could be dominant journalistic values. Connolly-Ahern and Golan (in press) suggested that Islamic democracies enjoy less freedom of the press than their non-Islamic counterparts. Thus, the negative tone of the Muslim language coverage may reflect a different set of journalistic values (Connolly-Ahern & Golan, 2007).

In summary, the association between Framing categories and image in NSTP showed that Malaysia was a vocal critic of a possible US led war against Iraq even before the invasion

began. On various occasions Prime Minister Mahathir stated Malaysia's opposition to war against Iraq and he said, "The hunt for the terrorists has made the world tense and unsafe. Bombs explode in many parts of the world. Afghanistan and Iraq were attacked and Syria and Iran were similarly threatened unless they changed their governments" (Martin, 2008). After Dr. Mahathir stepped down as the prime Minister, the US relationship with Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi continued to be relatively smooth, solidifying a more civil version of the combination of criticism and cooperation that had characterized the colorful relations under Badawi's predecessor Mahathir Mohamad. Badawi has maintained Malaysian criticism of US policies in Iraq and the Middle East, though not with the same edge as Mahathir (Baker, 2004).

Thus, the most noticeable aspect of the findings obtained in this study is that NSTP tended to take a neutral Responsibility frame where U.S. is concerned. In a way, such a stand by NSTP reflects the Malaysian government's neutrality in its foreign policies.

With regard to the Star, the result indicated that the Star used positive image with responsibility frame maybe to please the authorities. This is similar to the study by Chu (2010) which concluded that the responsibility frame was very common in Wenwei Po (newspaper was goal Profit and Voice of government), and a possible reason that the Wenwei Po did this was to please the authorities.

The finding of the study showed that neutral image was used to focus to conflict frame, and this reflected positively on the ethnic media in this nation, showing that the ethnic media do work along with the government during policy implementation (Khiang, Ahmad & Kee, 2011), and it also reflected especially the desire of the Malaysia to

maintain neutrality. So, in order to fulfill this goal, Malaysia will not take sides in an international dispute; its foreign policy will be flexible rather than rigid. Malaysia believed that the United Nations should play a major role in working out solutions to various international issues and problems, fostering a trend toward multipolarity and eventually a more reasonable world order (Harun, 2009; Khalid, 2003).

While the Economic consequences frame have neutral image, this frame is often used to make potential economic impact and consequences clearly towards the public. The economic impact of an event has an important news value and it is often suggested that news producers used this frame to make an issue relevant to the public (Yassin and Zanuddin, 2012), indicating their concern about the impact of war on the nation's economy (Khiang, Ahmad & Kee, 2011).

At the same time, the Star used more negative image to focus on human interest frame, and this is maybe because it depended on News Agencies for its international news coverage and these agencies portrayed Islam and Muslims in negative image (Ibrahim & Hashim, 1996), or because they want to separate themselves from NSTP (Carpenter, 2007).

In summary, with regard to the association between Framing categories and image in the Star, we can see the Star selecting some aspects of war reality and making them more salient such as Human interest frame. This means that the Star posed its policy, which prioritized on the profit, and responded to Human interest frame within the framework of the ownership stance by attracting attention.

To summarize, national foreign policy is treated as an external input in the frame building process (Scheufele, 1999). So, the Responsibility frame was dominant in NSTP and was in accordance with Malaysia foreign policies towards Iraq, but in the form of neutral image. While the human interest frame was dominant according to the Star and the profit policies, it was in the form of negative image.

Thus, in modern foreign policy conflicts, media is dependent more upon official sources in its coverage. The relationship between the media and governments is varying from country to country and from government to government with changing political, economic, diplomatic and military environments respectively (Berry as cited in Ahmad, 2008). Further, Scheufele (1999) found that among the factors that affect how journalists frame a given issue were ideological or political orientations of journalists, social norms and values, and journalistic routines.

