A STUDY ON IRAQI IMAGES IN MALAYSIAN MAINSTREAM ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

HANAA KADUM KASSED

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
2015
Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree from Universiti Utara Malaysia, I agree that the Universiti Library may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for the copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purpose may be granted by my supervisor(s) or, in their absence, by the Dean of Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to Universiti Utara Malaysia for any scholarly use which may be made of any material from my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of materials in this thesis, in whole or in part, should be addressed to:

Dean of Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

UUM College of Arts and Sciences

Universiti Utara Malaysia

06010 UUM Sintok
Abstrak


Kata kunci: Iraq, Akhbar Malaysia, Teori Penentuan Agenda, Teori Pembingkai, 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.
Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I offer my sincere gratitude to Allah for enabling me to accomplish the writing of this modest study. I would like to dedicate my special thanks to my respected supervisor, Prof. Dr. Che Su Mustaffa for her support, guidance, tolerance and valuable advice which contribute in enriching my knowledge with abundance of new ideas. I would also like to express my deepest appreciation to my second supervisor Dr. Adrian M. Budiman, for his help and support.

My gratitude is also extended to Dr. Mohd. Khairie Ahmad , Dr. Nor IdayubintiMahat, Dr. Faridah Ibrahim, Dr. Chang PengKee, Prof. Wang Lay Kim and Dr. NorbaiduriRuslan who have helped me to complete this work.

I would also like to give my thanks to all the staff at the UUM library who provided me with the necessary help in completing this work, and to the staff of UUM, UKM, UM, USM and IIUM for their friendly and helpful attitudes. My special thanks are also extended to all Iraqi students for their support.

A special gratitude to Dr. Hammed Albahily who believed in me and endeavored in getting me the scholarship, Dr. Faleh Hamza and Dr. Abbas Fadhil and Mr. Ali Husain (Ministry of Science and Technology), who gave me the much needed support, Dr. Abed Al-Razaaq Muhammad who continuously encouraged me to go on, Dr. Rhea Qahtan and Dr. Irada Zidane (University of Baghdad /College of Mass Media) who supported me, my master’s study colleagues and all my sisters and brothers in the Ministry of Science and Technology who supported me throughout the course of this study. A special thanks also goes to the Ministry of Science and Technology for sponsoring my study.

Finally, I dedicate this work to:

Iraq,

my beloved mother, father and step-mother,

my eleven sisters who are the candles of my life,

my brothers Adnan and Muhammad who are my candlesticks; and

my angels, Ishraaq, Ikraam and Tiba
Table of Contents

Permission to Use .................................................................................................................. i
Abstrak.................................................................................................................................. ii
Abstract................................................................................................................................. iii
Acknowledgement ................................................................................................................ iv
Table of Contents .................................................................................................................... v
List of Tables .......................................................................................................................... viii
List of Figures ........................................................................................................................ x
List of Appendices ................................................................................................................ xii

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION ............................................................................... 1
  1.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1
  1.2 Background of the Research ...................................................................................... 1
  1.3 Problem Statement .................................................................................................... 3
  1.4 Research Questions .................................................................................................... 15
  1.5 Research Objectives .................................................................................................. 20
  1.6 Scope of the Research ............................................................................................... 21
  1.7 Significance of the Research ..................................................................................... 23
  1.8 Conceptual and Operational Definition .................................................................... 25
  1.9 Conceptual Framework for the Study ....................................................................... 29
  1.10 Outline of the Research ............................................................................................ 31
  1.11 Chapter Conclusion .................................................................................................. 31

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW .................................................................... 33
  2.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 33
  2.2 The History of Iraq ..................................................................................................... 33
  2.3 Malaysian-Iraq Relationship .................................................................................... 36
  2.4 The Policy of the Malaysian Press ............................................................................. 41
  2.5 The Role of the Media in Shaping Image .................................................................... 47
  2.6 The Role of the Malaysian Media in Shaping Public Opinion .................................... 57
  2.7 Studies on Image of Iraq ............................................................................................. 61
2.8 Theories of the Media ........................................................................................................... 72
  2.8.1 Agenda Setting Theory ................................................................................................. 73
  2.8.2 The Framing Theory ..................................................................................................... 80
2.9 History New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star ...................................................... 88
2.10 Hypotheses ....................................................................................................................... 89
2.11 Chapter Conclusion .......................................................................................................... 93

**CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY** .............................................................. 94
3.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................................ 94
3.2 Research Design ................................................................................................................ 94
3.3 Content Analysis ............................................................................................................... 95
  3.3.1 Why Content Analysis? ............................................................................................... 97
  3.3.2 Advantages of Content Analysis ............................................................................... 98
3.4 Content Analysis Procedure ............................................................................................ 100
  3.4.1 Unit of Analysis .......................................................................................................... 101
  3.4.2 Data Analysis ............................................................................................................. 101
  3.4.3 Categories .................................................................................................................. 103
3.5 Sampling ........................................................................................................................... 110
3.6 Validity .............................................................................................................................. 112
3.7 Reliability .......................................................................................................................... 114

**CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS** .............................................................................................. 116
4.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................................ 116
4.2 Descriptive Statistics ........................................................................................................ 117
  4.2.1 Description of the difference of total articles and news stories published
       by NSTP and the Star .......................................................................................................... 117
  4.2.2 Description of Agenda Setting Issue .......................................................................... 120
  4.2.3 Description of Framing Categories ............................................................................. 139
  4.2.4 Description of Image Categories ................................................................................. 158
  4.2.5 Description of Association between Agenda Setting Issues with image
       Categories and Framing Categories with Image Categories ........................................... 173
4.3 Hypothesis Testing ............................................................................................................. 186
4.3.1 Comparison on the Difference of Total Articles and News Stories Published ................................................................. 186
4.3.2 Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues ................................................................. 189
4.3.3 Comparison of Framing Categories ................................................................. 199
4.3.4 Comparison of Image Categories ................................................................. 207
4.3.5 Association between Agenda Setting Issues with Image Categories and Framing Categories with Image Categories ................................................................. 214
4.4 Chapter Conclusion .................................................................................. 219

CHAPTER FIVE DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION .............................................. 221

5.1 Introduction .......................................................................................... 221
5.2 Research Summary ............................................................................... 221
5.3 Discussions ......................................................................................... 224
  5.3.1 Difference in Total Articles and News Stories Published in NSTP and the Star ................................................................. 224
  5.3.2 Agenda Setting Issues ........................................................................ 227
  5.3.3 Framing Categories ........................................................................... 233
  5.3.4 Image Categories .............................................................................. 238
  5.3.5 Association between Agenda Setting Issues with Image Categories and Framing Categories with Image Categories ................................................................. 244
5.4 Implication of Study ............................................................................... 254
  5.4.1 Policy Implication ............................................................................. 254
  5.4.2 Theoretical Implication ..................................................................... 256
    5.4.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory ................................................................. 256
    5.4.2.2 Framing Theory ......................................................................... 259
5.5 Future Research .................................................................................... 261
5.6 Chapter Conclusion ............................................................................... 263

REFERENCES .................................................................................................. 264
List of Tables

