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

UUMCollege of Arts and Sciences

Universiti Utara Malaysia

06010 UUM Sintok

Abstrak

Media dan imej telah menjadi bidang kajian yang penting dalam hubungan antarabangsa dan pengajian media. Penaklukkan Iraq oleh Amerika Syarikat telah membentuk berbagai imej tentang Iraq di pelbagai negara. Walaupun terdapat kajian yang agak menyeluruh tentang Iraq, terutamanya semasa tempoh penaklukkan, 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 penaklukkan 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.

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 Hamzaand 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

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

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

Abdallah, L. (2007). The coverage of the Iraq war: A comparative study of Al-jazeera and the CNN. International Islamic University Malaysia. Malaysia.

Aday, S., Livingston, S. and Hebert, M. (2005). Embedding the Truth A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Objectivity and Television Coverage of the Iraq War. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 3-21.

Ahmad, F., Kee, C. P., Mustaffa, N., Ibrahim, F., Wan Mahmud , W. & Dafrizal. (2012). Information Propagation and the Forces of Social Media in Malaysia. *Asian Social Science*, 8(5), 71-76.

Ahmad, H. M. (2008). War in Iraq: Comparative Coverage of the Toronto Star and The New York Times. *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*, 3(1), 33-56.

Ali, M. (2002). Impact of 9-11 on Malaysia and Singapore-one year after, Nanyang Technological University. Retrieved December 15, 2011, from http://hdl.handle.net/10220/4019

Ali .S. (2012). portrayal of republic of Turkey and American print media in per september eleven era: a content analysis of newsweek and the time magazines. International Conference on Communication, Media, Technology and Design ICCMTD 09-11 May. Istanbul: Turkey.

Ali, S. (2012). American Print Media and Muslim World: Portrayal of the U.S. Allies, Enemies and Neutral Muslim Countries in "Newsweek" and "Time" Magazines. A Framing Perspective. *Pakistan Journal of Islamic Research*, 9, 41-69.

Aliaga, M. & Gunderson, B. (2002). Interactive Statistics. London: Sage.

Al-Khafaji , I. (2000). The Myth of Iraq Exceptionalism. *Middle East Policy,* 7(4), 62-91.

Alexander, M. G., Brewer, M. B., & Herrmann, R. K. (1999). Images and Affect: A Functional Analysis of Out-Group Stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(1), 78-93

Akoum, I., Zbib, I., & Ahmed, Z. U. (2007). Iraq: A new country in the making. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 49(4), 475-506.

Akpabio, E. (2005). Towards a Public Relations' Agenda Setting Theory. *J. Soc. Sci,* 11(3), 173-176.

Andrew, F. H. (2005). Statistical methods for communication science. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Mahwah, New Jersey: London. Retrieved October 21, 2012, from http://books.google.com.my/books?id=jxJEMf21HRgC&pg=PA103&lpg=PA103&dq

Anuar, M. K. (2005). Journalism, national development and social justice in Malaysia. *Asia Pacific Media Educator,* 1(16), 63-70.

Bakar, O. (2005). The Impact of the American War on Terror on Malaysian Islam. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 16(2), 107-127.

Baker, R. W. (2004). U.S.-Southeast Asian Relations: Pausing for Politics. Comparative Connections, 6 (2), 67-78.

Bailey, K. D.(1994). Methods of Social Research. (4th ed.). US, New Yourk: Inc. Retrieved April, 25, 2014, from http://books.google.com.my/books?hl

Bashir, M., Afzal, M. T., & Azeem, M. (2008). Reliability and Validity of Qualitative and Operational Research Paradigm. *Pakistan Journal of Statistics and Operation Research,* 4(1), 35-45.

Barisan National (2012). Retrieved June 10, 2012, from http://www.bn.org.my/parties.html.

Barnathan , G. P. (2004) .The War against Iraq and International Order: From Bull to Bush . *International Studies Review*, 6(2) ,195-212.

Baum, M. A. & Zhukov Y. (2013). Filtering revolution: Reporting Bias in International Newspaper Coverage of the Libyan Civil War. Paper prepared for 2013 International Studies Association Annual Meeting. San Francisco: US.

Berelson, B. (1952). Content analysis in communications research. US, New York: The free press.

Besova, A. A. (2008). Foreign News and Public Opinion: Attribute Agenda-Setting Theory revisited. (Master, Louisiana State University 2008). Retrieved May 13, 2012, from http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-04012008-105506/unrestricted/Thesis+final.pdf

Bilali , R. (2010). Assessing the Internal Validity of Image Theory in the Context of Turkey-US Relations. *Political Psychology,* 31(2) .275-303.

Boettger R. K & Palmer L. A (2010). Quantitative Content Analysis: Its Use in Technical Communication. *Transactions on Professional Communication*, 53(4), 346 – 357.

Borland Jr, K. W. (2001). Qualitative and quantitative research: A complementary balance. *New Directions for Institutional Research,* 2001(112), 5-13.

Brown, N., & Deegan, C. (1998). The public disclosure of environmental performance information-a dual test of media Agenda Setting Theory and legitimacy theory. *Accounting and Business Research,* 29, 21-42.