There was a bigger association between Framing categories and image in the Star newspaper and this seemed to reflect the Star's view that the content that arouses negative emotions is more likely to be perceived as being more important than the content that did not arouse negative emotions, This was evident in its news coverage which gave more space to news about Iraqi victims. This shows that the newspaper's representation of the war is an extension of the political elite's discourse, in addition to the primary goal of the newspaper which was to attract attention and boost market share through sensationalism.

5.4 Implication of Study

This study was built upon two theories. First, the Agenda Setting function of media suggests that the more important the news media present a particular issue as being the more important that issue becomes for media consumers. Second, the Framing Theory suggests that how the news media present a particular issue, rather than simply that it is presented, has the effect of influencing people's understanding of it (McCombs as cited in Holody, 2011). In this case, the theories would suggest that a large amount of news coverage related to Iraq could result in media consumers considering the issue quite important (agenda-setting), and that consumers' understanding of Iraq could be influenced by the way information about the issue was presented to them in news coverage (framing). The study examined whether Agenda Setting and Framing Theories have power to shape the image of news about Iraq.

5.4.1 Policy Implication

There are four varieties of rotating media; the first type is represented by Russia, in the dominance of the economic elite on the media, while the second type is represented by South Korea, Taiwan and Malaysia, through controlling the political elite on the media. The third type is a system and the media in some countries like in Latin America, while the fourth type is represented by contemporary Europe such as Sweden and Britain, the traditional dominance of liberalism. Although the freedom of the press is essential to achieving economic and human development, this freedom is applied differently from one country to another. In Asia, in spite of economic development, the governments control the press as an instrument of social responsibility, or to promote the objectives of

the governments. In Malaysia, the role of the press is to guide the people to walk hand in hand with the government's aspiration and policy in order to promote national unity, racial and religious harmony, and economic development. Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad believed in freedom of the press, but this does not mean that Malaysian ignore supervision of responsibility. Thereby, in Malaysia, the political elite is dominant on the media.

There are some factors influencing the policy of Malaysia which are: first, Domestic politics (because Malaysia majority Muslim country, therefore UMNO does not want anything to affect Muslim support for his own party); second, foreign politics for Malaysia have a policy of non-aligned and neutrality in its foreign policies and international relations; and third, the strong relationship between Malaysia and Iraq, in addition to the relationship between the US and Malaysia, specifically Malaysia is a major partner of the US in trade, as well as regional cooperation in the war against terrorism. Further, a basic concept in foreign news studies suggests that journalists and editors are responsible for news selection and refers to them as 'gatekeepers'. Accordingly, journalists apply a set of norms to their professional practice. Journalists work for media organizations, which have their own priorities, operate in a network of other organizations and are part of a larger social organization, namely the institution of the media, which interacts with, and is affected by, other social institutions.

Thus, Malaysia policy was characterized on the one hand by a pragmatic desire to cooperate with the US on matters related to economy and security. On the other hand, Malaysia was also very vocal and critical on the US when it comes to matters related to

politics. This was proven by the criticisms of Malaysian government on the US policies on some international issues such as Iraq issue.

To summarize, NSTP published more news which are more related to the government policy while the Star published less news related to the government policy, and therefore it might have emphasized publications as a reflection of official Malaysian policies especially the Malaysian government had opposed military action against Iraq by the US. Further, Malaysia have a good relation with Iraq due to political and economic interests. Besides, Iraq is a Muslim country. In other words, NSTP was seen to support Malaysia's policies on foreign affairs and framed foreign countries images accordingly to government's interests. Contrarily, the Star opposed government policies but this opposition is marginal and issue specific in nature depending upon the involvement of Malaysia interests and intensity of the government media differences on those issues.

5.4.2 Theoretical Implication

5.4.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

With regard to Agenda Setting theory, the researcher hypothesized that when issues are salient in news coverage, those same issues become salient to the general public. Because the news media give us access beyond what we directly experience, the ways they present the world determines our cognitive maps of that world. By actively searching for and sharing important issues, the media are able to spare the public the trouble of finding what issues need attention the most. For this reason, whatever information the media decide to share about given issues is likely to be the only information audiences receive,

and whatever issues the media emphasize are likely to be the issues to which the audiences give most of their attention.

