

**NEWSPAPERS' FRAMING OF LAHAD DATU CONFLICT:
PORTRAYAL OF MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT CRISIS
RESPONSE STRATEGIS**

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NEWSPAPERS' FRAMING OF LAHAD DATU CONFLICT: PORTRAYAL OF MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT CRISIS RESPONSE STRATEGIES

ABSTRACT

Crisis is well known with Coomb's definition, which mean, uncertainty, resulting negative impact to the organization, state or country. Lahad Datu crisis, also known as "Sabah standoff" crisis, is an unforgettable tragedy until killed about 10 of Malaysian security personnel and impacted economic, social and emotion of citizens especially at Lahad Datu, Sabah. The objectives of this research is to identify the appropriate crisis responses through newspaper framing by government. With the assistance of "Framing Analysis" and "Situational Crisis Communication Theory", this research employed a systematic quantitative content analysis to gather the data. In analyzing the data, researcher used descriptive and empirical analysis through Chi Square and Kruskal Wallis test. Overall from 466 news articles, this study found out news sources from government were portrayed most by all the dailies. Data also shown that the "Lahad Datu" crisis news were slanted in positive slant and portrayal of solution category of news appeared most in all the selected dailies. However, in portraying the visuals, data depicted a significant differences in portrayal of pictures whereby *The Star*, *Nanban daily* and *Sin Chew* portrayed most of the relevant visuals such as militants and soldiers visuals compare to *Utusan Malaysia*. In examining the crisis response strategies, all the dailies portrayed most on *justification* crisis response followed by *concern* crisis response. In providing justification and concern response, Kruskal Wallis test revealed that, there is a significant difference among the dailies; *The Star* and *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed most of the *justification* and *concern* responses compare to *Sin Chew* and *Nanban daily*.

Keywords: Crisis, Lahad Datu Conflict, Crisis Response Strategies, Mainstream Newspapers, Malaysian Government

NEWSPAPERS' FRAMING OF LAHAD DATU CONFLICT: PORTRAYAL OF MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT CRISIS RESPONSE STRATEGIES

ABSTRAK

Krisis terkenal dengan definisi Coomb's, yang bermaksud, tidak menentu dan memberikan kesan yang negatif terhadap produk, perkhidmatan dan imej sesebuah syarikat dan negara. Krisis Lahad Datu, yang dikenali sebagai “Sabah standoff konflik”, adalah suatu tragedi yang tidak dapat dilupakan sehingga membunuh kira-kira 10 anggota keselamatan Malaysia dan memberi kesan yang mendalam kepada ekonomi, sosial dan emosi kepada Malaysia dan rakyat Malaysia terutamanya di Lahad Datu, Sabah. Objektif kajian ini adalah untuk mengetahui langkah-langkah penyelesaian yang diambil oleh kerajaan Malaysia untuk menangani krisis Lahad Datu menerusi paparan isu Lahad Datu dalam surat khabar Malaysia. Dua teori digunakan dalam kajian ini iaitu “Framing Theory” dan “Situational Crisis Communication Theory”. Dengan menggunakan kaedah kuantitatif analisis kandungan sebanyak 466 isu daripada surat khabar *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* dan *Nanban daily*, data kajian melalui Chi-Square test and Kruskal Walli's mendedahkan bahawa kategori penyelesaian dipaparkan di semua surat khabar dengan banyak. Dapatan kajian juga membuktikan sumber kerajaan sebagai sumber utama digunakan di dalam semua surat khabar di Malaysia. Manakala, dari segi pemberitahuan gaya berita Lahad Datu krisis, kebanyakan isunya tertumpu kepada pemberitahuan jawapan dan langkah-langkah untuk mengatasi Lahad Datu krisis dan berita kecondongan positif banyak dipaparkan dalam kesemua surat khabar di Malaysia. Dari segi penyelidikan tentang bingkai cerita, bingkai tanggungjawab digunakan dengan banyak. Dalam penonjolan gambar-gambar tentang Lahad Datu krisis, kajian membuktikan bahawa *The Star*, *Nanban daily* and *Sin Chew* memaparkan gambar-gambar yang relevan seperti gambar-gambar askar, polis, alat bantuan keselamatan dan sebagainya untuk menguatkan maksud teks beritanya bagi menangani krisis Lahad Datu.

Kajian menyimpulkan bahawa, semua surat khabar di Malaysia lebih cenderung memaparkan langkah-langkah yang cepat dan pantas untuk mengatasi krisis Lahad Datu dan diikuti oleh perasaan simpati dan cemas terhadap mangsa konflik. Analisis Kruskal Walli's membuat kesimpulan bahawa adanya hubungan signifikan yang berbeza di antara keempat-empat surat khabar dalam memberikan langkah-langkah penyelesaian dan pemaparan perasaan simpati terhadap krisis Lahad Datu kerana surat khabar *The Star* dan *Utusan Malaysia* lebih memaparkan langkah-langkah penyelesaian dan perasaan simpati terhadap konflik berbanding surat khabar *Sin Chew* and *Nanban daily*.

Kata Kunci: Krisis, Lahad Datu Krisis, Strategi Penyelesaian Krisis, Surat Khabar Malaysia, Kerajaan Malaysia

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

UMNO	:	United Malays National Organisation
MCA	:	MCA Malaysian Chinese Association
MIC	:	MIC Malaysian Indian Congress
SCCT	:	Situational Crisis Communication theory
U.S	:	United States
U.K	:	United Kingdom
CCS	:	Crisis Communication Strategy
CRS	:	Crisis Response Strategies
CPC	:	Crisis Press Coverage
IRT	:	Image Restoration Theory
BP	:	British Petroleum
LD	:	Lahad Datu
UM	:	Utusan Melayu
SC	:	Sin Chew
TS	:	The Star
ISA	:	Internal Security Act
AP	:	Associate Press

HIDRAF	:	Hindu Rights Action Force
IRT	:	Image Restoration Theory
RMP	:	Royal Malaysian Police
MAF	:	Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF)
MILF	:	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	:	Moro National Liberation Front
ICJ	:	International Court of Justice
RMN	:	Royal Malaysian Navy
ASEAN	:	Association of South East Asian Nations
TTP	:	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
LD	:	Lahad Datu
AQAP	:	Al-Qaeda Arabian Peninsula
ISIL	:	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
FSA	:	Group Free Syrian Army
LET	:	Lashkar-e-Taiba
NDFB	:	National Democratic Front of Bodoland
ASTRO	:	Asia Television and Radio Company
PPPA	:	Printing Presses and Publication Act
ISA	:	Internal Security Act

OSA	:	Official Secret Act
SA	:	Sedition Act
PAS	:	Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party
PKR	:	People's Justice Party, Malaysia
BP's	:	British Petroleum's
KWIC	:	Key words in context

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Crisis happened everywhere. Everybody depending to media in getting information about crisis. Newspapers keep portraying updated information about crisis such as September 11 attacks, Norway attacks, bombings by terrorists and so on. Even information is available in media, people are looking and eagering for current and updated solutions and responses for the crisis. The main purpose of this study is to examine the portrayal of crisis response strategies in local printed dailies in covering terrorism crisis which is Lahad Datu crisis in Malaysia. In achieving the purpose of study, specific research objectives were listed by researcher and this chapter will be guidance in understanding the background of the study, “introduction to “Sabah” & Lahad Datu crisis, statement of research problem, research objectives and research questions and finally, research significance and research scopes information will be provided in details.

1.2 Background of the Study

News is known as anything that captures the audience’s attention. According to Harrison (2006) news is known as “is judged to be newsworthy by journalists, who exercise their news sense within the constraints of the news organizations within which they operate (p. 153). One of the prominent news values is conflict. The majority of news that are covered by newspaper are either conflict or crisis news (Conley & Lamble, 2006). Every day, crisis news appeared in all types of newspapers. Terrorism news can’t be separated from news and news such as Iraq war, Afghanistan war, India-Pakistan war, North Korean war and other kinds of crisis news appeared in most of the local and international newspapers.

A crisis is any situation of events that unveiling a group, team or an organization into a down by threatening to harm people or property and negatively impact and damage an organization, its stakeholders, or even an entire industry if not handled effectively and efficiently, characterized by high consequence, low probability, ambiguity, and decision making time pressure (Hale et al., 2005) and always creates negative impacts such as public safety, financial loss due to disruption of operations and loss of market share, and inevitably reputation damage, because it reflects poorly on an organization (Coombs, 2009).

Crisis becomes a situation when a problem in a particular organization is continued with or without solution taken by responsible people. According to Coombs (1999), crisis is a sudden and unexpected event effecting an organization's reputation in financial and reputation operation. It can make people think badly of the organization. Crises can be divided into few types, such as health crisis, economic crisis, natural disaster crisis, organization crisis, international crisis and so on. In this research, the researcher will focus on the security crisis, also known as terrorism crisis.

Coombs in (2009, pg 36), defined crisis as:

“A crisis can be viewed as the perception of an event that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders and can impact the organization's performance. Crises are largely perceptual. If stakeholders believe there is a crisis, the organization is in a crisis unless it can successfully persuade stakeholders it is not. A crisis violates expectations; an organization has done something stakeholders feel is inappropriate.”

To explain further, crisis is giving impacts especially negative impact to human, organization, product, state, government and so on. Appropriate strategies and management are needed to provide a fast and effective solutions for the crisis. In this research, Lahad Datu crisis is selected as a case study and relevant responses by government to represent crisis manager will be monitor by newspaper coverage.

The word crisis has been used widely in many contexts. People are aware of the economic crisis, crisis in a diplomatic relation, security crisis, psychological, health crisis and so forth. There are many different types and causes of a crisis due to the nature and diversity of problems. For example, there are economic and social crises caused by the global economic crises in 1998. This crisis can be grouped into a few types, such as an economic crisis because it involved money and cash. It also can be categorized as a social crisis because of unemployment; many people are involved in social problems to gain money for living expenses.

Crises threaten to damage reputations because a crisis gives people reasons to think badly of the organization. News in media and the internet play a critical role during a crisis. Most of the stakeholders will learn about a crisis from news reports. Some definition of crisis by crisis communication scholars are as per below (cited in the Handbook of Crisis Communication, Coombs & Holladay, 2009).

Referring to Table 1.1, different scholars from different fields define crisis in different way. Overall, crisis is known as any situation effecting a company or institution in unpredictable situation and it will give a turning points to any organization or state.

Table 1.1: Definition of Crisis (Coombs & Holladay, 2009)

“a major occurrence with a potentially negative outcome affecting an organization, company, or industry, as well as publics, products, services or good name. It interrupts normal business transactions and can sometimes threaten the existence of the organization” (Fearn-Banks, 1996: 1).
“is not necessarily a bad thing. It may be a radical change for good as well as bad” (Friedman, 2002: 5).
“an event that affects or has the potential to affect the whole of an organization. Thus, if something affects only a small, isolated part of an organization, it may not be a major crisis. In order for a major crisis to occur, it must exact a major toll on human lives, property, financial earnings, the reputation, and the general health and wellbeing of an organization” (Mitroff & Anagnos, 2001: 34–35).
“turning points in organizational life” (Regester, 1989: 38).
“an incident that is unexpected, negative, and overwhelming” (Barton, 2001: 2).
“a specific, unexpected and non-routine organizationally based event or series of events
“turning point for better or worse” (Fink, 1986: 15).
“an event that is an unpredictable, major threat that can have a negative effect on the organization, industry, or stakeholders if handled improperly” (Coombs, 1999: 2).

Crisis reporting, especially terrorism crisis which is Lahad Datu crisis is a new phenomenon in developing countries like Malaysia. The uniqueness of this study will focus on portrayal of crisis responses through media coverage in printed newspapers in Malaysia. In this research, researcher will simplify organizational crisis into terrorism crisis perspective and crisis manager will be represented by government (Coombs, 2009).

Section 2 of the Internal Security Act (ISA) of 1960, revised in 1972, define terrorist as a person, who use of any fire arm, explosive or ammunition, acts in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the maintenance of public order or incites to violence or counsel disobedience to the law or to any lawful order (Zhang et al., 2013).

Terrorism crisis suit well to Lahad Datu crisis because the nature of Lahad Datu crisis is an invasion by an armed group from Sulu Sultanate demanded territory from Malaysia over the state of Sabah through many unwanted action such as producing physical and mental damages and harm to innocent people at Sabah (Zhang et al., 2013).

1.3 Introduction to “Sabah” and “Lahad Datu” crisis

Malaysia is consisted with two separated parts which are Malaysian Peninsula and the state of Sabah and Sarawak (Fernandez, 1998). The rest of Borneo Island (Kalimantan) belongs to Indonesia. Brunei located as an independent country between the Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah (Fernandez, 1998) and Philippines located at the northeast of Sabah consisted with many small islands in this region belonging to Malaysia as well as the Philippines (including Sulu Archipelago) (Meinhardt et al., 1999).

The population of Sabah is multi-ethnic including a minority population of Suluk people, also known as Tausug. They are originally from Sulu Archipelago, where they have their own so-called Sulu Sultanate. The Sultan (Sultan Sulu) lays claim to the whole of Sabah calling it a part of his Ancestral Kingdom of Sulu (Meinhardt et al., 1999).

Sabah a part of Malaysia is well known for the unique culture and variety of ethnicity. In February 2013, Sabah was gained attention from the entire of world by the serious security incident initiated by an external armed from the Southern Philippines. Sabah came to a cessation when a 200 armed terrorists group called the Royal Sulu army intruded into Lahad Datu, a district in Sabah's eastern seaboard. When negotiations between the Royal Malaysian Police (RMP) and representatives of the Royal Sulu Army and self-proclaimed Sultanate of Sulu broke down, the RMP and the Malaysian Armed Forces (MAF) jointly launched a major security operation that successfully eliminated the armed threat in the battle however, the Malaysian security forces lost ten of Malaysian security personnel (<http://edition.cnn.com>).