Table 1.1 Characteristics of NSTP and the Star ......................................................... 9
Table 4.1 Comparison Total of Articles and News Stories for NSTP in before, during and after the occupation................................................................. 187
Table 4.2 Comparison Total of Articles and News Stories for the Star in before, during and after the occupation................................................................. 188
Table 4.3 Comparison of Articles and News Stories in NSTP and the Star by each period ........................................................................................................... 189
Table 4.4 The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP in the period before, during and after the occupation................................................................. 191
Table 4.5 The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star in the period before, during and after the occupation................................................................. 193
Table 4.6 The Agenda Setting Issues before the occupation between NSTP and the Star ........................................................................................................ 195
Table 4.7 The Agenda Setting Issues during the occupation between NSTP and the Star ........................................................................................................ 196
Table 4.8 The Agenda Setting Issues after the occupation between NSTP and the Star ........................................................................................................ 197
Table 4.9 The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP and the Star........................................ 199
Table 4.10 The Framing Categories in NSTP in the period before, during and after the occupation ................................................................. 201
Table 4.11 The Framing Categories in the Star in the period before, during and after the occupation ................................................................. 202
Table 4.12 The Framing Categories before the occupation between NSTP and the Star ................................................................. 203
Table 4.13 The Framing Categories during the occupation between NSTP and the Star ................................................................. 204
Table 4.14 The Framing Categories after the occupation between NSTP and the Star ................................................................. 205
Table 4.15 The Framing Categories in NSTP and the Star........................................ 206
Table 4.16 The Image Categories in NSTP in the period before, during and after
the occupation ........................................................................................................208
Table 4.17 The Image Categories in the Star in the period before, during and after
the occupation ........................................................................................................209
Table 4.18 The Image Categories before the occupation between NSTP and the
Star .............................................................................................................................210
Table 4.19 The Image Categories during the occupation between NSTP and the
Star .............................................................................................................................211
Table 4.20 The Image Categories after the occupation between NSTP and the
Star .............................................................................................................................212
Table 4.21 The Image Categories in NSTP and the Star ...........................................213
Table 4.22 The Agenda Setting Issues and Image Categories in NSTP ..................215
Table 4.23 The Agenda Setting Issues and Image Categories in the Star .............216
Table 4.24 The Framing Categories and Image Categories in NSTP .....................218
Table 4.25 The Framing Categories and Image Categories in the Star ...............219
List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework ................................................................. 30
Figure 2.1: Map of Iraq .................................................................................. 36
Figure 2.2: The First Level of Agenda Setting Theory .................................. 75
Figure 2.3: Framing Theory Process ............................................................... 82
Figure 3.1: Subcategories of Image ................................................................. 105
Figure 3.2: Subcategories of Agenda Setting ................................................. 107
Figure 3.3: Subcategories of Framing ............................................................. 109
Figure 4.1: Total of Articles and News Stories in NSTP before, during and after the occupation ................................................................. 118
Figure 4.2: Total of Articles and News Stories in the Star before, during and after the occupation ............................................................................. 118
Figure 4.3: Descriptive Comparison of Articles and News Stories in NSTP and the Star by each period ........................................................................ 119
Figure 4.4: The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP before the occupation .......... 122
Figure 4.5: The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP during the occupation .......... 124
Figure 4.6: The Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP after the occupation .......... 126
Figure 4.7: The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star before the occupation ....... 127
Figure 4.8: The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star during the occupation ...... 129
Figure 4.9: The Agenda Setting Issues in the Star after the occupation ...... 131
Figure 4.10: Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues before the occupation between NSTP and the Star ........................................................................ 133
Figure 4.11: Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues during the occupation between NSTP and the Star ........................................................................ 135
Figure 4.12: Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues after the occupation between NSTP and the Star ........................................................................ 137
Figure 4.13: Comparison of Agenda Setting Issues in NSTP and the Star......... 138
Figure 4.14: The Framing Categories in NSTP before the occupation .......... 141
Figure 4.15: The Framing Categories in NSTP during the occupation .......... 143
Figure 4.16: The Framing Categories in NSTP after the occupation .......... 145
Figure 4.17: The Framing Categories in the Star before the occupation

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 4.24: The Image Categories in NSTP before the occupation

Figure 4.25: The Image Categories in NSTP during the occupation

Figure 4.26: The Image Categories in NSTP after the occupation

Figure 4.27: The Image Categories in the Star before the occupation

Figure 4.28: The Image Categories in the Star during the occupation

Figure 4.29: The Image Categories in the Star after the occupation

Figure 4.30: Comparison Image Categories before the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Figure 4.31: Comparison Image Categories during the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Figure 4.32: Comparison Image Categories after the occupation between NSTP and the Star

Figure 4.33: Comparison Image Categories in NSTP and the Star

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

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

Figure 4.36: The Framing Categories and Image Categories in NSTP

Figure 4.37: The Framing Categories and Image Categories in the Star
List of Appendices

Appendix A Coding protocol ................................................................. 283
Appendix B Coding sheet for NSTP and the Star .................................... 286
Appendix C Example of Title and Date of the news analyzed in NSTP and the Star ........................................................................ 301
Appendix D Coding sheet ...................................................................... 302
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).
The contents of the thesis is for internal user only
REFERENCES


Brunken, B. L. (2004). Hurricane Katrina: A content Analysis of Media Framing , attribute Agenda Setting , and tone of government Response. (Master,


Jha-Nambiar, S. (2002). ReFraming Frame Analysis: Gaps and Opportunities in Framing Research. Presented to the Cultural and Critical Studies Division at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Miami Beach, FL.