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

Louisiana State University, 2004). Retrieved February 20, 2014, from http://www.etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-07102006-130303/

Buijs , F. J., & Rath, J. (2002). Muslims in Europe: The state of research. Essay prepared for the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, US. Retrieved May 13, 2012, from http://dare.uva.nl/document/144737

Bush, G. W. (2003). U.S. Shifts Rhetoric on Its Goals in Iraq New Emphasis: Middle East Stability. Washington Post 1 August, 2003. Retrieved October 5, 2012, from http://work.colum.edu/~amiller/rationale-original.htm

Carney, C. P. (2006). Reporting from Qatar, This is Al-Jazeera. Retrieved October 13, 2012, from http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/ksil298.pdf

Carpenter, S. (2007). U.S. Elite and Non-elite Newspapers' Portrayal of the Iraq War: A Comparison of Frames and Source Use. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 84(4), 761-776.

Chang, M. (2006). Is the Zionist Anglo-American Empire in Meltdown. The Barnes Review. Retrieved December 21, 2011, from http://barnesreview.org/pdf/TBR2006-no4.pdf.

Curtis, J. G. (2000). Agenda-Setting and the Homeless Issue A Longitudinal Content Analysis of a Newsmagazine's Coverage and Public Opinion 1980 to 1996. (Doctoral dissertation, the union institute Graduate College, 2000). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database, (UMI).

Chu, K. (2010). Framing Chinese migrant workers: A comparison of media coverage in Mainland China and HongKong. (Master, Iowa State University, 2010). Retrieved February 20, 2014, from http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd

Chwee, K. C. (2012). Malaysia's U.S policy under Najib: ambivalence no more. Paper presents at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Singapore.

Conover, W.J. (1980). Practical and nonparametric statistics. (2th. ed.). United States, New York: Wiley.

Content analysis (2012). Retrieved March 16, 2012, from http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/content/pop2a.cfm

Contrasting Tabloid and Broadsheet Newspapers." 123HelpMe.com. 20 Mar 2015 <http://www.123HelpMe.com/view.asp?id=121057>

Cooper, S. D., & Kuypers, J. A. (2004). Embedded versus behind-the-lines reporting on the 2003 Iraq war. In R. D. Berenger (Ed.), Global Media Go to War (pp. 161-172). Spokane, WA: Marquette Books.

Cramer, J. K. & Thrall, A. T. (2012). Why Did the United States Invade Iraq? A Survey of International Relations and Foreign Policy Scholars. US, New York:

Routledge. Retrieved April 6, 2014, from http://books.google.com.my/books?id=N2SpAgAAQBAJ&pg

Crawford, N.C. (2013). Civilian Death and Injury in the Iraq War, 2003-2013. Retrieved June 28, 2014, from http://www.costsofwar.org/sites/all/themes/costsofwar/images/Civilian_Death.pdf.

Dawisha, A. (2009). IRAQ: A political history from independence to occupation. United kingdom: Princeton University Press.

Dearing, J. W., & Rogers, E. M. (1996). Communication concept 6: Agenda-setting. US, California: Sage. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from http://books.google.com.my/books?id=ctlyAwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Denemark, D. (2005). Information Flow and Voter Decision Making in the 2001 Australian Federal Election: The Role of International and Domestic Issues. *Political Research Quarterly*, 58(3), 397-412.

De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information design journal document design,* 13(1), 51-62.

De Vreese, C. H., & Kandyla, A. (2009). News Framing and Public Support for a Common Foreign and Security Policy. JCMS: *Journal of Common Market Studies, 47*(3), 453-481.

Diamond, L. (2004). What Went Wrong in Iraq. *Foreign Affairs*, 83(5), 34-56.

Dimitrova, D.V. & Connolly-Ahearn, C. (2007). A tale of two wars: Framing analysis of online news in coalition countries and the Arab world during the Iraq War. *The Howard Journal of Communication,* 18(2), 153-168.

Dimitrova, D. V., Kaid, L. L., Williams, A., & Trammell, K. D. (2005). War on the web: the immediate news Framing of Gulf War II. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics,* 10(1), 22–44.

Dimitrova, D. V. & Strömbäck, J. (2005). Mission accomplished? Framing of the Iraq War in the elite newspapers in Sweden and the United States. *Gazette*, 67(5), 399–417.

Dittmer, J. P.(2009). Framing war and a people: a mixed methods study of portrayals of Iraqi violence. (Master, University of Oregon, 2009). Retrieved March 1, 2014, from https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/

Edmonds, C. & Mak, J. (2006). Terrorism and Tourism in the Asia Pacific Region: Is Travel and Tourism in a New World After 9/11. Economics Series (86).University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Elo, S., Kääriäinen, M., Kanste, O., Pölkki, T., Utriainen, K. & Kyngäs, H. (2014). Qualitative Content Analysis: A Focus on Trustworthiness. *SAGE Open,* 1–10. dio: 10.1177/2158244014522633.

Entman, R. M. (2004). Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy. US, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.

Entman, R. (1991). Framing US coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran air incidents. *Journal of Communication,* 41(4), 6–27.

Eun-Ho, Y., Kyung-Woo, P., & Afif, A.(2007). News Framing West Nile Virus – an Outbreak of New Health Hazard. *journal of humanities and social sciences*, 1(2), 1-14.