Lahad Datu invasion is aggression by an armed group from Sulu Sultanate in Lahad Datu. Lahad Datu is a small town in Tawau Division, east Malaysia. In 1654, Sultan of Brunei gave Sabah to Sultan of Sulu and in 1878, Sultan of Sulu leased Sabah to the British North Borneo Company. In 1946, British North Borneo Company gave Sabah to Britain. As a consequence, in 1963 Sabah became part of Malaysia (Erman et al., 2014). On 9th February 2013, a conflict between Sulu and Malaysian security forces continued to grow, threatening the peace of the people of Sabah. A total of 100 people from the Sultanate of Sulu from southern Philippines have been smuggled into Lahad Datu, Sabah on the ground of taking back their land. They challenged Malaysia's alleged ownership of Sabah. This negotiation has evolved into a clash of weapons of up to ten armed Malaysian personnel.

The incidences of aggression by terrorist groups in Semporna and Lahad Datu have enormous impact on the political, social and economic sectors, particularly Sabah. According

to Deputy Chief Minister Datuk Seri Yahya Hussin, who is also the Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry of the Sabah State, “He said the tragedy had already sacrificed the life of ten members of the national security team, which not only cause the loss of the child's father, his wife lost a husband, mother and father lost children, but will also remain a black point in the history of the country” (*The Star*, 6 March, 2013). On top of this, Policeman killed in Kampung Sri Jaya, Semporna, Sabah on 2 March past is found in a very tragic situation.

The protests at the Embassy of Malaysia also giving as significant bad reputation to Malaysia because total of 100 Filipinos organized a protest in front of the Malaysian Embassy in order to insist the Malaysian government to end violence in Sabah. Other than that, Lahad Datu crisis also impacted on hacking activity because cyber war broke out between a group of hackers from Malaysia and the Philippines to express their dissatisfaction regarding Lahad Datu crisis.

Lahad Datu crisis can be defined as terrorism crisis because everybody seems panic and insecure in their own country in performing daily routine. This has led/directed to the definition of the crisis as a concept from different perspectives based on the researcher's framework on how the researcher sees the crisis. In this study the researcher has taken the definition of crisis from terrorism crisis to address the Sabah Lahad Datu crisis.

The root cause for this crisis is because the Philippines has demanded territory from Malaysia over the state of Sabah. The reason for this claim is that the territory of the Sultanate of Sulu also includes the northern part of East Borneo included in the Sulu Archipelago. The current status of the sultan is still not resolved. On 7th October 2012, President Benigno Aquino of the Philippines has announced a framework of peace agreement between the Philippines and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). However, the heirs of the Sultanate of Sulu felt left out in the negotiations. In response, Sultan Jamalul Kiram III claimed himself to be the legitimate heir to the throne of Sulu, he decided on 11th November 2012 that the

public and the military contingent should claim rights to the territory of North Borneo (*Utusan Malaysia*, 12 March, 2013).

Malaysia consisted mainly with three major ethnic groups such as Malay, Chinese and Indian. The dominant group of ethnic is muslims that make more than 60 percent from the entire citizens in Malaysia. Chinese and Indian occupy for 24.5 percent and 7.3 percent of Malaysian population respectively (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2016). Newspaper played an important role in educating publics on current news. Selva (2010) mentioned that newspapers medium in Malaysia able to reach 54% of the population. The component of newspaper in Malaysia is highly predisposed by the multi race and ethnic of the newspaper readers. Therefore, newspapers in Malaysia are published in different language to outfit the respective ethnic group of people. Zeti Azreen et al., in (2005) concluded that Chinese newspapers are read by the Chinese, the Tamil language newspapers read by the Indians and the Malay newspapers cater for the Malay but the English dailies usually read by the English educated readers. According to statistic, as per Jan 2013 until June 2013, total copies of Malay newspapers distributed in Malaysia is 2006, 970 copies compared to December 2012 which is 2015, 523 copies. For English newspapers, total of newspapers are 720, 038 for Jan until June 2013 compared to December 2012 which are 651, 355 and for Chinese language newspaper, the circulation for June 2013 are 3573, 425 copies to 651, 355 copies for December 2012. Statistics for newspapers circulation in Malaysia were increased from 2012 to 2013 for English and Chinese newspapers compare to Malay newspapers showing dropped in circulation. Researcher unable to provide record for *Nanban daily* because there is no data recorded in Audit Bureau Circulation for Tamil newspaper (Selva, 2017).

An important characteristic of the vernacular newspapers in Malaysia is their affinity to concentrate on events important to their respective communities (Halimahton et al., 2006). They also play an important role in shaping the political and social reality for their ethnic groups because the editors and journalists of the vernacular newspapers are usually members of

the community elite. While championing the interests of their groups, these vernacular newspapers undertake different approaches to solve problems and crisis because different ethnic groups in Malaysia are often times perceived to largely fall within differing bands of living standards and economic status (Halimahton et al., 2006). Therefore, this research will examine how different orientations of newspapers in Malaysia frame the Lahad Datu crisis in providing relevant solutions and crisis response strategies.

Research from Ali et al., in (2011) in examining the impact of new media on traditional mainstream mass media proved that publics in Malaysia still need and look for newspaper for a credibility and reliable news information. It's proved in the case of September 11 crisis, people prefer to read newspaper for crisis updates. Malaysians still prefer to get their news through the print newspaper, radio and television. Therefore, this research focusing on printed nationally distributed newspaper in relations to Lahad Datu crisis.

Important suggestions and plans must be taken by responsible people to overcome such crisis in many ways. Framing the crisis in a proper way to disseminate information accordingly to protect normal citizens is one of the appropriate solutions to deter the crisis. Crisis manager needs to select the best crisis response strategy to solve crisis by identifying proper crisis type and solution (Coombs & Holladay, 2009).

1.4 Statement of Research Problem

Malaysia is known as a peaceful country among many international countries but unfortunately we can't wear this label anymore since the Lahad Datu intrusion which happened on 9th February 2013, known as a terrorism crisis. Terrorism crisis refers to the terrorist operation to attack innocent people to get something via immoral events such as bombings, creating physical damages, psychological harm to the public and so on (Zhang et al., 2013). In Sabah, Malaysia on February 9, 2013 an armed group of people from Southern Philippines entered

Malaysian waters in a boat and began to gather in stages at Felda Sahabat 17, Kampung Tanduo in Lahad Datu to declare their ownership of the whole territory in the name of the Sulu Sultan - Jamalul Kiram III. This triggered a fierce battle that left up to 71 dead (Ten of the dead were Malaysian security personnel) at Felda Sahabat 17, Kampung Tanduo in Lahad Datu (*The Star*, 6 March, 2013). Since the invasion, ten policemen were killed; two in the battle in the village of Tanduo on March 1, and other eight were ambushed in Semporna on March 2. As for the enemy losses, a total of 52 people were killed.



Figure 1.1: Affected area at Sabah from Sulu attack (Sources: The Star, 8 March, 2013)

As per figure 1.1, yellow colors in the map represent the attacks area in Sabah by the Sulu intruder. The invasion of the terrorist group in Lahad Datu Sabah, gave off many negative effects such as the death of security officers and innocent people, losses of property from the battle. Furthermore, it has impacted the number of tourists and the economy. Most of the villagers felt fear and anxiety all the time thinking about the safety of their lives. Schools were closed. Bank and machines closed and ATM machines ran out of money. Overall, it has affected the citizens of Sabah physically and emotionally (*The Star, Utusan Malaysia, Sin Chew and Nanban*, 6 March, 2013).

Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3 revealing a situation whereby most of the villagers and publics in Lahad Datu in anxiety and fear to go out in order to perform their daily routine

activities due to fear from Sulu terrorist attack. Public especially in Sabah are in anxiety to go out for work, students felt scared to go to school and everybody in Sabah were in fear about their safety. This situation effected their emotion badly. Based on figure 1.2 and 1.3, situation in Sabah is out of control because most of the security officers is always in duty to observe and monitor any unpredictable attacks from Sulu intruders. Due to citizens and publics needed for an immediate responses and solution, this research will be a guidance in providing solutions and responses for the mentioned crisis.



Figure 1.2: Semporna village were monitor by Security officers (Sources: *The Star*, 8 March, 2013)



Figure 1.3: Semporna village were monitor by Security officers to prevent from sudden attack (Sources: *The Star*, 8 March, 2013)

Nacos (2002) defined terrorism as a violent and aggressive action performed by a group of people for political and economic reasons with the aim to win the publicity to get something. Additionally, extremism seek to blowout anxiety and worry among a large group of public and can impact the reputation of any organization such as the security forces, the local authorities, the mayor, the government and so on. This is because terrorists plan their attacks to influence public's opinions and finally, tarnish the government's reputation. Hence, an effective response is needed by governments to combat the terrorist attacks. Invasion by Sulu in Lahad Datu through immoral activities in burdening innocent people suits well Nacos's definition about terrorism crisis.

200 armed Filipinos belonging to the so-called "Royal Sulu Army" occupied parts of Lahad Datu in Sabah and declared ownership of the whole territory in the name of the Sulu Sultan Jamalul Kiram III. Sabah has been a portion of the Malaysian Federation since 1963. But the Sulu Sultanate, which is located in Southern Philippines, has continued to assert its ancient and proprietary claims over the territory. For three weeks, the Malaysian government asked the armed Filipinos in Lahad Datu to surrender. But on March 5, the military challenged the group and ended the occupation. The clash and subsequent military operations reportedly led to the killing of more than 70 individuals, including 10 members of the Malaysian police (*The Star, Utusan Malaysia, Sin Chew and Nanban*, 10 March, 2013).

Table 1.2: Chronology of Lahad Datu Crisis
(Sources: Bernama.com.my)

Feb 9- "A group of 200 armed Filipinos enters Malaysian in a boat and gather at Felda Sahabat 17, Kampung Tanduo in Lahad Datu".
Feb 11- "A gang from the group is discovered by a group of local fishermen and they lodge a police report on that night that 100 arned men in army fatigues are in Kampung.

Feb 12- "Groups separate into few smaller groups to enter several locations in the village such as Sungai Bakau village, village surau and Mad Bon house".
Feb 14- Prime Minister says, "negotiations with the armed group is still in progress to find the best solution, without having bloodshed".
Feb 18- "Hishammuddin says the Malaysia government and Philippines are working closely to resolve conflict through diplomacy".
Feb 16- "Home Minister Hishammuddin Hussein confirms the group is not a militant of terrorist group, but added that they might be a strong supporter of the Sulu Sultanate".
Feb 24- "Philippine government sends a boat under humanitarian mission to ferry 180 and alert public the situation in Kampung Tanduo is under control".
"The group wants to be claim ownership of Sabah and wants the state to be returned as armed personnel, including 30 armed guards, holding up in Lahad Datu, Sabah".
Feb 26- "The the Sulu Sultanate the group passes seized by the British from the Sulu Government".
Feb 28- "Malaysian government is urged to negotiate directly with Sultan Jamalul Kiram 111 in Manila to end the conflict of seizing the area in Lahad Datu, Sabah which has prolonged for more than three weeks".
March 1- "Shootout breaks out between security forces and a small group of intruders when they try to break a police blockade in Kampung Tanduo, resulting two police commandos dead and three others injured".

"Table 1.2 continued"

As per Table 1.2 content, fighting in Tanduo village caused the death of the Malaysian security forces and residents especially at Simunul village felt anxious, panic and fear to perform their daily activities. This situation happened especially when the authorities from Malaysia release an announcement requesting people in Sabah's East Coast to be extra careful and always switch off lights at night to avoid any emergency incident from happening. In addition, newspaper sources also revealed that residents are warned to stay at home at night and restricted to leave home at night. In the evening, all the areas will be dark without light due to their fear about their security. The village seems disconnected from electric supply (*The Star and Nanban*, 7 & 8 March, 2013).

Other than that, there is no any activities carried out during the incidents. Residents will normally be sleeping around 10.00 pm night but now since this invasion, they tend to be silent and began to sleep around 8.00 p.m. Economy activities also was shut down and farmers

reluctant to go to their jobs, fishermen refuse to go to sea due to their concerned for their safety threatened and retail stores, restaurants and all groceries shops were closed and shut down. Feeling worried about children safety force some parent to disallow their kids for schools. Most of the residents stay inside home without food and light in fear of their safety (*Utusan Malaysia, The Star, Sin Chew & Nanban*, 1-10 March, 2013).

The main districts on the East Coast, for example, Semporna, Kunak and Lahad Datu residents begin to feel worry and panic. Road block and inspections of road occurred in almost every main road in the area and carried out for 24 hours a day indicating emergency can happened any time. In addition, the number of military personnel and police with many trucks with military equipment and police control in selected districts can be seen easily signifying those areas are in war or serious zone. Even, the number of uniformed personnel officers are more than the total population in those emergency areas.

Residents fear to be out of the house due to their safety concern. Schools and government offices were closed (employees refuse to go to work because of worries for their safety conditions). For the local community, most of the groceries items were closed or it is sold in high price. Diesel fuel and gasoline also out of stocks. Villagers started to stop cooking and most of them out of fresh cooked foods. Most of the religious centres such as mosques, surau and also a religion for followers of the non-Muslims across Malaysia and Sabah began to pray for national security and the security forces of Malaysia. In a nutshell, it's clear that incident at kg Tanduo have widespread implications in the lives of people who have never experienced before especially in Sabah because Lahad Datu invasion threaten the safety of the publics. Figure 1.4 showing some of the consequences and negative impacts faced by local citizens from crisis.

Publics are waiting for an immediate responses and solution from authorities. Citizens are looking for any emergency solution to be escape from mentioned impact. Most of them are

lack of sources of information in getting know the proper sources of solution. Therefore, researcher in this research would like to expose on the coverage of solutions during crisis in newspaper reporting. Public and entire population rely on newspaper to get updated information and steps taken by authority in combating the conflict.



Figure 1.4: Impacts to citizens from crisis
(Sources: *The Star*, 6 March, 2013)

Thus, this study focused on the portrayal of crisis response strategies by government through newspaper framing among four mainstream newspapers in Malaysia. According to Syed Arabi Idid in (2011), newspaper saturation in Malaysia are as per 46% for Malay newspaper, 31% for Chinese newspaper, 19% for English newspaper and 4% for Tamil newspaper. Since Malaysia is a multiracial of population, researcher is interested to know the coverage of mentioned crisis from different language of newspapers.