Agenda Setting have two levels in which the first level is what to think about, and the second level is how to think about it. The current study focuses on the first level of Agenda Setting Theory because of the similarities between the second level of the Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory. Both (second level and framing) are more concerned with how issues or other objects (people, groups, organizations, countries, etc.).

So, the first level of Agenda Setting Theory focuses on object of salience which means it focuses on issues of what we think about in the media. The media coverage of a specific issue makes it important. Thus, the public knows the importance of the issues on the basis of the quantity of coverage of the issues.

There has been very limited systematic study of how the media set the public agenda of issues by filtering and shaping reality rather than by simply reflecting it. So, the core theoretical idea is that issues emphasized in the media agenda come to be regarded as important by the public. McCombs and Shaw (1972) conducted an empirical study to investigate the agenda-setting capacity of the mass media, in Chappel Hill during the US presidential elections in 1968. They found that the mass media determined the important issues; that is the media determination agenda of the campaign. Another study by Ader (1995) explained how the media agenda made the pollution issue become positive in the public agenda.

This is proven by the finding of this study that NSTP newspaper focused on the issue of "The US policy and the occupation of Iraq" to reflect the expressive policy of UMNO that held the US responsible about what is happening in Iraq. Nevertheless the Star focused more on the issue of "Iraq's needs and suffering", which indicated that it focused on sensationalized issues because the Star is, one of the most profitable companies listed on the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange. Besides, this is best way to trigger readers' emotions. Further, in Malaysia, the media is under the control of the government, in which the "ruling coalition" or Barisan Nasional (BN) controls the Parliament. The BN is composed of three parties namely United Malay National Organization (UMNO), Chinese party (MCA) and the Indian Party (MIC) which represent the three major ethnic groups in the country. NSTP is owned by the most dominant political party in Malaysia, UMNO, which owns 80% of the newspaper while the Star is owned by the second largest political party in Malaysia, MCA, which owns 58% of the newspaper.

This study provides support to the theoretical proposition that the media are not successful in telling the audience what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling the audience what to think about (first level). The first level of Agenda Setting states that media practitioners determine an issue which they think is pivotal for people to think about it rather than influence public's opinion. It states that a successful media Agenda Setting is when a person thinks about an issue more frequent or faster from his memory bank.

In summary, the readers of newspapers learn about issues of significance to their communities, and how much importance to attach to the issues, based on the amount of coverage given to them. Newspapers play a central role in shaping political and social

reality because the editors and publishers are usually members of the elite. It is worth noting that the public's concern for certain issues (the public agenda) actually drives what the media elects to cover (the media agenda) that is, media coverage tends to be market driven.

Agenda Setting is a significant part of the surveillance role because it contributes substantial portions of our pictures about the larger environment. And recent research on the consequences of both first level and second-level agenda-setting effects outlined significant influence on attitudes and opinions. Thus, the agenda-setting effects of the mass media also have significant implications beyond the pictures created in people's heads. In the original traditional domain of agenda-setting, the salience of public issues, there is considerable evidence that the shifting salience of issues on the media agenda often is the basis for public opinion.

5.4.2.2 Framing Theory

Although many definitions for Framing exist (e.g., Entman, 1993; Iyengar, 1991), one of the most widely used and understood (Matthes & Kohring, 2008) is Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) notion that a frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events. Frames are structures of thought people cognitively use to understand what is happening in the world around them; rather than considering every bit of information, people use frames to get to what is the 'heart of the matter' in any given situation.

The consequences of media framing suggest that the media tell us how to think about it. So the creating frames can generate support or opposition to political actor or policy.

This study provides support to the theoretical proposition that differences in media organizations have a profound impact on the way important issues are framed in the newspapers. Another meaningful finding is that even in Malaysia, where the media is under the control of the government, there is still some space enabling journalists to take advantage of them. Foreign policy is another potential variable that influences the Framing process, especially in the international news-Framing process. Ideology may share some overlapping meanings and implications with foreign policy. Especially Malaysia's foreign policy towards the Middle East has been largely determined by the need to balance the domestic factors and the external demands of international politics.