Firdaus, A. (2006). Ethnic Identity and News Media Preferences in Malaysia. Paper presented at ARC APFRN SIGNATURE EVENT. Australia, Perth: Curtin University.

Franzosi, R. (2008). Content Analysis: Objective, Systematic, and Quantitative Description of Content. Retrieved October 13, 2012, from http://157.138.7.88/media/allegato/Scuola-Dottorale/2011/allegato/Content_Analysis_Introduction.pdf

Fritz A. J. (2011). Military Women A Content Analysis of United States and United Kingdom Newspapers Portrayal During the Iraq War. (Master, East Tennessee State University, 2011). Retrieved feburary 20, 2014, from http://www.dc.etsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article =2582&context=etd

Fried, A. (2005). Terrorism as a Context of Coverage before the Iraq War. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics,*10(3),125-132.

Galal, A., Galander, M., & Auter, P. J. (2008). The Image of the United States Portrayed in Arab World Online Journalism. Paper abstract submitted for consideration to the Ninth International Symposium on Online Journalism 4-5 April 2008. Austin: University of Texas.

Gartanti, W. T., Sunarsih, N. and Setiawati, S. (2012). News on conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia: publicity and images. Media and regional issues. South-South Information Gateway (SSIG), Ministry of Information, Communications and Culture.

Gershkoff, A., & Kushner, S. (2005). Shaping Public Opinion: The 9/11-Iraq connection in the Bush administration's rhetoric. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(3). 252-537. Retrieved October 3, 2012, from https://sgadaria.expressions.syr.edu/

Gibbons, J. D., & Chakraborti, S. (2011.). Nonparametric statistical inference. (5th ed.). United Kingdom: Taylar and Francis.

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Repor*t, 8(4), 597-606.

Griffin, M. (2004). Picturing America's 'War on Terrorism' in Afghanistan and Iraq: Photographic motifs as news frames. *Journalism,* 5(4), 381–402.

Halim, R. (2012). Media discourse and the production of meaning analysis of the Iraq war 2003 in Malaysia and British newspapers. (Doctor of Philosophy University Utura Malaysia 2012).

Hamzah, A. (2009). Malaysia's Role in National Development: Media Policy and National Stability. *Malaysian Journal of Media Studies*, 11(1), 49-58.

Hamzah, A. (2008). Trends and future of the Malaysian mass media. Retrieved October 5, 2012, from http://www.ssig.gov.my/ssig/kcent/material/Azizah%20Hamzah.pdf

Haque, F. (2012). Global media, islamophobia and its impact on conflict resolution. Retrieved May 3, 2012, from http://www.ihmsaw.org/resourcefiles/1260034024.pdf

Harun, R. (2009). In pursuit of national interest: change and continuity in Malaysia's foreign policy towards the Middle East. *Jurnal Antarabangsa Kajian Asia Barat,* 1, 23-38.

Haji adnan, M. H. (1988). Communication and the Law in Malaysia. Paper presented at the Workshop on Law for Journalists: 15-17 March 1988, Shah Alam Selangor. Singapore: Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre. Retrieved April 25, 2012, from http://hdl.handle.net/10220/996

Hayes, D. (2008). Does the Messenger Matter? Candidate-Media Agenda Convergence and Its Effects on Voter Issue Salience. *Political Research Quarterly,* 61(1), 134-146.

Heath, R. L. (2005). Encyclopedia of Public Relations. United kingdom, London: Sage publication. Retrieved on January 8, 2013, from http://books.google.com.my/books?id=f785ajRTo8oC&pg=PA744&lpg=PA744&dq

Heath, R. L. (2013). Encyclopedia of Public Relations. (2th.ed.). United kingdom, London: Sage publication.

Henslowe, p. (2003). Public relations: a practical guide to the basics. (2th ed.). London: Kogan Page.

Hiebert, R. E. (2003). Public relations and propaganda in Framing the Iraq war: a preliminary review .*Public Relations Review,* 29 (3), 243-255.

Hillbom, J. K. (2009). Newspaper readability: a broadsheet vs. a tabloid. (Doctoral dissertation, University in Gävle, 2009) Retrieved March 20, 2015, from www. www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:282428/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Holsti, O. (1967). Cognitive dynamics and images of the enemy. In D. Finley, O. Holsti, & R. Fagen (Eds.). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Holody, K. J. (2011). Constructing the end: Framing and Agenda Setting of physician assisted suicide. (Doctoral dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 2011) Retrieved April 7, 2014, from https://etd.ohiolink.edu/rws_etd/document/get/bgsu1305663580/inline

Humphreys, A. (2010). Malaysia's post 9/11 security Strategy: winning "hearts and minds" or legitimising the political status quo?. *Kajian Malaysia*, 28(1), 21- 52.

Ibrahim, F., Mustaffa, N., Kee, C. P., & Ahmad, F. (2011). Images and Issues of Superpowers: An Analysis of International News Coverage by the Government-Owned News Agency, Bernama in Four National Dailies in Malaysia. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 16(3), 1-15.

Ibrahim, F., Mustaffa, N., & Kee, C. P. (2010). Framing a pandemic: analysis of Malaysian mainstream newspapers in the H1N1 coverage. *Journal of Media and Information Warfare*, 1(3), 105-122.