News in media plays an important role because public depends on media especially during emergency to get an immediate and updated information. During crisis, portrayal of news reporting can provide crisis managers with useful information about the appropriate information and relevant crisis response strategies to be sent to the public in order to minimize the damage to an organization's image (Coombs, 1995; 2006a). Thus, this study is about how Malaysian government used Malaysian mainstream newspapers to frame the Lahad Datu crisis in providing solution for the crisis.

News especially content in newspapers and television news are powerful because media have the potential to shape and influence the public's opinions and behaviors (Reese et al. 2001; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Entman, 2007). Stories in media are used by the public to gather appropriate and updated information. The way information is transferred into news report can affect reader perceptions about the covered issue. So it is important for any organization, people or parties to use framing process in informing and suggesting responses for a crisis through media (Entman, 1993; Coombs, 2007). This study used framing analysis of the mainstream newspapers content to explain how the responses and solutions for the above crisis has been taken by the government in portraying solutions.

The media ownership in Malaysia is directly and indirectly controlled by the government or government-linked individuals (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2000). Mainstream media in Malaysia especially traditional newspapers is owned by private shareholders and political parties in Malaysia and seriously controlled by government through printing press and publication. Restriction is used to control any censor content in Malaysia to avoid irrelevant disruption for the national security. Mass media freedom in Malaysia are controlled by the "Printing Press" and "Publication Act 1984". *Utusan Malaysia* which represent Malay community in Malaysia is published by Utusan Melayu (M) Berhad, which is related to United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) (Azizuddin, 2014). The Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) also control a substantial part of the mainstream media. MCA, through its official holding company, Star Media Group Berhad previously known as Star Publication (M) Berhad owned *The Star*, representing English daily newspaper readers (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2015). There are two Tamil newspapers in Malaysia which are *Tamil Nesan* and *Malaysia Nanban (Nanban)* and their ownership rests mainly in the hands of MIC president Samy Vellu and his wife (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2015). According to McDaniel (2002) Chinese-language newspapers in Malaysia are relatively more independent

when compared to their Malay and English language counterpart newspapers. *Sin Chew* newspaper are owned by business and media tycoon Tiong Hiew King.

Different language of newspaper served to fulfill their own ethnic readers of newspaper but directly and indirectly it's control by government. Through framing analysis, respective newspaper can provide a thematic meaning in providing necessary information through the selection of news, headlines, pictures and so on (Entman, 1993). Thus, this study is to investigate the portrayal of responses for Lahad Datu crisis through newspapers coverage in selected dailies.

1.5 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to identify and examine the crisis response strategies for Lahad Datu crisis through newspaper reporting. In achieving the main objective, the researcher created some of the sub objectives such as:

1. To examine media framing of Lahad Datu crisis in selected newspapers from different ethnic of readers.
2. To study government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage in selected newspapers especially through framing elements that have been omitted and included through newspaper framing.
3. To examine if there are any significant differences in portraying responses to Lahad Datu crisis by respective daily newspapers. Different language newspapers serve their local ethnic's needs differently. So, this objective will explore how newspapers of different ethnic orientation portrayed differences in crisis responses.

1.6 Research Questions

In getting answer for the main objectives of this study. The study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. **RQ1-** How does the local newspapers frame the Lahad Datu crisis?
2. **RQ2-** What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage in selected newspapers especially through framing elements that have been omitted and included by the government through newspaper framing?
3. **RQ3-** What are the differences in portraying responses to Lahad Datu crisis by respective daily newspapers due to different language newspapers serve their local ethnic's needs differently?

As per shown in Table 1.3, through research question and research objective number 1(RO1), researcher able to find out how does the selection of newspapers in Malaysia portraying the Lahad Datu crisis. Furthermore, this research question and objective able to figure out the important selection of theme, messages and information in providing coverage to their respective readers. Research question and research objective number 2(RO2) is use to identify the specific suggested crisis response for Lahad Datu crisis by crisis manager or government through news coverage. A good crisis manager can provide their responses effectively trough an effective selection of words or through using instructing and adapting information in providing the best and efficient responses for a conflict. Therefore, research question and research objective number 2(RO2) can help researcher to classify the suggested crisis responses from respective newspapers. Once responses are identified through news framing, research question and research objective number 3(RO3) is use to identify if there are any differences among the dailies in providing solution and responses. If yes, researcher is able to find more details on the differences from selected dailies.

Table 1.3: Research Objectives and Research Questions

Research Objectives	Research Questions
To examine media framing of Lahad Datu crisis in selected newspapers from different ethnic of readers.	How does the local newspapers frame the Lahad Datu crisis?
To study government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage in selected newspapers especially through framing elements that have been omitted and included through newspaper framing.	What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage in selected newspapers especially through framing elements that have been omitted and included by the government through newspaper framing?
To examine if there are any significant differences in portraying responses to Lahad Datu crisis by respective daily newspapers. Different language newspapers serve their local ethnic's needs differently. So, this objective will explore how newspapers of different ethnic orientation portrayed differences in crisis responses.	What are the differences in portraying responses to Lahad Datu crisis by respective daily newspapers due to different language newspapers serve their local ethnic's needs differently?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore how news coverage of Lahad Datu crisis has been framed in Malaysian mainstream dailies. Even though the selected dailies for this research is sharing the same ownership, which is the government, due to the vernacular media's function which is serving their different ethnic and religious backgrounds, the researcher is keen to know how the selected newspapers portrayed the Lahad Datu crisis. Furthermore, the researcher would also like to explore how the Lahad Datu crisis has been solved through news coverage by the Malaysian government in the mainstream newspapers in Malaysia. At the same time, the differences and similarities in news coverage will be included in this research. This research is to explore the government's crisis response strategies of Lahad Datu crisis through the news coverage in Malaysian mainstream newspapers. This finding will provide a better understanding of how the crisis especially terrorism crisis had been portrayed.

The lack of media research focusing on the crisis response strategies through traditional media frame of the crisis in Malaysia has encouraged the researcher to fill the gap in literature through this study. This study can provide a clear picture of the efficiency of media frame in portraying responses to educate the public on how the government will provide necessary solutions to the mentioned crisis through news coverage. In other words, this study is important for a better understanding of the government's solution for a crisis and at the same time can reveal how media portrayed the crisis in order to get the public's attention towards the Lahad Datu crisis. Therefore, the findings of the study will be a guideline for a government in solving a crisis via the use of crisis response strategies together with media coverage.

This research will also extend the literature on the terrorism crisis response strategies through newspaper reporting because all the while, most of the previous study discussed more on the direct response to crisis through media releases. This research will fill in the gap by promoting crisis response strategies especially on terrorism crisis through newspaper reporting. Furthermore, this study can be a guidance to current and future media practitioner in understanding the framing of conflict, especially in the selection of news sources, visuals and news slants selection in providing answer for the crisis.

In methodological implication, this study can be a guideline in getting and understanding of the crisis response through content analysis which is printed media. At the end, finding of this study can educate people on how a solution for a crisis is taken and portrayed through newspaper reporting.

This study is important and interesting as it is related to a contemporary crisis, that is terrorism. The significance of the study may transcend several disciplines beyond communication and media studies such as political science, history, psychology and sociology. This study may have a practical impact on journalists in particular in that it may have inspired and motivated them to be better journalists by collecting and disseminating information more

carefully to society. This study may contribute to the discipline of peace journalism which assumes that not all news stories are worth disseminating as the news stories may make the situation worse. The study may also benefit some authorities in charge of overcoming crises in Malaysia in terms of policy development and strategies to overcome crises and terrorism.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The focus of this study is on the Lahad Datu crisis which happened in Sabah, Malaysia on 9th February 2013. The terrorism crisis is well-suited to define and explain the characteristic of the Lahad Datu crisis. Thus, the researcher will narrow the study in investigating terrorism crisis through newspaper coverage.

Another perspective is from the government who is the acting crisis manager to solve the crisis. As mentioned and discussed in the previous crisis literature by Holladay, Lerbinger, Coomb, Seeger and many other crisis communication scholars, most of the media coverage of crisis response strategies were focused on organization or company. So that, in this research, as mentioned earlier, the Lahad Datu crisis is fallen under terrorism crisis. Therefore, government played a role as a representative for a crisis manager in providing solutions through newspaper framing (De Vreese, 2005).

The mainstream printed media is the sole focus of this study. The selected newspapers are *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban Daily*. All the selected dailies are control by the Malaysian government through printing press and publication law but all these newspapers cater to different ethnicities and orientation (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2012). Thus, researcher is interested to know the differences in the coverage of Lahad Datu crisis in portraying the solution for the mentioned crisis even all the selected dailies is control directly and indirectly by government through shares, regulation and laws.

1.9 Organization of the Study

This study consisted of six chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter. It describes the background of the study, objective of the study, research questions to answer the research objectives, introduction to Sabah and Lahad Datu crisis, statement of the problem, significance and scope of the study. The second chapter is theoretical framework. This chapter will expose on the selection of two main theories for this research which are “Situational Crisis Communication Theory” by Coombs and “Framing Theory” by Semetko and Valkenburg also will be discussed. Furthermore, proposed research framework for Lahad Datu crisis also will be explain details in chapter 2. Following chapter which is literature review; explains a comprehensive review on the crisis and terrorism crisis, media coverage of crisis reporting, news framing, slant of news, visual framing of conflict and news sources. The fourth chapter is the methodology applied in this study which is quantitative content analysis to gather relevant data and the operationalized concept used in coding books is also discussed in this chapter. The fifth chapter contains analysis and findings of the data using descriptive and empirical analysis using Pearson Chi-Square and Krukali Walli’s test and the last chapter is about the conclusion for overall chapters, new research framework, limitation that faced by researcher in this study and recommendation for future research.

1.10 Summary of the Study

Lahad Datu crisis is also known as terrorism crisis have been selected by researcher to identify the suggested crisis responses taken by government in providing solutions through news framing. Furthermore, this study also aims to look at the potential significant differences by selected dailies in portrayal of crisis responses. The chosen newspapers are mainstream printed newspapers from different ethnics. Towards the end, this study may benefit some authorities in Malaysia in terms of policy development and strategies to overcome crises and terrorism.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Based on the objectives of this study, the research relies on crisis response strategies through media coverage, otherwise known as “Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)” and “Framing Theory” as the theoretical framework. Since this study focuses on how the media portrayed crisis response strategies for the Lahad Datu crisis, thus the framing theory is applied to know how the printed newspapers in Malaysia present the crisis and crisis responses of the Lahad Datu crisis based on how it is presented. In examining the responses portrayed by mainstream printed newspapers in Malaysia by government, Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) will be discussed by researcher. Part of this chapter discusses the definition of the theory as well as the way it applies in communication research. Towards the end, researcher will expose and discuss more on the construction of research framework for the study.

2.2 Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)

Situational crisis communication theory (SCCT) is one of the most dominant and recognized theories within the field of crisis communication. SCCT is developed from Image Restoration Theory (IRT). IRT is used to analyze the crisis case. Coombs and his colleagues began the development of SCCT in 1995. SCCT is audience oriented because it seeks to illuminate how people perceive crises, their reactions to crisis response strategies, and audience reactions to the organization in crisis. The nature of the crisis situation shapes audience perceptions and attributions. Hence, efforts to understand how people perceive crisis situations are audience centered. The idea is to understand how people make attributions about crises and the effects of

those attributions on their attitudes and behavioral intentions. The important point is to identify which crisis response strategies were used in the case and draw speculative decisions about the effectiveness of the crisis response strategies. Crisis response strategies have three objectives relative to protecting its reputation: shape attributions of the crisis, change perceptions of the organization in crisis and reduce negative affect generated by the crisis (Coombs, 1995).

The theory “provides an evidence-based framework for understanding how to maximize the reputational protection afforded by post-crisis communication” (Coombs, 2007, p. 163). It evolves around the examination of a crisis situation and how certain factors determine the level of reputational threat existing in an organizational crisis. There are three factors that shape the level of threat: initial crisis responsibility, crisis history and prior relational reputation. Initial crisis responsibility is one of the central concepts within crisis communication research. The theory posits that stakeholders attribute responsibility for the crisis and thereby how it is framed.

This idea is closely connected to crisis origin, which refers to whether a crisis commenced from an internal organizational issue or an external source. The different types of crisis origin affect the attribution of responsibility and, thus, the available crisis communication strategies. The level of responsibility attributed to the organization is especially important, as it will determine the role it has in a crisis. Another variable is the actor in the crisis. Depending on whether the central actor is human or nature, internal or external, individual or grouped the crisis can be predicted to develop in certain ways and communication strategies can be designed accordingly (Coombs, 2010; Cho & Gower, 2015). In this research, government as an actor in responding to the nature and responses of crisis. Research also shows that the more responsibility an organization is attributed during a crisis, the higher the reputational threat will be (Cho & Gower, 2015; Coombs, 2007).

SCCT developed by Coombs (2007), addresses all three phases of a crisis using a modified three stage approach (consisting of pre-crisis, crisis, and post-crisis phases). In SCCT,

special attention is given to the position of crisis response strategies with organizational goals and event types. SCCT then utilizes the alignment between goals and event type to prescribe specific response strategy recommendations for organizations to follow in a given situation. These prescriptions will be of primary importance to the analysis of Lahad Datu crisis news coverage. SCCT list out 13 specific recommendations for organizations to use in selecting their crisis response strategy. The first two of these recommendations are common to all event types and consist of providing instructing and/or adjustment information and warnings to victims and potential victims prior to and during an event. The remaining 11 recommendations address specific event types, organizational history/reputational factors, and responsibility levels.