So, the media in Malaysia reflect the situation of the government, hence, it has a responsibility and duty to encourage harmonious relationships with Iraq. This is probably due to the fact that NSTP is owned by a political party, hence so it has to abide by certain political and media systems. In particular, NSTP is obliged to reflect Malaysia's policy of opposition toward US invasion of Iraq, the US approach to counterterrorism and its double-standard policy.

On the contrary, the Star did that by using the Human interest frame through selecting some aspects of war reality and making them more salient. This showed that it responded to the ownership stance, but at the same time prioritized on making profits by attracting the readers' attention.

That differences in treatment by newspapers amount to difference in vision (worldview) the papers have because they function in different social, political and cultural

environments. Thus, media Framing of a political issue is likely to differ from one society to another keeping in view economic, cultural and political interest of those societies.

In short, while media frames "are part and parcel of the socialization process operative in media organizations and journalists frame an issue according to social norms and values, organizational policy, external pressures from various interest groups, journalistic routine and their ideological orientation", individual frames "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals processing of information.

5.5 Future research

While this research answered a number of questions regarding the image of Iraq as portrayed by the Eastern media through the two Malaysian English newspapers by using Agenda Setting and Framing Theories, it leaves open a number of avenues for future research. But, there are also a number of pertinent questions that are raised during this study:

First, future research should consider including qualitative content analysis as it may possibly give more observation about the coverage of the both newspapers.

Second, this study offers a springboard for studies examining a country's national image and opens the door to future research to address the causal relationships that exist between agenda-setting and Framing and the Malaysian perception another foreign countries.

Third, further research is necessary to understand how media make sense of the Frames and Agenda Setting Theories offered by various newspapers partisan. This study has

focused on the quantity of the written alone; it may be possible that researchers need to focus now on some of the characteristics of readers and their reading traits

Fourth, to what extent do the images of Iraq portrayed by the two newspapers depend on international news agencies. Future research could describe the dominant images portrayal of Iraq, and also find out which one depends more on these agencies.

Fifth, to focus on what roles the Malaysian newspaper play, considering the newspapers differ in language and content, due to the nature of the Malaysian society which comprises of different ethnicities and the fact that it does not experience war.

Sixth, because this study focused on image issue and examined only print media, and because the study used only two theories, future research could perhaps compare across the news media to use these theories.

Seventh, the Malaysian media do not have long history of war reporting, except the previous conflicts that engaged the interest of the Malaysian public, such as The Gulf War 1991, the Balkan War, the American military incursion in Afghanistan and Iraq War 2003. So, further research is necessary to study and compare the international conflicts to know how political or economic relations affect the coverage of war in Malaysian media.

Eighth, more research will enhance our understanding of how the media make certain aspects of war appear more significant or appear more salient. What most people know of war comes from the media, yet what we know is so little. If presented with more information with images and with more visual, what we think we know could change.

Ninth, this study is but a beginning. It opens many possibilities for further research to fill in gaps such as to focus on how cultural and political stereotypes are manifested in reporting about the Iraq War.

5.6 Chapter Conclusion

This study confirmed that NSTP and the Star treated the Iraq War differently. The research also emphasized the fact that the trend of the newspapers (ruling – party owned) to impact is significant in shaping the image of Iraq in addition to the country's foreign policy. Further, the researcher put an emphasis on the fact that Agenda Setting and Framing Theories influence the image in the newspapers. Thus, we can see NSTP gave more emphasis on the issue of the policy of unipolar for US and framed it to focus on responsibility and reflected neutral image on Iraq, while the Star gave more emphasis on the issue of Iraqi suffering and framed it through Human interest with negative image. This dissertation used quantitative content analysis methodology for three periods (before, during and after the occupation of Iraq) in addition to using three tests represented by binomial test, Chi-square test and Cramer's V.

Further, this study can be used as a reference for those interested in the study of image in the media and to study comparative analyses about the Iraq War between Partisan newspapers in Asian countries.

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