Ibrahim, F. (2010). Press freedom and ethics with accountability : premises and constraints. Paper presented at International Conference CUM Workshop on Free and Responsible Journalism organized by South-South Information Gateway (SSIG), Ministry of Information, Communications and Culture Malaysia Port Dickson, Negeri Sembilan 27-31 January. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Ibrahim, F. (2007). Stereotyping by the media: Implications for South-South Nations. Paper presented at SSIG Forum on Organised by South-South Information Gateway (SSIG), Ministry of Information, Malaysia, Nikko Hotel, KL, 25 January 2007. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Ibrahim, F., & Hashim, R.(1996). Images of Women and Human Rights: A Content Analysis of Malaysian Media During the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. *Jurnal Komunikasi*, 12, 65 - 83.

Idid, S. A. (1996). Press freedom and responsibility in a developing society. In AMIC Seminar on Press Freedom and Professional Standards in Asia: Kuala Lumpur, May 16-18, 1996. Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Centre. Retrieved December 23, 2011 from http://hdl.handle.net/10220/2549

Idid, S. A., & Kee, C. P.(2012). The Media and Public Agenda among the Malay and Chinese Communities during the 2008 Malaysian General Elections. *Asian Social Science*, 8(5), 107-115.

Hwang, I. W. (2003). Personalized Politics: The Malaysian State under Mahathir. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1993). News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion: A study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing. *Communication Research,* 20, 365–383.

Iyengar, S. (1991). Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S., Peters, M. D., & Kinder , D. R. (1982). Experimental Demonstrations of the "Not-So-Minimal" Consequences of Television News Programs. *The American Political Science Review*, 76(4), 848-858.

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.

Ju, H. (2007). Iraq war Framing in South Korea": The relationship between ideology and news coverage framing. (Master, Iowa State University, 2007). Retrieved February 27, 2014, from http://www.books.google.com/

Kadhim, A. (2006). Civil-Military Relations in Iraq (1921-2006): An Introductory Survey. *Strategic Insights,* 5(5), 1-16

Karim, H. K. (2006). American media's coverage of Muslims: the historical roots of contemporary portrayals. *Muslims and the news media*, 116-127.

Kassarjian , H. H. (1977). Content analysis in consumer research. *Journal of consumer research*, 4(1), 8-18.

Kee, C. P., Hassan, M. A., & Ahmad, F. (2012). Framing the Contemporary Education Issue: Analysis of News Stories from Selected Malaysian Daily Newspapers. *Pertanika J. Soc. Sci. & Hum*, 20(2), 455-474.

Kee, C. P., Ibrahim, F., Basri, F. K. H., and Nie, K. S. (2011). Framing the Relationship between Government and NGOs in Selected Malaysian Chinese Daily Newspapers. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 16(3), 1-18.

Keele, R. (2011). Nursing Research and Evidence-Based Practice: Ten Steps to Success. US: Jones and Bartlett Learning.

Kelly , M. J. (2007). The Anfal trial against Saddam. *Journal of Genocide Research,* *9*(2), 235–242.

Kensicki, L.J. (2000) Second level Agenda Setting : A study of integration and progress. *Egyptian Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 1(3), 85-100.

Khalid, K. M. (2003). "September 11" and the changing dynamics of Malaysia–US relations. *Asian Review*, 16, 91-112. Retrieved December 12, 2011 from http://www.ias.chula.ac.th/file_dl/AR/AsianReview_2003.pdf#page=101

Khan, M. A. & Safder, A. (2010). Image of U.S. in Pakistani Elite Newspaper Editorials after 9/11 Incident: A Comparative Study of the Dawn and Nawa-i-Waqt with Special Regard to Media Conformity Theory. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 30(2), 325-339.

Khan, M. A. (2008). The image of Pakistan in prestigious American newspaper editorials: a test of the media conformity theory. *Strategic Studies*, 2&3 (XXVIII). Retrieved January 9, 2014, from http://www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1302592091_84098800.pdf

Khder, N. (2011). Uncle Sam and the Lotus Revolution: How the Egyptian Media Framed the White House's Reactions towards the Revolution. Paper presented at the Public Opinion Frontiers 36th Annual Conference of the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research 18-19 November. US: Chicago.

Khiang, C. C., Ahmad, F., & Kee, C. P. (2011). The Framing of media on contemporary education issue in Malaysia. Paper presented at the International conference on media and communication 11 – 12 October. 2011. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Khudiyev, I. (2005). Coverage of the 2003 Post-Election Protests in Azerbaijan: Impact of Media Ownership on Objectivity. (Master, the Louisiana State University. USA. 2005). Retrieved May 9, 2014 from http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-11152005-113447/unrestricted/Khudiyev_thesis.pdf

Kim, W. L. (2001). Media and democracy in Malaysia. *Javnost‐The Public*, 8 (2), 67-88

Kim, W. L. (1998). Malaysia: Ownership as Control. *The Journal of The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation,* 2, 61-83.

Kracauer, S. (1952). The challenge of qualitative content analysis. *Public opinion quarterly*, 631-642.

Küçükcan, T. (2010). Arab Image in Turkey. seta- foundation for political economic and social research. Report No: 1.

Lacy, S., & Riffe, D. (1996). Sampling error and selecting intercoder reliability samples for nominal content categories: Sins of omission and commission in mass communication quantitative research. *Journalism & MassCommunication Quarterly,* 73(4), 963-973.