The core of SCCT is crisis responsibility. Attributions of crisis responsibility have a significant effect on how people perceive the reputation of an organization in crisis and their affective and behavioral responses to that organization following a crisis. Crisis responsibility is a major factor in determining the threat posed by a crisis. The initial SCCT research sought to identify the factors that shape crisis responsibility and the threat posed by a crisis (Coombs, 1995; Coombs & Holladay, 1996; 2004 & 2009). SCCT proposes a two steps process for assessing the crisis threat. The initial step is to determine the frame stakeholders are using to categorize the process. SCCT works from a grouping of three crisis types: victim (low crisis responsibility/ threat), accident (minimal crisis responsibility/threat), and intentional (strong crisis responsibility/threat). The three categories represent increasing levels of attributions of crisis responsibility and threat posed by a crisis. Determining the crisis type/frame establishes the base threat presented by the crisis. The second step is to determine if any of the two intensifying factors exist. The intensifying factors alter attributions of crisis responsibility and intensify the threat from the crisis. Two intensifying factors have been documented: (1) crisis history and (2) prior reputation. Crisis history is whether or not an organization has had similar crises in the past. A history of crises increases the threat from a crisis. Past crises help to establish a pattern of “bad behavior” by an organization. Hence, stakeholders attribute greater

crisis responsibility when past crises exist (Coombs, 2004). Prior reputation is how well or poorly an organization has treated stakeholders in the past – the general state of its relationship with stakeholders. Organizations with negative prior reputations are attributed greater crisis responsibility for the same crisis than an organization that is unknown or has a positive prior reputation (Coombs & Holladay, 2002; 2009). By increasing attributions of crisis responsibility, the intensifiers increase the threat from a crisis. Only one of the intensifiers needs to be present to alter the threat a crisis poses.

Crisis managers utilize the threat level to determine the appropriate crisis response (Coombs, 2007). SCCT argues that every crisis response should begin with instructing and adjusting information. Instructing information tells stakeholders how to protect themselves from a crisis. Examples include information on what product to return in a recall or how to evacuate an area during an industrial accident. Adjusting information helps stakeholders to cope psychologically with a crisis. Expression of concern or sympathy, basic information on the crisis event, and any corrective actions to prevent a repeat of the crisis would be suitable as adjusting information (Coombs, 2007). Once adjusting and instructing information are provided, crisis managers can attempt reputation repair efforts. SCCT divides the crisis response strategies into three primary strategies (*deny*, *diminish*, *rebuild*) and one supplemental strategy (*reinforcing*). *Deny* strategies attempt to prove the organization had no responsibility for the crisis. Either the crisis did not happen or someone else was responsible for the event. *Diminish* strategies seek to minimize the organization's crisis responsibility and/or reduce the perceived seriousness of the crisis. *Rebuild* strategies are very accommodative and seek to improve perceptions of the organization through compensation and/or apologies. *Deny* strategies in crisis response strategies seek to establish a crisis frame. It's to remove any connection between the government and the crisis. The *diminish* crisis response strategies argue that a crisis is not as bad as people think or that the government is lacking control over the crisis and *Diminish* strategies are the most effective when reinforcing existing crisis

frames. *Excuse* strategies, lack of intent and volition can be used to reaffirm a crisis situation as residing in the accidental cluster (Coombs, 2007).

Reinforcing strategies try to add positive information about the organization by praising others (*ingratiation*) and/or reminding people of past good works by the organization (*bolstering*). *Reinforcing* strategies is used to support the three primary strategies. *Reinforcing* strategies are opportunities because they can only be used when an organization has past good works and/or reasons to thank others (Coombs, 2006). The three primary strategies vary in focus from trying to protect the organization to helping the crisis victims – the level of accommodation. Crisis managers select the reputation repair crisis response strategies based upon the threat presented by the crisis. As the crisis threat increases, crisis managers should use progressively more accommodative crisis response strategies. The victim crisis types can be managed using instructing and adjusting information. An accident crisis can add *justification* and/or *excuse* to the instructing and adjusting information. An intentional crisis or accident crisis with an intensify factor warrants an apology and/or compensation added to the instructing and adjusting information (Coombs, 2007).

Coombs (1995) introduced a crisis communication response model to suggest responses for a crisis. The model consisted of five basic response strategies adapted from the work of Allen and Caillouet (1994). Strategies that were included in these models were *denial*, *distance*, *ingratiation*, *mortification*, and *suffering*. *Denial* refers to a response in which a crisis manager or government argues that there is no crisis. The *distancing* strategy is when a crisis manager or government admits there is a crisis but transfers the blame for the crisis to other people or parties. *Ingratiation* is a strategy to gain favor in the eyes of various publics. It consists of three forms such as *transcendence*, *bolstering* and *praising others*. *Transcendence* is used when a crisis manager or government tries to place the crisis in a larger, more desirable context. *Bolstering* is when a crisis manager or government reminds the public of the existing positive aspects of the government and *praising others* is a strategy used to win approval from

the target of the praise. *Mortification* can be used in a crisis situation and generally involves some form of apology. Finally, *suffering* is a strategy that admits that a crisis manager or government lacks responses and suffered from crisis impact.

Coombs (1999) developed a master list of crisis types. He classified crisis response strategies as primary and secondary. Primary is known as forming a few groups of people based on their perceptions of accepting responsibility for a crisis. It included: *attack the accuser, denial, scapegoating, excuse, justification, compensation* and *apology*. Overall, all these strategies are used by crisis managers to deny that the crisis exists, to diminish the crisis, or to rebuild the image of government from the crisis. The secondary crisis responses are *reminder, ingratiation, and victimize*. *Reminder* strategy is used when the crisis manager is trying to tell their public and stakeholders of state, country or government of their previous good deeds done. *Ingratiation* strategies are used when crisis manager offers praise to their publics. While, *victimize* strategy is used by the government to portray themselves as a victim of the crisis together with affected victims from the severity of crisis. *Mortification* is the final series of strategies, which include *corrective action, repentance* and *rectification*. These three strategies are used when the government has a history of crises and it gives the government a chance to take responsibility for the crisis and to repair the damage done to prevent the same crisis in the future (Coombs, 1999).

The first priority for any crisis response is to protect the public and victims from any crisis damage through suggesting and providing instructing and adapting information (Coombs, 1999). Instructing information will provide and suggest possible solution on how to cope from the conflict in adapting information, it can help the public to cope with any psychological impact from crisis. So, both of these information can help crisis manager or government to provide the best solution and also to show sympathy and concern to those affected by the crisis. Instructing and adapting information are base responses required for all crises and are

combined with the other four responses such as *denying*, *diminishing*, *rebuilding*, and *reinforcing*.

The *deny* response option in SCCT includes three strategies such as *attack the accuser*, *denial*, and *scapegoat* (Huang, 2006 & Coombs, 2007). Crisis manager would use *attack the accuser* to confront the person or group that claims a crisis exists. *Denial* occurs when a crisis manager states that a crisis does not exist. *Scapegoating* is used when organizations state that someone else is responsible for the crisis. SCCT recommends that crisis manager used *denial* strategies to respond to rumors and unwarranted challenges (Coombs, 2007; 2006). The *diminish* response option includes two strategies such as *excuse* and *justification*. Crisis managers use *excuse* respond in providing reasons and solutions for the crisis. *Justification* is when crisis managers explain why the crisis occurred and provide solutions. *Rebuild* response option includes two strategies such as *compensation* and *apology*. *Compensation* occurs when crisis manager compensates victims. *Apology* is used when crisis manager expresses *apology* and *regret* for the crisis (Coombs, 2007).

SCCT proposed a two-step process for evaluating the reputational threat a crisis poses, which will provide the most efficient response for a crisis (Huang, 2006; Coombs, 2006a). The first step identified by SCCT is to identify the type of crisis that is faced by any particular state. It can be divided into three types according to the level of responsibility for the crisis based upon attribution of responsibility such as *victim*, *accidental* and *preventable* crisis. *Victim* crisis includes natural disasters, rumors, workplace violence and malevolence behavior from outside people. The *accidental* type includes technical error accidents, technical error product harm, and challenges and finally, the *preventable* type includes human error accidents, human error product harm, and organizational misdeeds (Coombs, 2007). The second step to consider for evaluating reputational threat is whether the government has a crisis history and has experienced the similar crisis in the past. Furthermore, crisis manager should consider its relationship and solutions taken with their stakeholders in the past.

Types of crisis that had been introduced by Coombs (2007) are:

- Rumor: types of crisis to spread false information to harm the organization or state.
- Natural disaster: natural event or an act of god that could damage nature or the organization or country.
- Malevolence/ product tampering: attack by external people or parties on current company and state operation.
- Workplace violence: attack by employees, citizens or former employees and citizens to disrupt operation of an organization and state.
- Challenge: confrontation by public such as stakeholders claiming that the organization and country is operating in negative or inappropriate ways.
- Technical breakdown accident and product recall: an accident in an organization caused by technological failure.
- Megadamage: a technical breakdown that caused by environmental damage.
- Human breakdown accident and product recall: an industrial accident caused by human error.
- Organizational misdeeds: management deceives stakeholders and violates company regulations and laws.

Coombs (1998) categorized the crisis response strategies into seven categories and placed it on a defense accommodation continuum. The defensive continuum is used to protect the organization and respond on the accommodative, which is used to address victims' concerns.

Moving from defensive to accommodative, the seven types of crisis responses are identified as:

- Attacking the accuser: Crisis manager denies claims of a crisis while blaming the accuser.
- Denial: Crisis manager admits that there is no crisis.
- Excuse: Crisis manager admits that there is a crisis but minimizes their responsibility for the crisis by relating it to other factors.
- Justification: Crisis manager tries to reduce and minimize the damage associated with the crisis.
- Ingratiation: Crisis manager reminds their publics about the organization's past good work and services.

- Corrective action: Crisis manager tries to repair the crisis damage by introducing new rules or changing the policy and so on.
- Full apology or mortification: Crisis manager represented their company's public claim that it is their responsible for the crisis and asks forgiveness for the damage and ask forgiveness for the crisis.

The proper way in addressing the crisis type to give suitable response for it is from tackling the situation. This is so that it can help people in the media frame the crisis to allow readers to interpret the information accordingly. Each crisis type features certain aspects of the crisis. These cues indicate how stakeholder and publics should interpret a crisis (Coombs & Holladay, 2002). In assessing crisis types, the crisis manager might consult a plethora of crisis typologies that have been created (Fearn, 2011). These typologies attempt to categorize or differentiate the types and nature of crises that crisis manager experienced. SCCT organizes the crisis types so that they can be integrated with crisis response strategies. In an attempt to integrate the multiple lists in the literature, Coombs (2007) developed a master list of nine crisis types as per discussed above. In finding a suitable response for a crisis to tackle the situation will be used in Lahad Datu crisis response management through newspaper framing.

After assessing the level of crisis responsibility, crisis managers then choose a crisis response strategy appropriate to the level of crisis responsibility. Coombs (1998) held that the characteristics of each crisis situation would call for the use of certain crisis communication strategies (CCSs) and the avoidance of others. That is, the crisis manager should select one or more CCSs in accordance with the configuration of elements in the crisis situation (Huang, 2006).

SCCT will be use in this research to identify the appropriate crisis response strategies for Lahad Datu crisis through newspaper coverage. Selection of crisis response strategies as per listed by Coombs will be a guideline in determining the best crisis response to solve Lahad Datu crisis and to figure out if there are any differences between the selected dailies in

portraying crisis responses for mentioned crisis in achieving research objectives as mentioned in chapter 1.

2.3 Framing Theory

The framing concept has been introduced by cognitive psychologist, Gregory Bateson in 1970 (Ardevol, 2015). Lopez Rabadan & Vicente Marino (2009) proposed evolution of theories of framing in three evolutions. The first evolution or stage begun from 1974 to 1990, and was characterized by the beginning of the influential application based on the sociological background. At this stage, theory begins to go into the field of communication. The second phase, which would cover 1990s, concentrated on media studies, with an application in the analysis of media discourses. During this period, there was a debate in saying that framing is nothing more than an extension of the agenda setting theory. Finally, the last phase of reorganization and empirical development started during 21st century and continues until today. During this third stage there is an attempt to carry out a conceptual and methodological unification that allows a more solid and rapid development through research synergies about framing theory.

When journalists make news, when they build the description of an issue with words and images, they select a frame. They also selected other frame, by selecting another aspect that is different from the topic that is being reported, by using quote from sources, syntactic constructions, vocabulary, by using other photographs and so on. The strategies used to give prominence to a particular topic can be very varied with other topic. All news stories have omissions, deliberate or not, as it is impossible to approach a topic from all its perspectives, using possible sources and explaining the role of the actors directly and indirectly involved in the issue and even if the information and the sources are the same, it is possible to frame the information differently such as the order in which facts are exposed, the nouns and adjectives that are used, the chosen headlines can construct a different frame. Entman (1993) said

repetition, the different location of information in the texts, and the association with certain social and cultural symbols, are the strategies employed by the media to give greater or lesser emphasis to an aspect of reality. However, Entman also acknowledges that a little phrase at the end of a text can determine the interpretation of a message with more intensity than all of the other resources used to explain the issue or problem. All these framing elements can use in framing of Lahad Datu crisis in printed newspaper to emphasize the crisis on the selected of crisis response strategies.

Frames are divided into few typologies such as:

- Media frames and individual frames
- Strong frames and weak frames
- Specific frames and generic frames

Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) describe the frames used by the media as macro-constructs, necessary to reduce the complexity of the issues and to adapt it to the needs and constraints of the media and the audiences. Once in the minds of individuals, frames become micro-constructs that allow them to use the received information to form their own interpretation and images of the world. Media frames are developed from media resources such as written or spoken word, images, sounds and visual elements to narrate news or stories. On the other hand, the frames of individuals are frames of interpretation of reality and schemas in which new information is incorporated to influence their attitudes and behaviour. These are psychological processes influenced by sociological factors such as culture. Individual frames as a microlevel should be conceptualized as psychological phenomenon whereby people make sense of the world. That is because in the cognitive process the information is arranged in the human brain into a wider framework that makes meaning to the world, and in this context, cultural and religious values, personal experience and educational background contribute to the human framing of social reality (De Vreese, 2005).