Largio, D. M. (2004). Uncovering the Rationales for the War on Iraq: The Words of the Bush Administration, Congress, and the Media from September 12, 2001 to October 11, 2002. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 2004) Retrieved April 13, 2014, from www. faculty.las.illinois.edu/salthaus/largio_thesis.pdf

Lee, C. H. (2004). News Coverage of the U.S. War with Iraq: A Comparison of the New York Times, The Arab News, and The Middle East Times. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2004) Retrieved February 21, 2014, from www.lib.utexas.edu/etd/d/2004/leec042/leec042.pdf

Lent, J. A. (1981). The perpetual see-saw: Press freedom in the ASEAN countries. *Human Rights Quarterly,* 3(1), 62-77.

Latif, D., Ahmad, F. and Mustaffa, N. (2012). News objectivity South Sulawesi newspapers and the image of Malaysia. Media and regional issues. South-South Information Gateway (SSIG), Ministry of Information, Communications and Culture.

Li, x., & Chitty, N. (2009). reFraming national image : amethodological framework. *conflict and communication online*, 8 (2),1-11.

Li, X. L. (2012). Images of China: A Comparative Framing Analysis of Australian Current Affairs Programming. *Intercultural Communication Studies,* XXI (1), 173-188.

Lim, M. K. (2007). The State of Media Control in Malaysia. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association 23 May 2007. US: San Francisco.

Lindner, A. M. (2009). Among the Troops: seeing the Iraq War through three journalistic vantage points. *Social Problems, 56*(1), 21-48.

Liow, J. (2003). Malaysia's Opposition to the Iraq War: A Matter of Principle or Expediency? , Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies. IDSS Commentaries 15/2003. Retrieved December 15, 2011, from http://www.idss.edu.sg.

Lombard, M., Duch, J.S. and Bracken. C.C. (2002). Content Analysis in Mass Communication Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability. *Human Communication Research*, 28 (4), 587–604.

Manheim, J. B., & Albritton, R. B. (1984). Changing national images: International public relations and media Agenda Setting . *The American Political Science Review*, 78(3), 641–657.

Martin, M. F. (2008). U.S.-Malaysia Relations: Implications of the 2008 Elections. Library of congress Washington DC congressional research service.

Meriläinen, N., & Vos, M. (2011). Human rights organizations and online Agenda Setting . *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 16(4), 293-310.

Michael. R. S. (n.d). Crosstabulation & Chi Square. Retrieved October 13, 2013, from www.indiana.edu/~educy520/sec5982/.../chi_sq_summary011020.pdf

Macnamara, J. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and Best Practice Methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1– 34.

Maeshima, K. (2007). Japanese and US media coverage of the iraq war : a comparative analysis. (Doctoral dissertation, Bunkyo University, Japan 2007) Retrieved January 24, 2015, from www.drum.lib.umd.edu/bitstream/1903/7267/1/umi-umd-4667.pdf

Magpanthong, C. & McDaniel, D. (2012). How newspapers framed the coverage of terrorism in Thailand and Malaysia. Global Fusion 2012, October 26-28, 2012, Athens, Ohio. Retrieved April 11, 2014, from www.hij.sagepub.com/content/13/1/52.abstract

Matthes, J. (2007). Looking Back while Moving Forward. A content analysis of media framing studies in the world's leading communication journals, 1990-2005. Paper presented to the Mass Communication division at the 57th annual conference of the International Communication Association 24–28 May. US: San Francisco.

McCombs , M. (2004). Setting the agenda: the mass media and public opinion. polity press: United Kingdom.

McCombs, M. (2002). The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion. In Mass Media Economics 2002 Conference, London School of Economics: http://sticerd. lse. ac. uk/dps/extra/McCombs. pdf.

McCombs, M., Shaw,D. L. & Weaver, D. (1997). Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory. New Jersey: Routledge..

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

McCombs , M. (2005).A Look at Agenda-setting: past, present and future.*Journalism Studies*, 6 (4), 543-557.

McLeod, J. M., Kosicki, G. M., & McLeod, D. M. (1994). The expanding boundaries of political communication effects. *Media effects: Advances in theory and research*, 123-162

Mehta, S. and Shah, C. (2012).Preference of Investors for Indian Mutual Funds and its Performance Evaluation. *Pacific Business Review International*, 5(3), 62-76.

Mockaitis, T. R. (2007). The Iraq war: learning from the past, adapting to the present, and planning for the future. ARMY WAR COLL STRATEGIC STUDIES INST CARLISLE BARRACKS PA. Retrieved March 18, 2012, from www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army. mil/newsletter/.

Muin, M. J. (2011). Agenda Setting Theory and the role of the media in shaping public opinion for the Iraq war. (Master, University of Central Missouri, 2011). Retrieved April 26, 2014, from www. centralspace.ucmo.edu/xmlui/bitstream/.../MMuin_Communication.pdf?...

Morris, R. (1994). Computerized Content Analysis in Management Research: A Demonstration of Advantages & Limitations .*Journal of Management,* 20(4), 903-931.

Mouter, N. & Noordegraaf, D. V. (2012). Intercoder reliability for qualitative research You win some, but do you lose some as well. In Proceedings of the 12th TRAIL congress, 30-31 oktober 2012, Rotterdam, Nederland. TRAIL Research School.