In explaining strong and weak frames, according to Chong & Druckman (2007), the criteria for a strength frame depends on many variables such as the frequency, accessibility and relevance of news. Frequency is defined as the number of times and number of media companies in which a frame is repeated: the greater the frequency, the greater the force of news. The strength of a frame tends to be greater when it is available for accessible to individuals, who have already been exposed to the frame. Another relevant factor for the strength of a frame is relevance. Relevance is defined as a frame that explain and define the core of the issue is having stronger frame compare to news that explaining the peripheral or marginal issues.

The last typology of frame is known as specific and generic frames. Specific frame is used to frame a specific topic or event, but generic frames can be applied with greater flexibility to different and general events and topics. Neuman et al. in (1992) identified the common generic frames used by media are human impact, economics, moral values and conflict. These generic frames had been modified by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) developed a scale to measure the frames known as attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, morality and economic consequences. Another type of generic frames that is widely used in the literature on political communication is the 'strategy' frame, proposed by Rhee (1997) in opposition to 'issue' frame. The strategy frame would be focused on aspects such as the style of political candidates, their personality, the tactics and development of the electoral campaign, etc. In this type of framing the language of war and game are frequently used (attack, battle, victory, defeat, etc.). To capture the reader's interest, news tends to highlight the human aspects of the campaign, and underrepresent the role of institutions or the underlying political discourse. Issue coverage, on the other hand, would focus on the bottom-line message, in the proposals to deal with social problems or the consequences of the policies carried out or suggested by the candidates. This type of coverage also highlights the role of institutions (parties, levels of government and so on) against the role of individuals (Rhee, 1997).

After the events of 9/11 in the United States of America and the subsequent war against Afghanistan, Edy & Meirick (2007) analyzed the transfer of frames (from the media to the public), defining for two specific frames linked to the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the invasion of Afghanistan by USA: war and crime. The war frame was linked to the construction of a reality in which the fatal victims of the attacks were victims of war and, therefore, people responsible for their deaths should die on the battlefield. On the other hand, for the alternative crime frame the dead were victims of a murder so that people responsible for this murder should stand trial. According to Entman (1993), audience frames are the mentally stored clusters of ideas in the audience mind, which guide the individual in processing the information. These internal frames can be influenced by several factors including media, interpersonal relationships, beliefs; knowledge and so on. Individuals use them in making sense of the world. When media cover particular issue or event, they infuse frames into the texts; by framing these issues in certain ways, then the media influence the way people perceive a problem and its consequences, possibly altering their final evaluation of the problem (Jasperson et al. 1998) and this is considered as being the second set of conceptualizing frame. Zhang (2001) calls this as sociological conceptualization; according to him, some researchers perceive framing as sociological process of news production, focusing on the interpretative and rhetorical processes of news media discourse (Duncan, 2007).

For Snow et al. (1986) frames are the result of social processes; events acquire a certain interpretation that enables groups of people to share the meaning of these events and evaluate the situations. In this regard, Rhee (1997) stated that in social cognitive accounts of news framing the news, readers or viewers in the news reception process are situated within a social context with a good amount of knowledge. Rhee has identified sub process of the social cognitive account of framing such as news reception, integration of knowledge and construction a discourse model.

Many theorists agree that framing effects is mainly in the activation of an individual's knowledge when he/she interprets and infers the information from the news text as narrative structure based on their social knowledge (Rhee, 1997). But theorists still differ on the psychological mechanism underlying framing effects (Lee et al., 2008) based on three main factors in framing effects such as availability of news; which is the people's capacity to understand and comprehend the relation between the frame to achieve a new belief. For an example for Lahad Datu crisis, this availability of frame can help public to understand and comprehend a message and also to find a relationship between media. Rhee added that people then comprehend, interpret and evaluate what has been discussed based on their amount of relevant knowledge about the reality of the current framework of the issue. That is in a way suggests effective and efficient solution for a crisis from news texts reading which may influence the people to hold new beliefs and strongly support the new framework of the newspapers in Malaysia.

The second factor is accessibility: This model suggests that the frames do not affect opinion by changing the contents of an individual's ideas but by a process of making the existing idea more accessible so it would be more likely to run into the opinion (Vreese & Lecheler, 2012). In other words, it is individual's repeated exposure to the frame and associated considerations and the final factor is applicability. Applicability is known as the resonance of a frame to the existing belief of an individual that makes such belief stronger (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Scheufele (1999) describes the division between mental frames and textual frames as being a distinction between media frames and individual frames, and argues that it is a fundamental distinction that must be made when operationalizing frames.

To identify the relevant frames, communication researchers have introduced inductive and *deductive* methods. The deductive method is based on predefined frames, which are subsequently quantified in the sample of analysis (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The *inductive* method, on the other hand, requires an open approach to the sample of analysis in

order to detect the frames it contains. There are no frames defined a priori, so that the identified frames will come exclusively from the samples.

A usual strategy followed by deductive studies are based on generic frames as defined by Neuman et al. (1992). The adaptation carried out by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) in their classic work on European politics has also been employed by a multitude of researchers. This study proposed five frames such as *attribution of responsibility* shows the problem or issue focusing on the solution for the conflict. The *conflict* frame presents the issue from the perspective of polarisation and confrontation of individuals or social groups (Patterson, 1998; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; D'Haenens & De Lange, 2001). The *human interest* frame is used to bring the issue or problem closer to any specific individual. The issue is personalised, showing the human side, and can reach dramatization (D'Haenens & De Lange, 2001). The *economic consequences* frame emphasises the economic impact (D'Haenens & De Lange, 2001). The *morality* frame gives prominence to the religious or moral implications of an issue or indicates a group or an individual how should behave. However, in inductive approach, it allows the exposure of frames through the engagement in the selected samples. Van Gorp (2007) has offered recommendations to carry out an inductive approach to frames, starting from the idea that in the text we cannot find explicit frames, but clues that lead to it. These clues, called framing devices or reasoning devices, are terms, metaphors, examples, descriptions, arguments, images and arguments, and they can may be explicit or implicit. Van Gorp advises us to begin with an analysis of certain strategically chosen news and to find elements that can operate as framing or reasoning strategies.

Scheufele (1999) developed a process model of framing. He conceptualizes framing as continuous process where the outcomes of certain processes serve as input for subsequent processes. He came out with four processes; frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects of framing and the link between individual frames and media frames or the feedback

from individual-level framing to media framing. Frame building is the process which refers to the selection or producing the frames by the journalists who are influenced by various sources.

According to Gans (1979), there are three sources of influences. The first source is journalists' ideology, attitudes, and professional norms, which reflected in the way journalists frame news coverage. Another factor influencing the framing of news in selecting frames is the type or political orientation of the medium; and the third source of influence is the external sources e.g. political actors, interest groups, authorities and other elites (Scheufele, 1999). The second process of framing as theory of media effects is frame setting as Scheufele labeled. He has argued that the terminology is similar to McCombs and Shaw's idea of agenda setting when they argued that agenda setting and framing are based on essentially identical processes. Whereas agenda setting is concerned with salience of the issues, framing setting is concerned with the salience of issue attributes.

According to Duncan (2007), frame setting is "the actual encoding and explicating of frames, the point in which the textual frame takes final shape", this media frame has then effects on audience expose to it (p.29). In the process model of framing research individual-level effects focus on the role of audience frames in giving feedback from individual-level framing to media framing which is in a way becomes a research issue (Shceufele,1999; Duncan, 2007). The power of news framing according to Tankard (2001) comes from the ability to eliminate voices and weaken arguments, that the media can frame issue in ways that favour a particular side without showing an explicit bias. He stated that the concept framing could offer alternative to the old objectivity and bias, which was popular in mass communication research for years. For Tankard, framing is about studying the ideology in news, going beneath the surface of news coverage and exposing the hidden assumptions.

Tankard (2001) also states that the importance of the framing concept adds the possibilities of additional, more complex emotional responses and adds cognitive dimension

(which is the beliefs and attitudes about objects). It recognizes the ability of a text or media presentation to define the situation or the issue, and to set the terms of debate and by convincing people to accept one's framing which means winning the debate. Tankard went on providing reasons for the importance of media framing in general. He mentioned 1) it can have subtle but powerful effects on audience to change the status quo. For example, the way the media present the events during crisis which in a way in brought down the presidents and changing governments; 2) it gives insight for media people about how careful they should be in selecting frames for a news story.

Framing studies have demonstrated how the people make sense of issues in the news depending on which aspect of an issue are highlighted (Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006). A number of definitions has been proposed to clarify the framing concept. Entman's definition of framing is the most frequently cited one. He argues that frame is determined by its outcome or effects. According to him, to frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to prompt a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p.52).

Framing is the process of removing a few elements of perceived reality and gathering a description that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation (Entman, 2007). Again Entman said framing works to shape and alter audience members' interpretations and preferences through priming. That is, frames introduce the salience of importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way (Entman, 2007).

Understanding frame-building from frame-setting is an important element framing process (De Vreese, 2005). While, the latter focuses on the interplay between media frames and audience understanding, the former addresses the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Internal and external factors need to be consider in news reporting and writing.

In terms of internal journalistic practices, Iyengar (1991) argued that the tendency of new stories about social issues to contain an episodic frame (focusing on events rather than the broader social context) reflects journalistic conventions, norms, and news values. He proposed that this simplification of social issues results in a topical, separate understanding of the issue. In their study of news stories from three countries, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) noted similarities in use of a conflict frame but differences on the inclusion of the individual journalist's interpretations of the issue. A factor that is external to the journalist but internal to the news organisations is media ownership. Media ownership may influence news values, target audiences, and journalistic practices - all identified as concomitant factors with news production (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996)

Entman (1993) suggested that the frame can be identified and examined by "the presence or the absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, source of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing cluster, facts or judgment" (p.52). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify framing devices such as metaphor, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions and visual images that provide information and offer media package of an issue. Tankard (2001) went on offering the most comprehensive empirical approach when he suggested few framing mechanisms for identifying and measuring news frames: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, sources selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding sentences and paragraphs. The selection of any particular framing device as can determine how the mainstream printed media in Malaysia framed the Lahad Datu crisis.

Media people may employ various frames in their coverage of an issue and to identify how the story told is through analyzing certain distinctive characteristics based on the nature and content of the frame. According to Vreese (2005), certain frames are relevant only to specific topic or event. Other frames that exceed thematic limitations are labeled generic frames, which can be identified in relation to a different topic and even different cultural

context (Jasperson et al., 1998). In this vein, generic frames have been divided into two groups according to Vreese (2005), a group of generic news frame focuses on the coverage of politics more specifically elections as strategic news concentrates on winning and losing, game and competition, language of war and so forth. It has noticed that this strategic news dominated the American newspapers. Meanwhile the other group of generic news frames focuses on the structural, norms, news values and conventions of journalism (Vreese, 2005)

Entman (1993) has identified four locations for frame to be placed within communication process: communicator, text, receiver and culture. The text contains frames which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotypical images, source of information and sentence that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. By the method of textual analyzing, the researchers might be able to identify what frames are used by the media outlets to portray certain issues. In this fashion, Tankard (2001) noticed that framing is an applicable way to examine media hegemony by knowing how dominant one frame is that makes people accept it without noticing or questioning.

Hallahan (1999) added that frame could be defined as a message's meaning by shaping the inferences that individuals make about the message. Journalists use frames to put information into a usable context for readers, to make stories accessible and meaningful to their audiences, and to enable readers to act upon information when appropriate. Framing is doing its job effectively in mass media while emphasizing an issue's importance through the selection of photos, interesting texts, portrayal of actors, attractive headlines and so on to define the problems and find solutions for the problems (Entman 1993 & de Vreese 2005). Applying this framing analysis to the Lahad Datu crisis can help media and government to identify the coverage of crisis along with suggested response through newspaper reporting to overcome the crisis. Media coverage is an appropriate measurement of response effectiveness

because the public's primary source of crisis information is the media (Coombs 2007; Fearn, 2011).

Goffman and Berger in (1974) are credited for introducing interactive skills in framing because they evaluate how information from news can be successfully interpreted by readers, in applying human interpretive skills to organize and perceive the news effectively. However, Reese et al. in (2001) commented that 'frames' is known as organizing rules that can provide a coherent structure for a news story that can help the readers to understand easily any complicated issues. Similarly Lee & Maslog, (2005) added that frames is a cognitive shortcut to people in order to understand a complex issue. Other than that, frames can also assist journalists to describe easily about any happenings to make readers understand better the issue. Moreover, he added that frames can help to simplify any complex issues by asserting certain elements in news, and frames play an important role in choosing what to include and what to exclude in a story that can shape people's perception and interpretation of the story (Hallahan, 1999).

Framing describes how people use information and presentation features regarding issues as they form impressions (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) and framing studies have demonstrated how the people make sense of issues in the news depending on which aspect of an issue are highlighted (Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006). Entman's definition leads to the way we identify frames in the news. Most of the researchers in disagreement with the conceptualization ground of frames, tend to define or operationalize frames designed for the purpose of their specific studies, but there is little consensus in identifying frames in the news (De Vreese, 2005). Studies operationalize frames based on two approaches. First is the inductive, which is in nature fetters to be analyzed in line with prior frames in mind. In other words, the frames emerge from the materials during the course of analysis. However, it is criticized as it relied on a small sample and the results were difficult to replicate. The second approach is deductive in which it investigates frames that are defined and operationalized prior

to investigations. Researchers have taken efforts to know how the frames are formed, or what in the news story forms a frame (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Neuman, et al., 1992).

According to De Vreese (2005), framing in the newsroom must undergo the test of both internal and external factors. Besides the internal factor of newsworthiness and editorial policy, news sources and frame sponsors being the external factors play an important role. Frame sponsors are described by Gamson & Modigliani (1989) as media sources that make efforts to frame information in news stories. They will make sure that the stories are slanted and framed in a way that is consistent with their preferred framing (Hallahan, 1999). The generic or editorial frames have been identified based on textual analysis of selected news stories which provide insights into socio-cultural factors underlying human frames in related countries. Journalists and other communicators use modes of presentation to disseminate information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience in framing process (Scheufele, 2009).