Muijs, D. (2004). Doing quantitative research in education with spss. London: Sage publication.

Nacos, B. L, & Torres-Reyna, O. (2002). Muslim Americans in the News before and after 9-11. In symposium ''Restless Searchlight: Terrorism, the Media & Public Life.''Harvard University.

Nain, Z., & Kim, W. I. (2004). Ownership, control and the Malaysian media. Who Owns the Media. Penang: Southbound, 249-270.

Nalborzyk, A. (2004). The image of Islam in the polish Mass Media before and after 11 September, 2001. Retrieved May 11, 2014, from http://www.inst.at/trans/15Nr/01_4/nalborczyk15.htm

Nelson, S. A. (2007). Press Freedom Under Siege: Effects of Market Forces, Government Controls and Journalism Practices. *Brazilian Journalism Research,* 3 (1), 173-193.

Nelson, T. E., Oxley, Z. M., & Clawson, R. A. (1997). Toward a psychology of Framing effects. *Political behavior,* 19 (3), 221-246.

Neuman, W. L. (2006). Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches (6th ed.). Boston: Pearson.

Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). Common knowledge: news and the construction of political meaning. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nie, K. S., & Basri, F. K. (2011). Is our television violent? : A peek into Malaysian TV. Paper presented at the International Conference on Media and Communication 11 – 12 October. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Nordgaard, M. and Dublin, G. C. (n.d.). Who dictates the media agenda?. Retrieved April, 24, 2014, from www. matsnordgaard.net46.net/Who%20dictates%20the%20media%20agenda.

Nordhaus, W. (2002). The Economic Consequences of a War with Iraq. (No. w9361). National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved May 11, 2014, from http://www.econ.yale.edu/~nordhaus/iraq.pdf

Noori, A. N. (2006). News coverage for Iraqi affairs in Kuwait broadcasting. (Master, university of Bagdad, 2006).

Norris, P. (1995). The restless searchlight: Network news Framing of the post-Cold War world. *Political Communication*, 12, 357-370.

NSTP online (2012). Retrieved October, 5, 2012, from http://www.nstp.com.my/

Özdemir, R. (2011). Invasion of Iraq: A Reflection of Realism. *Turkish Journal of Politics*, 2(2), 103-115.

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993).Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10, 59–79

Pallant, J. (2005). SPSS survival manual: a step by step guide to data analysis using SPSS for Windows (Version 12). Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Payne, G. & Payne, J. (2004). Key concepts in social research. London: SAGE.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (2007). Validity Issues in Narrative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry,* x(x). Retrieved March, 10, 2012, from http://qix.sagepub.com hosted at. http://online.sagepub.com

Press Freedom Index 2003. Retrieved May 13, 2012, from http://en.rsf.org/spip.php?page=classement&id_rubrique=551.

Ravi, N. (2005). Looking beyond Flawed Journalism: How National Interests, Patriotism, and Cultural Values Shaped the Coverage of the Iraq War. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics,* 10(1).45-62

Razi, G. H. (1988). An Alternative Paradigm to State Rationality in Foreign Policy: The Iran-Iraq War. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 41(4), 689-723.

Richardson , S. A. (2009). Undergraduates' Perceptions of Tourism and Hospitality as a Career Choice. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 28(3), 382-388

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (2005). Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research. (6th ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Riffe, D. & Freitag, A. (1997). A Content Analysis of Content Analyses: Twenty-Five Years of Journalism Quarterly. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74(3), 515-524

Roberts , A. (2005). The End of Occupation: Iraq 2004 .*The International and Comparative Law Quarterly,* 54 (1), 27-48

Rose, E. A. (2005). From a Punitive to a Bargaining Model of Sanctions: Lessons from Iraq. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(3), 459-479.

Ruslan, N., & Hussein, H. H. (2011). CNN and Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Iraqi's 2010 Parliamentary Election:News frame, objective reporting and diversity of news sources. Paper presented at the International Conference on Media and Communication 11 – 12 October 2011. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Rajaratnam, U. D. (2009) .Role of Traditional and Online Media in the 12th General Election, Malaysia. *The Journal of the South East Asia Research Centre for Communications and Humanities,* 1(1), 33-58.

Wicks, R., & Wicks, J. L. (2004). Televised coverage of the war in Iraq on Al Jazeera, CNN and Fox News. Paper presented In annual meeting of the International Communication Association, May. New Orleans Sheraton and New Orleans.

Saad, S. & Jacob, R. I.(2012). Managing Ethnic Conflict for Nation Building: A Comparative Study between Malaysia and Nigeria. *Asian Social Science*, 8(7), 69-76.

Samsudin , D., & Ibrahim, F. (2010). Framing terrorism issues in Indonesia: a study of two malaysian mainstream newspapers. *Journal of Media and Information Warfare*, 1(3), 15-35.

Sani, M. A. M. (2004). Media freedom in Malaysia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia, 35*(3), 341-367.

Saleem, N. (2002). U.S. Media Framing of Foreign Countries Image: An Analytical Perspective. *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*, 2(1), 130-162. Retrieved March, 18, 2012, from http://cjms.fims.uwo.ca/issues/02-01/saleem.pdf

Salman, A.(2009) .ICT, the New Media (Internet) and Development: Malaysian Experience . *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journa*, 15(1), 1-11.