Frames also play an important role as a source for a reporter for any news reports. Reporters usually used frames to effectively define issues in favor of their preferred results and also to influence their readers to act as per their needs and expectations. In doing this, players or actors will be associated with any direct or indirect quotes in news report to influence their readers and it will make sure that the stories will be framed and slanted in a way that is consistent with the journalist's preferred outcome (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Hallahan, 1999). If crisis managers respond quickly and forcefully, they can manage to fill the information void and shape the news framing of the event in such a way that it emphasizes their strength as leaders. If, however, they are slow to respond, or do so in such a way that it is deemed to be inappropriate or insufficient by the media, they may find themselves depicted as part of the problem rather than the solution (Scheufele, 1999; 2009). This will be an important measurement to measure the effectiveness of crisis response strategies through newspaper framing for Lahad Datu crisis.

Kosicki (1993) identified four main news elements that can influence the development of frames in framing the news such as syntactic structures or choosing a particular word to influence people. This is followed by script structures; evaluation of the news value of an event; thematic structures - providing reason and causes for the event and finally rhetorical structures which discussed about new and trend elements chosen and selected by journalists.

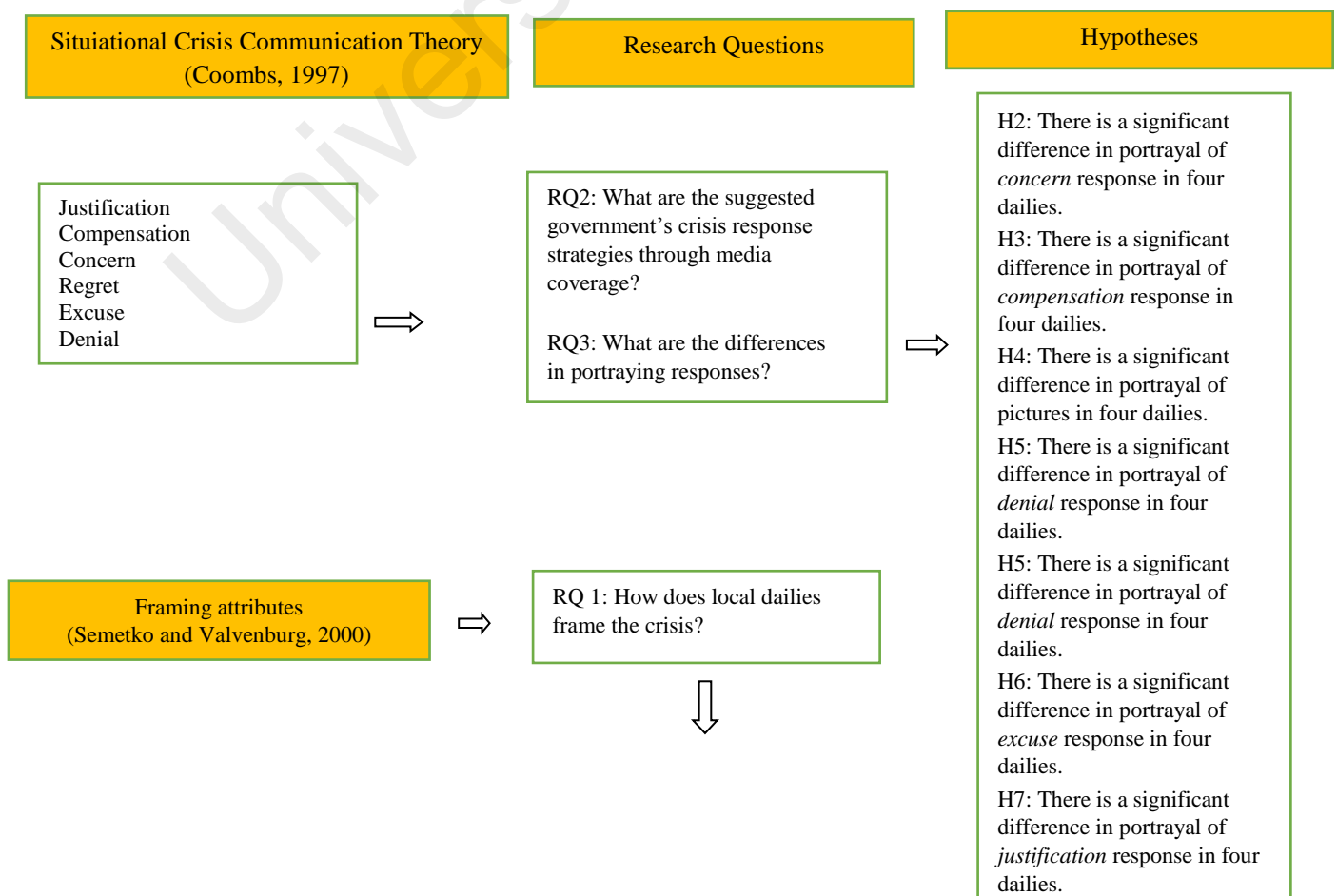
Through framing, crisis manager connects with the public by telling the crisis story (de Vreese, 2005). Framing recognizes the ability of a text to define a situation, issue, and to set the terms of a debate (Entman, 2003; Tankard, 2001). Framing analysis allows researchers to identify how crisis manager narrate their viewpoints of critical issues (Hallahan, 1999), which in turn can help determine the ultimate effectiveness of their goal or strategy (Kim, 2008). As said earlier, crisis communication scholars consistently have identified five general crisis frames that crisis manager use to help the public interpret crises: *attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, human interest* and *morality* (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Supadhiloke, 2012). Kioussis (2004) contends that the salience of an issue can be measured by the frequency of its publication in the media, its prominence or where it is physically located (e.g. front page) and its valence, which relates to the tone (positive, negative or neutral) in which the issue is portrayed.

This research employs framing analysis suggested by Semetko & Valkenburg because it can help to analyze textual messages in media especially in the news, and through inductive method, it can help to detect the frames it contains in news which is Lahad Datu crisis. When the media place stories in specific frames, they lend a different meaning to the news. Furthermore, the media's function is to increase or decrease the salience of issues which can allow the public to remember and make judgments on such issues (Auerbach & Bloch, 2005). Publics and newspapers readers in Malaysia able to form an opinion based on the selection of news frames in selected dailies. This study attempts to identify the frames in news texts, precisely in the printed newspapers in Malaysia, which may influence the public opinion on the

coverage and solution of Lahad Datu crisis through deductive approach (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Neuman et al., 1992).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework show an important role in explaining the linkages between selected theories used in this study. The framework demonstrated in Figure 2 represents the work to be carried out in content analyzing the Lahad Datu crisis news articles in selected dailies. This study examines of the coverage of Lahad Datu crisis by the mainstream newspaper in Malaysia in examining the appropriate crisis response strategies. Reviewing a literary of framing theory and situational crisis communication theory, the researcher suggests this research framework, whereas the independent variables are: 1) news category portrayed by newspapers; 2) the news frames used in newspaper; 3) news sources framed in news story; 4) visuals of the Lahad Datu crisis and; and 5) the slants in reporting the crisis. The dependent variable is: 1) suggested crisis response strategies through news coverage. Suggested independent variables such as news category, framing attributes of Lahad Datu crisis, news sources, selection of visuals, and slants in reporting news will determine the outcome of crisis response strategies as per listed by



H1: There is a significant difference in portrayal news sources in four dailies

Figure 2.1: Theoretical Framework

As per figure 2, media coverage of Lahad Datu crisis in selected dailies will be measured through four independent variables such as portrayal of news categories on Lahad Datu crisis, quotation of news sources in portrayal of Lahad Datu crisis, news slants of Lahad Datu crisis and lastly the framing attributes to Lahad Datu crisis in selected newspapers. All the mentioned variables will be measure to identify the success or failure of crisis response by crisis manager which is government through the selection of a few types of crisis response as per suggested by Coombs in (2007). Analysis for news category will be determine by few variables such as problem, people, solution and neutral categories. The selected variables were selected by researcher based on extensive reading and understanding of news articles of Lahad Datu crisis news in all the dailies and from relevant journals.

News sources as one of the independent variable will be measure to identify the specific crisis responses through news framing of Lahad Datu crisis. In doing this, researcher used and adapted news sources as per listed in Dimitrova & Ahern's (2007) studies on framing analysis of online news sites in coalition countries and the Arab world during the Iraq war. Quantitative content analysis was used by them to identify the online news coverage of the selected sites to analyze the usage of news sources, frames and slant or tone of news coverage. The adapted news sources from Dimitrova and Ahern's are government official, military personnel, individual, journalists/editorials, terrorist group member. The added categories by researcher from Lahad Datu crisis perspective are Ruling Party in Malaysia, Opposition Party

in Malaysia, Ngo - ethnic and non – ethnic, Religious groups, Reader's opinions, Filipinos and International media.

In measuring news slants of Lahad Datu crisis, again researcher used and modified Dimitrova and Ahern (2007) research in measuring news slants of Iraq war coverage in selected home page of four online media such as *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Al Ahram* and *Al Jazeera* during war period. The adapted news slants are 1) positive; positive toward the issue, supportive, provide justification and solution for the issue, 2) negative; carries negative aspects/ meaning towards the issue or events, causes the readers to form a negative opinion towards the issue or event and contains unfavorable descriptions of the issue or event and 3) neutral; news is neither in positive or negative slant in the news articles.

The selection of visuals categories was adapted and revised from Schwalbe (2013) in examining visual framing of invasion of Iraq. Through content analysis of 2258 images from selected news magazines, Schwalbe listed few categories of visuals such as 1) conflict; depicted images such as combatants, weapons, troops, prisoners of wars and combat, 2) violence of war; using images such as injury, death, and destruction, 3) human interest; portrayal of pictures such as non-combatants; such as civilians and humanitarian relief workers, 4) politicians, 5) anti-war protests, 6) media self-referential (journalists at home and in Iraq), 6) looting and 7) oil resources. The added categories by researcher for coverage of Lahad Datu crisis are 1) decision maker – Malaysia, 2) decision maker – Philippines, 3) militant or soldiers, 4) victim's families, 5) victims, 6) refugees, 7) bodies and coffins, 8) local residents, 9) Sulu authorities and 10) affected surrounded environment.

The coding categories for news framing were developed based on Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) studies from content analyzed of 2601 newspaper stories and 1522 television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meetings of Europeans presidents in 1997. The adapted news framing are 1) *conflict frame*; news in this category emphasize on the conflict, 2) *economic consequences* frame; news items that present an

event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences to economic, 3) *attribution of responsibility* frame: news that providing solution for an issue or problem, 4) *morality frame*; frame the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or morals and social prescriptions and 5) *human interest* frame; news that present emotional angle to capture the audience's interests; employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate empathy and sympathy care.

Coombs (2007) integrated the work of Benoit in providing a set of crisis response strategies according to crisis types to provide appropriate solutions. In this research, researcher adapted and amended Coomb's 2007 categories of crisis response strategies such as 1) *denial*; denying that there's no crisis, 2) *excuse*; minimize the impact of crisis through providing many excuses to escape for the crisis, 3) *justification*; minimize the impact of crisis by providing solutions, 4) *concern*; portrayal of sympathy and concern for the victim of crisis and 5) *compensation*; providing money or other types of compensation for victims to reduce the impact of crisis.

2.5 Summary of the Study

Framing theory can help to analyze textual messages in newspapers, and it connects news to find the causal of problem, interpretation of problem, provide judgments and give recommendation for selected conflictual news coverage in providing responses otherwise known as Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT). When the media place stories in specific frames, they lend a different meaning to the news. Furthermore, the media's function is to increase or decrease the salience of issues which can allow the public to remember and make judgments on such issues in an effort to give solutions for a crisis. Theoretical framework describe further the analysis of framing and crisis response strategies in achieving research objectives.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Based on the objectives of this study, this chapter review and discusses few concepts such as introduction to Sabah and Lahad Datu, defining crisis and terrorism crisis, examples of terrorism crisis, crisis communication and crisis management, history and developmental in Malaysian newspapers, studies of media framing, media coverage of crisis and crisis response strategies, news sources, news slants and visual portrayal of crisis.

3.2 Sabah and “Lahad Datu”

3.2.1 History of Sabah and Claim of Sabah

Malaysia consists of two parts—the Malaysian peninsula (to the West), and the state of Sabah and Sarawak in Borneo island (Fernandez, 1998). The rest of Borneo Island (Kalimantan) belongs to Indonesia. Brunei lies as an independent country between the Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah. The Philippines lies to the northeast of Sabah (Fernandez, 1998). There are many small islands in this region belonging to Malaysia as well as the Philippines (including Sulu Archipelago) (Meinhardt et al. 1999).

After World War II, the British allowed North Borneo (Sabah) to join the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 and it was renamed 'Sabah'. However, until today, the Malaysian Embassy in Manila continues to pay nominal 'cession money' to the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu, amounting to RM 5,300.00 (73, 940 Filipino peso) per year (Rusli, & Mazlan, 2013a).

The Philippines claimed sovereignty over Sabah when it joined Malaysia but agreed in 1977 not to pursue the claim. In 2008, an initiative by Nur Misuari, a leader of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to take the Sabah claim to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) was regarded as a non-issue by the Sabah authorities (Rusli & Mazlan, 2013a).

The Sulu Sultan sought to support his contention by asserting that the rent paid by the Malaysian embassy in Manila to him was in recognition of his sovereignty over Sabah. The Sultan's spokesman, Abraham Idjirani, stated that the Sultan and his followers would remain in Sabah and not return to the Philippines despite the offensive to dislodge them (Rusli & Mazlan, 2013a)

The former territory of North Borneo was ceded or leased in perpetuity to the British in January 1878 by an agreement signed between the then Sultanate of Sulu and two British commercial agents, namely Alfred Dent and Baron von Overbeck of the British North Borneo Company, in return for payment of 5000 Malayan dollars per year (Warren, 2007). The sum was increased to 5,300 dollars when the lease was extended to include islands along the coast of North Borneo (Tregonning, 1965).