Sati, M. A. (2009). Internet Islam: An Analysis of U.S.-Based Websites Dedicated to Promoting an Islamic Viewpoint in the Post 9/11 World. (Doctoral dissertation, the Scripps College of Communication of Ohio University, 2009) Retrieved May 5, 2014, from https://etd.ohiolink.edu/rws_etd/document/get/ohiou1245935036/inline

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103–122.

Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting , and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 9-20.

Schmitt-Beck, R. (2003). Mass communication, personal communication and vote choice: The filter hypothesis of media influence in comparative perspective. *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(2), 233-259.

Schwalbe, C. B. (2013). Visually Framing the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq in TIME, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report. *International Journal of Communication, 7*, 239–262.

Schwalbe, C. B., Silcock, B. W., & Keith, S. (2008). Visual Framing of the Early Weeks of the U.S.-Led Invasion of Iraq: Applying the Master War Narrative to Electronic and Print Images. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*. 52(3), 448–465

Sedu, N. (2011). Representations of Islam and Muslims in The Australian. International conference on media and communication, 11 – 12 October 2011. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Selim, H.(2012). The Coverage of Egypt's Revolution in the Egyptian, American and Israeli Newspapers. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/The%20Coverage%20o f%20Egypt%E2%80%99s%20Revolution%20in%20the%20Egyptian,%20Ameri can%20and%20Israeli%20Newspapers.pdf

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000).Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of communication*, 50(2), 93-109.

Sern, T. J., & Zanuddin, H. (2011). Reach and Visibility: Perception and Social Marketing of AIDS Patients in Malaysian Media. Paper presented at the International Conference on Media and Communication-Communication and Transformation: Progress and Paradox, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia 11-12 October. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Shaari, H., Hua, N. T. & Raman, V. (2006). Covering race and religion: the Moorthy and Nyonya Tahir in four malaysian newspapers. *Kajian Malaysia*, XXIV (1 & 2), 185-201.

Shadid, W., & van Koningsveld, P. S. ((2002) . The Negative Image of Islam and Muslims in the West: Causes and Solutions. Religious freedom and the neutrality of the state: the position of Islam in the European Union. Leuven: Peeters, 174-196. Retrieved May 13, 2012 .from www.interculturelecommunicatie.com/download/image.pdf

Shadid , W. A. (2006). Public Debates over Islam and the Awareness of Muslim Identity in the Netherlands. *European Education*, 38 (2), pp. 10–22.

Shaw, E. (1979). Agenda-setting and mass communication theory. *International Journal for Mass Communication Studies,* 25(2), 96-105.

Shabir, G., Ali, S., & Iqbal, Z. (2011). US Mass Media and Image of Afghanistan: Portrayal of Afghanistan by Newsweek and Time. *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 26(1), 83-101.

Sheafer, T., &Weimann, G. (2005). Agenda building, Agenda Setting , priming, individual voting intentions, and the aggregate results: An analysis of four Israeli elections. *Journal of Communication,* 55(2), 347-365.

Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1996). Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content. US: Longman.

Shoemaker. P. & Reese. S (1991). Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Media Content. (2th ed.). Longman: USA.

Singh, H. (1995). UMNO Leaders and Malay Rulers: The Erosion of a Special Relationship. *Pacific Affairs,* 68(2), 187-205.

Smith, A. L. (2003). Strategic Effects of the Conflict with Iraq: Southeast Asia. Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute. Retrieved December 15, 2011, from http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA414283

Sommer, B. & Sommer, R. (1997). A Practical Guide to Behavioral Research Tools and Techniques. New York: Oxford university press. Retrieved March, 4, 2012, from http://www.famusoa.net/mpowers/trandp/docs/16%20Content%20Analysis%20by%20Sommer.pdf

SPSS base 10.0 user's guide. (1999).us: Chicago.

Stover, E., Megally, H., & Mufti, H. (2005). Bremer's "Gordian Knot": Transitional Justice and the US Occupation of Iraq .*Human Rights Quarterly*, 27(3), 830-857.

Suffian, I. (n.d.). Reflections of the 2008 Malaysian General Election: Role of the Internet in Political Communications. Democratisation and New Voter Mobilisation in Southeast Asia (2010): 18-23.

The Media Image of Middle East in international TV news (2006). Retrieved August, 17, 2012, from http://www.agendasetting.com/newsletter/Image_MiddleEast.pdf.

The Star online (2012). Retrieved October, 5, 2012, from http://thestar.com.my/info/thestar.asp#about. Retrieved June, 9, 2012.

Tongco , M. D. (2007). Purposive Sampling as a Tool for Informant Selection. *Ethnobotany Research and Applications*, 5, 147-158. Retrieved March 8, 2012, from http://hdl.handle.net/10125/227.

Topoushian, M. (2002). Interpreting the Constructed Realities of the 1991 Gulf War: A Comparative Textual Analysis of Two Arab and Two North American Newspapers. (Doctoral dissertation, Concordia University, 2002) Retrieved March 22, 2015, from https:http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/1613/1/NQ68198.pdf

Valkenburg, P. M., Semetko, H. A., & De vreese, C. H. (1999). The Effects of News Frames on Readers' Thoughts and Recall. *communication research,* 26(5), 550-569.