On February 9, 2013, about 100 to 300 armed Tausug from Sulu Archipelago infiltrated the Northeastern part of Sabah. The invaders identified themselves as Royal Security Forces of Sultanate of Sulu and North Borneo, and occupied a village called Tanduo in Lahad Datu, Sabah (Zachariah, 2013). The Sulu Sultan Jamalul Kiram III confirmed that the invasion was led by his brother, Crown Prince Abgimuddin Kiram, and had instructions to proclaim their ancestral right over the disputed Sabah (Chooi, 2013a). They claimed they did not intend to

initiate any hostilities, unless forced to use arms in self-defense. The intruders did not harm the villagers and allowed them to leave the troubled area peacefully (Chooi, 2013a).

The intruders were offered by the Malaysian government to leave state peacefully (Poling, et al., 2013). Despite the request from the Philippine government and several extensions in the deadline given by the Malaysian government, the intruders insist to continue their attack at Tanduo village.

The standoff lasted for nearly three weeks. On 1st March, 2013, the first gunfire was exchanged killing twelve intruders and two Malaysian Police Commandos. Moreover, an ambush on police in Lahad Datu village caused in the death of eight policemen and six Tausugs. On 5th March, 2013, the Malaysian prime minister announced the commencement of Ops Sulu-Daulat, which was essentially the green light for a military assault on the besieged red zone of Kampung Tanduo. During the campaign, Malaysian security forces had mobilized 5610 troops, fighter jets, helicopters, mortars, and armored personnel carriers (Kamavoz, 2013). The operation was officially ended on 15 March, 2013, with Malaysian losses amounting to ten security personnel killed and a financial cost of almost RM85 million (Zachariah, 2013).

3.2.2 Chronology of Lahad Datu crisis

On 1st March, 2013, a few days after the negotiations and diplomacy conducted between Malaysian security officers and intruders to ask them to surrender, fighting between the group and the security of Malaysia evolved due to their rejection for peace agreement. The clashes occurred when security forces entered Tanduo village for the war.

During the incident, the group raised the white flag of the invaders to act normally, as a sign of devotion. However, when security forces approached the group the invaders, they had opened fire to the Malaysian security forces caused the battle between the two parties. In the

battle, two security personnel, from VAT 69 Commando and 12 people were killed over the period startled group 20-30 minutes cross-shot. In this incident, two policemen VAT 69 are killed is Inspector Zulkifli Sabaruddin Daud Mamat and Corporal Sabaruddin Daud (*Utusan Malaysia, The Star, Sin Chew & Nanban*, 3 March, 2013).

After the fight, the security of Malaysia managed to seize two M16 barrel, two barrel semi-auto rifle, two pistols, ammunition shoots a rocket launcher, ammunition and suitcase of the invaders (*The Star*, 2 March, 2013). At this stage, anxiety began to appear among the people in Malaysia and Sabah on the safety of Sabah. This cause, Hamza Taib, Sabah Police Commissioner gave assurance that the authorities still managed to control the security situation in the area (*Utusan Malaysia*, 3 March, 2013).

In the evening of 2 March, 2013, another six security forces were killed in ambush in kampung Sri Jaya, Simunul, Semporna district, which is located more than 200 km from the center of the fighting in Tanduo village. This incident occurred when the security forces Malaysia started their operation to find suspects involved in incidents of aggression in Tanduo village. Among the Malaysian police killed in this incident was Sergeant Mohamad Hamid, Lance Corporal Mohd Azrul Salam Togiran Tukiran, Corporal, Sergeant Abdul Aziz Sakiran, Supt. Ibrahim Width and ASP Michael Padel.

After the peace negotiations between the group and the Malaysian Government, the Malaysian security forces failed to act using violence to suppress the group. Therefore, government decided to send a military battalion to Sabah. Of this total, 5 battalion will be placed in Lahad Datu and Sandakan battalion 1 and 1 battalion again in the districts of Tawau. On 5th March, 2013, an attack was launched by the security forces. This operation known as Ops Daulat. In this operation, the security forces launched the attack using jet fighters and F/A-18 and Hawk on armed intruders. This attack was followed by mortar attacks by the security forces of Malaysia to the invaders. This is followed by a search of the Group's Fort area

invaders made by troops and police. Meanwhile, an area of deepwater Sabah's East Coast also controlled entirely by the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN) as well as some other security agencies, for example, marine police (*The Star*, 7 March, 2013).

3.2.3 Consequences and Impacts

Lahad Datu crisis caused the death of the Malaysian security forces. Sulu gunmen killed security officers with cruel and brutal. Their stomach was taken from body and their chest were split and removed from internal organs. The body of national hero also cut into few pieces and throw into sea. Another member of the security forces even survived being smallpox when both sides of his hands and head were cut (*Utusan Malaysia*, 8 March, 2013).

There have been no activities carried out at in the village. Residents who sleep around 10.00 pm night now became silent and began to sleep around 8.00 pm. One of the fisherman Jailani, 58 said he hasn't sleeping much due to incident. By 5pm most of the villagers will had their dinner and won't come out from their home. Compare to last time, they used to shut the door at 9pm but now, they locked it by 6m due to worried about their safety (*The Star*, 7 March, 2013).

Jailani and his friends also unable to go sea for fishing due to the incident scared the gunmen will kidnap them (*The Star*, 10 March, 2013). Due to this, fish price increased double. From RM 5 for 1 kilo increase to RM 10 per kilo (*Nanban*, 7 March, 2013). Furthermore, shop owners also closed their shops at 6pm and this affected their profits because before the invasion of Lahad Datu crisis, they manage to earned RM 200 per day but now so little almost RM 50 and below (*Sin Chew*, 13 March, 2013, *Nanban*, 10 March, 2013 & *The Star*, 10 March, 2013). Most of the economic transactions were shut down and farmers are reluctant to go to their estates, fishermen refuse for fishing due to concerned for their safety. Villagers digging into

their saving for their daily expenses and they were worried about their saving and daily routine lives (*The Star*, 10 March, 2013).

The main districts on the East Coast, for example, “Semporna”, “Kunak” and “Lahad Datu” residents begin to feel worry and panic. Sanctions and inspections of road occurred in almost every main road in the area and carried out for 24 hours. The number of military personnel and police control are available at every areas and it’s known as war zone. Furthermore, security officers are higher and more than normal residents at affected area.

Due to this incident, several foreign countries, such as China, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have advised their citizens to avoid coming to Sabah (Izyanti et al. 2016). This resulted in declines in international tourist arrivals throughout South East Asia and threatened the sustainability of some tourism businesses and destinations. Based on the states tourist arrival statistics on the Sabah tourism website, the state saw the lowest number of foreign tourists in February, March and April 2013 during the intrusion (Izyanti et al. 2016).

Price for goods such as rice, milk, sugar and necessary things increased tremendously. Citizens unable to pay the prices. Due to the security reasons, most of the villagers stayed home. Therefore, they lost their monthly income and unable to buy necessary goods for daily lives. Schools and government offices were closed. Citizen worried to go out. Incident at kg Tanduo have widespread implications in the lives of people who have never experienced by residents of the country, especially in Sabah caused it threaten the safety and comfort of the population (*Nanban, The Star, Utusan Malaysia & Sin Chew*, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 & 13 March 2013). Villagers afraid to switch on light due to their safety because residents at Semporna said they don’t know if there are gunmen wandering around their place (*The Star*, 9 March, 2013). Furthermore, the schools at Kampung Tanduo has been closed and most of the school teachers returned to their respective hometown due to anxiety and safety concern. One of the teacher

said, everyone was worried as they were not sure what was really going on and not comfortable in staying with war (*The Star*, 9 March, 2013).

3.3 Crisis and Crisis of Terrorism

A conflict has generally been defined as a situation in which two or more parties strive to acquire the same scarce resources at the same time (Peter, 2002). However, in the Handbook of Crisis Communication, Coombs defines a crisis as “the perception of an event that threatens important experiences of stakeholders and can impact the organizations performances” (Coombs, 2010, p. 100).

A few generic things can be said about the concept. Firstly, a crisis is perceptual. This means that a crisis is defined by the perceptions held about it. Stakeholders perceive crises in a certain way and it is the organizations job to adjust its crisis communication to their beliefs. Secondly, a crisis is unpredictable. A crisis can be anticipated, and intelligent companies are aware of the potential crises but couldn't predict when exactly it will happen. Thirdly, crises affect stakeholder expectations, and finally, it is important to distinguish between crises and incidents because an incident is a minor, localized disruption” however a crisis “disrupts the entire organization” (Coombs, 1999, p. 3). In other words, the difference between the two has to do with how much damage they cause. Therefore, in this research, researcher able to describe Lahad Datu as a crisis based on characteristics mentioned above by Coombs.

Coombs (2007) grouped crisis into four criteria: unpredictability, threat to stakeholder expectations, impact on organizational performance, and potential for negative outcomes. Similar with Ulmer, Sellnow, and Seeger's definition of crisis. Their definition of crisis also rests on four criteria: unexpected nature of the event, non-routine demands on the organization, production of uncertainty, and threat to high-priority goals (Ulmer, 2007). Third definition for the term “crisis” posited by Huxman is comprised of the following criteria: nature of the harm,

extent of the harm, clarity of the cause, precedence of the harm, power of the accusers, and visual dimensions (Huxman & Bruce 1995). By combining these definitions, the term “crisis” defined as an unexpected and unpredictable event which is caused by any event, threatens an organization’s stakeholders’ expectations, places non-routine demands on an organization, produces uncertainty in an organization, has a negative impact on organizational performance, threatens organizational goals, harms public, and produces accusations concerning the organization(s) involved.

Coombs (2007) added a crisis is defined as a significant threat to operations that can have negative consequences if not handled properly. In crisis management, the threat is the potential damage a crisis can inflict on an organization, its stakeholders, and an industry. A crisis can create three related threats: (1) public safety, (2) financial loss, and (3) reputation loss. Some crises, such as industrial accidents and product harm, can result in injuries and even loss of lives. Crises can create financial loss by disrupting operations, creating a loss of market share/purchase intentions, or spawning lawsuits related to the crisis.

Again, Coombs defines crisis from different aspects; in general he defines crisis as “the perception of an unpredictable event that threatens important expectancies of audiences and can seriously impact an organization’s performance and generate negative outcomes” (Coombs, 2007, p.2-3). In particular and from the communication and communicators aspect crisis is “an event for which people seek causes and make attributions” (Coombs & Holladay, 2004, p.97). That means people seek information during a sudden crisis to understand the situation based on how the media cover it, then they evaluate and make attributions of who is responsible for the crisis. This is relevant to researcher of this study to identify the responses for a crisis through media coverage.

Seeger et al., (1998) have identified four main characteristics for crises. According to them crises are specific, unexpected, non-routine events or series of events that create high levels of uncertainty and threat or perceived threat to an organization's high priority goals. To

add on, Venette (2003) said crisis is a process of transformation where the old system can no longer be maintained.

Different type of crisis features certain aspects of the crisis. These signs indicate how public should interpret a crisis (Coombs & Holladay, 2002). A crisis manager; also known as the government according to the scope of this research, tries to establish or shape the crisis frame by emphasizing certain signs. The signs include whether or not some external agent or force caused the crisis, whether the crisis was a result of accidental or intentional actions by members or parties in the state, technical error, individual error and many more. It does matter if stakeholders view the event as an accident, sabotage or criminal negligence. The crisis types or frames determine how much stakeholders or publics attribute responsibility for the crisis to the country. Crisis should be newsworthy because media coverage and reporting not only define the crisis, but make salient of the portrayal of crisis news.

To add on, according to Ismail (2015), the word “*crisis*” is from the Greek word “*krinon*” which means dangerous situations in social, political and economic issues. Crisis happened when it doesn’t happen naturally. Crisis is known as a sudden event that looms to disrupt an organization’s or state’s maneuvers, mainly in its finance and reputation. Crisis threatens to damage the reputation because crisis can create a bad perception about the organization which means state or country for this researcher’s scope. Furthermore, a crisis is a situation that gives off negative and unexpected impact for a country and government (Coombs, 1999). As mentioned earlier, Lahad Datu crisis impacted Malaysia country in many negative ways. A good communicative response to a crisis can limit and minimize any types of future damage (Coombs & Holladay, 2009).

Crisis consists of five dimensions such as: ‘it is highly identifiable and can be seen by the public, needs immediate attention, uses an element of shock, needs immediate solution and that a country that faces the crisis is out of control (Pearson & Mitroff, 1993). Adams & Roebuck, (1997) said that most of the crisis happened without any expectation and

preparation, it requires a surprised feeling followed by a trigger; whereby crisis can influence public's perception of the government.

Lerbinger in (1997), categorized seven types of crises such as:

- Natural disaster- happened due to the natural disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tornadoes, hurricanes, floods, landslides and so on.
- Technological crises- Caused by human application of science and technology. It's happened due to technology becoming too complex to operate. Some technological crises happened when human mistakes or errors cause disruptions, known as human breakdowns.
- Confrontation- Confrontation crises occur when any individuals or groups fight with any business parties to win in their demands and expectations. The common types of confrontation crises are boycotts and demonstration.
- Malevolence- An organization or state faces a crisis of malevolence when the opponent party uses criminal techniques to express their anger and dissatisfaction towards an organization or party. Examples of malevolence crises are product tampering, kidnapped, terrorism rumors and many more.
- Crisis of management misdeeds- Crises occur when management takes actions that can harm their target audience without any precautions. Lerbinger specified three different types of crises of organizational misdeeds such as crises of skewed management values, crises of deception, and crises of management misconduct.
- Workplace violence- employee or former employee performs violence behavior with other existing employees in management.
- Rumors- False information about an organization, state or country which impacted the reputation of organization, state or country.

Supplemented by Coombs (2009), a crisis can be perceived as an event that threatens the important expectations of stakeholders. As a consequence, it can impact the organization and state's performance.