Vaughn, B. (2003). Malaysia: Political Transition and Implications for U.S. Policy. Library of congress Washington DC congressional research service. Retrieved December 21, 2011, from http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA461674

Vogt, W. (2007). Quantitative research methods for professionals. New York: Allyn & Bacon. Instrument Validation Study.

Vicente, M., Otero, M., López, P., Pardo, M. .The Image of the Arab and Muslim World on the Spanish Media. Centro de Investigación en Comunicación y Análisis de Medios (CICAM) Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo. Retrieved January 20, 2014, from https//: www.tresculturas.org/secciones/.../docs/Informe%20cicam%20ingles.pdf

Ufomba, H. U. (2010). Collective Security or the Security of the Hegemony: The United States Policy in the Middle East and the Two Gulf Wars. *Middle East Studies Online Journal*, 1(3), 1-16.

Wanta, W., Golan, G., & Lee, C. (2004). Agenda Setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 81*(2), 364-377.

Wanta, W. (1997). The Public and the National Agenda: How People Learn about Important Issues. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Wallace, G. W. (n.d.). Agenda Setting and Issue Priming: The 2003 United Nations Deliberations on Iraq. Retrieved May 26, 2014, from http://www.anselm.edu/Documents/NHIOP/Global%20Topics/2010/Wallacepaper1.pdf

Warbrick, C. (1991). The Invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly,* 40(2), 482-492.

Weber, R. P. (1990). Basic content analysis (Vol. 49): Sage.

Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on Agenda Setting , framing, and priming. *Journal of Communication,* 57(1), 142-147.

Wilhelm, S. (2004). Covering the war in Iraq: Frame choices in American and German national newspapers. (Master, University Jena/Germany, 2004). Retrieved February 26, 2014, from http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr10/wilhelm.htm

Williams, Phil (2009). Criminals, militias, and insurgents: organized crime in Iraq. Retrieved March 18, 2012, from www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/newsletter/.

Willcox, D. R. (2005). Propaganda, the press and conflict: the Gulf war and Kosovo. London: Routledge.

Willnat, L. , Aw, A., Hamdy, N. N. , He, Z. , Menayang, V. , La Porte, M. , Sanders, K. and Tamam, E. (2006). Media USA, anti - Americanism and international support for the Iraq war. *The International Communication Gazette*, 68(5–6), 533–550

Wimmer, R. & Dominick, J. (2006). Mass Media Research: An Introduction. (8th ed.). US: Wadsworth. Retrieved January 20, 2014, from www.books.google.com.

Wirth, W., J. Matthes, et al. (2010). Agenda building and setting in a referendum campaign: Investigating the flow of arguments among campaigners, the media, and the public. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,*87(2), 328-345.

White, M. D., & Marash, E. E. (2006). Content analysis: A flexible methodology. *Library Trends* 55(1), 22-45.

Wong, K. (2000). Malaysia in the grip of government. Losing control: freedom of the press in Asia, Asia Pacific Press, Canberra. Retrieved April 6, 2014, from http://www.press.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Malaysia.pdf

Wu, H. D. and Coleman, R. (2009). Advancing Agenda Setting theory: the comparative strength and new contingent conditions of the two levels of Agenda Setting effects. *Journalism and mass communication quarterly*, 86(4), 775-789.

Yang, J. (2003). Framing the nato air strikes on kosovo across countries: Comparison of Chinese and US Newspaper Coverage. *the international journal for communication studies*, 65(3), 231–249.

Yassin, Y. M. & Zanuddin, H. (2012). Visibility of PM Najib's 100 Days in Office: A Framing Approach of his Political Branding Identity. *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 28(2), 151-172.

Yehia, A. J. (2011). The Framing of the egyptian revolution portrayed through the Aljazeera and CNN media outlets and how they compare and contrast. (Master, University of Missouri, 2011). Retrieved March 20, 2015, from https://mospace.umsystem.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/.../research.pdf?

Yusoff, S. H., Hassan, F., & Hassan, M. S. (2011). The Framing of International Media on Islam and Terrorism. Paper presented at the International conference on media and communication 11 – 12 October. Kuala lumpur: Malaysia.

Zanuddin, H. (2010). New Media Policy: A Comparative Perspective on Malaysia and Korea. *Malaysian journal of media studies*, 12(1), 37–52

Zaller, J. (1992). The nature and origins of mass opinion. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zelizer, B. & Allan, S. (2002). Journalism after September11. (1th ed.). London: Routledge.

Zhang, C., & Meadows III, C. W. (2012). International Coverage, Foreign Policy, and National Image: Exploring the Complexities of Media Coverage, Public Opinion, and Presidential Agenda. *International Journal of Communication*, 6, 76–95

Zheng, L. (2006). Newspaper conformity to national foreign policy coverage of the 2003 Iraq war in the new york times, the times of London and the people's daily (China). (Doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 2006). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database, (UMI).

Zeidan, N. F.(2005). Iraqi image in Germany :Field Study. Journal of the College of Arts.

Zhong, l. (1984). The struggle for the MCA. Malaysia: Pelanduk.

Zhou, Y., & Moy, P. (2007). Parsing Framing processes: The interplay between online public opinion and media coverage. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 79-98.