Researcher grouped Lahad Datu crisis as a terrorism crisis because crisis of terrorism is known as using aggressive acts of violence to harm people physically and mentally to make them scared and fearful from sabotage, riots, kidnappings, mass poisoning, rape, bombing and unlawful imprisonment (Noris et al. 2003). Examples of the terrorism acts are suicide attacks by terrorists. In the United States (U.S) Marine Barracks in Beirut on October 1983, the suicide attempts succeeded after they convinced the U.S. to withdraw their soldiers from Lebanon. The same phenomena happened that resulted the U. S to pull out their soldiers from Saudi Arabia two years after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Again the same thing happened to the Filipino government when they called back their soldiers from Iraq after Iraqi extremists kidnapped a Filipino truck driver (Kydd & Walter, 2006).

Canel & Sanders (2010, p. 450) define terror attacks via three perspectives. First, terror attacks are obviously crises. Second, a terrorist attack has a strong communicative dimension and "(...) aims to assault at the very heart of democratic politics, undermining public trust, attempting to change governmental policy". Third, terrorist attacks also involve and may hurt the reputation of organizations.

The term 'terrorism' comes from the French word 'terrorisme' which is based on the latin verb 'terrere' meaning 'to cause to quake.' According to Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, 1989 terrorism is a policy to cause terror. The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines terrorism as the systematic use of violence to create feeling of fear among publics to achieve terrorist's goals. Terrorism is violence or other harmful acts committed against civilians for political and ideological purposes (Roy, 2011). The aim of terrorism is to getting media attention in order to achieve maximum possible publicity as an intensifying power to influence the targeted audiences. Terrorists focus on both physical and psychological effect of

their attacks. Terrorism uses a strategy that primarily relies on the symbolic strength of the act. The use of terror serves to convey their messages to their targeted publics (Roy, 2011).

Kydd & Walter in (2006) said that terrorism works well because it causes individuals, government or state to respond to the terrorist's goals. The first principal strategy used by terrorists is attrition. Attrition means terrorist try to persuade the enemy through showing them that the terrorists are strong enough to cause destruction. The second type of principal of terrorist strategy is to use intimidation. Intimidation is when terrorists try to convince the public through revealing that they are able and willing to do any extreme things in order to affect normal citizens and trying to frame the government or authority as being incapable to stop them. The third type of terrorist strategy is to use provocation; it's an act to persuade the government to respond to terrorists in order to stop them from violent behavior. This is followed by the use of spoiling strategy, which is using persuasion to negotiate with the government with the perception that terrorists are weak and untrustworthy, and lastly is to use outbidding when they are able to influence the public and win public support. Similarly, Neelamalar et al. in (2000) conclude terrorist seek media portrayal to create fear, panic, to make losses in economic and to make people lose confidence towards government's ability to protect them. Therefore, due to the seriousness of the Lahad Datu crisis urge researcher to seek more on information provided by crisis manager which is government in providing solutions. The uniqueness in this study is researcher would like to know and identify the response, duration of response and solution for a crisis through newspaper framing.

3.3.1 Crisis Communication

Communication is the essence of crisis management. A crisis or the threat of crisis creates a need for information. Through communication, the information is collected, processed into knowledge, and shared with others. Communication is critical throughout the entire crisis management process. Each phase of the crisis management process has its own demand for

creating and sharing knowledge – the need to collect and interpret information. Using the three phases of crisis management, Coombs identified various “types” of crisis communication and provide a brief historical record of the key extant research on the crisis communication topic.

Crisis communication involves the sending and receiving of messages “to prevent or lessen the negative outcomes of a crisis and thereby protect the organization, stakeholders, or industry from damage” (Coombs, 1999, p. 4). Additionally, Fearn in (2002) suggests that “crisis communication is verbal, visual, and written interaction between the organization and its stakeholders (often through the media) prior to, during and after a negative occurrence” (p. 480). These communication processes are designed to reduce and contain harm, provide specific information to stakeholders, initiate and enhance recovery, manage image and perceptions of blame and responsibility, repair legitimacy, generate support and assistance, explain and justify actions, apologize, and promote healing, learning, and change (Seeger, et al. 1998). Crisis communication seeks to explain the specific event, identify likely consequences and outcomes, and provide specific harm-reducing information to affected communities in an honest, candid, prompt, accurate, and complete manner.

Crisis communication also can be defined broadly as the collection, processing, and dissemination of information required to address a crisis situation. In pre-crisis, crisis communication revolves around collecting information about crisis risks, making decisions about how to manage potential crises, and training people who will be involved in the crisis management process.

The training includes crisis team members, crisis spokespersons, and any individuals who will help with the response. Crisis communication includes the collection and processing of information for crisis team decision making along with the creation and dissemination of crisis messages to people outside of the team (the traditional definition of crisis communication).

Crisis communication is needed to disseminate responses of crisis to respected publics. In this research, researcher selected printed media which is local newspaper in educating public about crisis information and the responses taken by government as a crisis manager.

3.3.2 Crisis Management

Crisis management is a critical organizational function. Failure to address the problems that arise will result in serious problem to stakeholders and losses for an organization. Public relations practitioners are part of crisis management teams. Three elements are common to most definitions of crisis: (a) a threat to the organization, (b) the element of surprise, and (c) a short decision time (Seeger et al., 1998).

Crisis management is a process designed to prevent or lessen the damage a crisis can inflict on an organization and its stakeholders. From the review of literature crisis management can be divided into three phases: (1) pre-crisis, (2) crisis response, and (3) post-crisis. The pre-crisis phase is concerned with prevention and preparation. The crisis response phase is when management must actually respond to a crisis. The post-crisis phase looks for ways to better prepare for the next crisis and fulfills commitments made during the crisis phase including follow-up information (Coombs, 2007). Coombs in (1999) generalized effective crisis response strategy into two key elements: compassion and information. He further claimed crisis managers must provide crisis related information to stakeholders and demonstrate compassion for victims.

The process notion of crisis management is reflected in the field's models. Fink (1986) was among the first to examine crises as occurring in stages. Fink's model has four stages: (1) prodromal, warning signs of a crisis appear; (2) acute, a crisis occurs; (3) chronic, recovery period that can include lingering concerns from the crisis; and (4) crisis resolution, the organization is back to operations as normal. Smith (1990) developed a three step model of the

crisis management process: (1) crisis management, a crisis incubates; (2) operational crisis, a trigger event occurs and first responders arrive; and (3) crisis of legitimization, a communicative response is provided, media and government become interested, and organizational learning occurs. There is a feedback loop from the crisis of legitimization to crisis management. Smith begins to move beyond the crisis process itself by considering crisis management efforts as well. Mitroff (1994) offers a five stage model: (1) signal detection, seek to identify warning signs and take preventative measures; (2) probing and prevention, active search and reduction of risk factors; (3) damage containment, crisis occurs and actions taken to limit its spread; (4) recovery, effort to return to normal operations; and (5) learning, people review the crisis management effort and learn from it. Mitroff is modeling the crisis management process more than just the crisis process itself. In general the crisis models reflect the emergency management process of (1) mitigation, (2) preparedness, (3) response, and (4) recovery (Principles, 2003).

Crisis management consists of: a) Methods used to respond to both the reality and perception of crises. b) Establishing metrics to define what scenarios constitute a crisis and should consequently trigger the necessary response mechanisms. c) Communication that occurs within the response phase of emergency management scenarios. Crisis management methods for a business or an organization are called Crisis Management Plan.

The crisis management plan must be tailored to the company's strategy and goals. Through a business impact analysis, a company must analyze which business functions are critical to the organization's mission, so as to prioritize them in case of a crisis, in order to ensure business continuity, the capability to continue delivery of products or services, at acceptable predefined levels following a disruptive incident (Seeger et al., 2007).

When avoidance efforts fail and a crisis is triggered, the organization goes into "crisis mode" and enters the response phase, characterized by short decision time, complexity, and

ambiguity, since risk of immediate damage is still present. Decisive action is needed, and efforts must be shifted into containing the crisis and minimizing damage by bringing the situation under control as quickly as possible. The organization traverses a path of observation, interpretation, choice, and dissemination will be repeated for numerous times (Hale et al., 2005).

The first step towards crisis containment is to assess the situation by quickly gathering as much accurate information as possible. It is important to define the scope of the crisis, meaning whether it's local, regional or global. It also must be determined which organizational areas are involved, which sectors are affected, as well as which stakeholders, because it is important to manage a crisis on all levels and to determine what different capacities have to be mobilized (Baubion, 2012). After the assessment, the crisis management team will take over and perform its pre assigned tasks by mobilizing the necessary resources. Its composition will of course be modified for every crisis according to its nature (for example, information technology experts would be required if the crisis involved the computer system).

During the crisis management process, it is important to identify types of crises in that different crises necessitate the use of different crisis management strategies (Coombs, 1999). Crises usually follow certain phases of progress. The usual progress consists of four basic phases. The first one is the pre-crisis phase, which is also called the warning phase. In this phase, the initial warning signs of the crisis are detected, but the main problem for the decision makers is their predisposition to not respond, because in this period, the problems caused by the crisis have not yet influenced the vital interests of the government. However, in this phase, the panic level of the government is increasing while the crisis situation is getting clearer.

The second stage is called the crisis phase. From this point on, the crisis has definitely begun. A chain of events starts happening related to the crisis. The government administration usually tries to become a control centre. Additionally, decision makers are scared of the

situation, and they panic. The decision-making process is influenced by the situation, and events occur faster and change – even it is out of the routine. The function of the leader expands and the expectations from the leader increase (Peter & Mark, 2000).

The third phase is called crisis abatement. If the government cannot find a solution to eliminate the harmful effects of the crisis, the credibility of the government might be damaged, and also the government could lose its prestige in the political landscape. In addition to this, it may have problems with other governments. If the government is able to deal with the crisis and its bad effects, it is possible for the government to have little actual injury and it is also possible that the government could gain some advantage as a result of the crisis. So the last phase is called the post-crisis; steps and procedure after crisis (Holsti, 1980). Phases of crisis are discussed detail in 3.3.3.

Crisis management will guide crisis manager in identifying ways and process in combating crisis. Appropriate crisis management is needed to detect the crisis in an effective way. Throughout this research, researcher will able to identify the content and information portrayed by local dailies in disseminating responses for Lahad Datu crisis by Malaysian government through crisis management.

3.3.3 Crisis Response Phases

The crisis response phase is the most heavily researched aspect of crisis communication. The reason is that how and what an organization communicates during a crisis has a significant effect on the outcomes of the crisis, including the number of injuries and the amount of reputational damage sustained by the organization. Coombs in (2007) introduced two types of response advice such as 1) tactical advice and 2) strategic advice as a main phase in crisis response.

Tactical advice: The early research was tactical in nature, a type of “how to” instruction. This would include the proper form for spokespersons to use when meeting the media. Four accepted pieces of wisdom emerged from the tactical research. First wisdom is avoiding “no comment.” The other three are be quick, be accurate, and be consistent. Practitioners emphasized a quick response, usually within the first hour (Barton, 2001). A failure to respond lets others provide the information that will frame how the crisis will be perceived by stakeholders. Silence is too passive and allows others to control the crisis (Brummett, 1980). Moreover, research has proved the value of bad news coming from the organization itself. When an organization is the information source about a crisis occurring, there is less reputational damage than if the news media are the first to deliver the information. This effect has been called “stealing thunder” (Arpan & Pompper, 2003; Arpan & Roskos, 2005) and provides proof that organizations must discuss the crisis and not remain silent. Accuracy builds credibility while inaccuracy erodes it. Furthermore, misinformation can place stakeholders at risk. Being consistent is another way to build credibility. Inconsistencies create confusion and make crisis managers appear to be incompetent. Consistency is often called speaking with one voice. However, people often confuse speaking with one voice with having just one spokesperson during the crisis (Coombs, 2007). Most organizations use multiple spokespersons during a crisis. Different spokespeople may be needed to cover various areas of expertise, or a crisis may extend over days making it impossible for one person to be the sole voice for the organization. Spokespersons must be kept informed of the same information to help insure consistency (Carney & Jorden, 1993).

Strategic advice: Strategic crisis communication research seeks to understand how crisis communication can be used to achieve specific outcomes and have the desired effect on stakeholders. The emphasis is on how various crisis response strategies are used to pursue various organizational objectives. Sturges (1994) provides a useful framework for categorizing crisis responses by strategic focus. Sturges’ three strategic foci are (1) instructing information,

how to cope physically with the crisis; (2) adjusting information, how to cope psychologically with the crisis; and (3) reputation repair, attempts to ameliorate the damage a crisis inflicts on an organization. Clearly, the three are related, as instructing and adjusting information will influence reputation repair. Instructing information, according to Sturges (1994), is the first priority in a crisis. If an organization fails to provide instructing information, the stakeholders and organizations will suffer even more. Adjusting information includes the need to express sympathy and to explain what the organization is doing to prevent a repeat of the crisis. Efforts to prevent a repeat of the crisis are also known as corrective action. Adjusting information has been studied as reputation repair rather than adjusting information.

Again Coombs in (2014), proposed two types of crisis stages such as 1) Pre-crisis and 2) Post crisis. During pre- crisis stage, selection of spokespersons is a must. Spokesperson is known as who will handle communication during the crisis, and should be trained by the public relations department, and preferably possess media relations skills and effective communication skills (Coombs, 2014).

The next step is to communicate the situation to the public and to stakeholders. This is important because stakeholder perception is critical to a company's success and therefore should an equal, if not more urgent priority over the technical solution. There will be an expectation of an immediate response, and a need for reassurance in the face of ambiguity. Effective communication happens when information is disseminated quickly and accurately, stakeholders, including the media (Hale et al., 2005). A quick and well prepared response allows for framing of the crisis by preventing the spread of inaccurate information, and shows that the organization is in control and safeguards the reputation and trust that organizations have been built up. A company should always take responsibility by indicating awareness of the situation, and assure that more details will be made public when they are known, explain how stakeholders might be affected by the problem, describe corrective action being taken to reassure them, and address crucial legal, financial, and business implications of the crisis.

Coombs (2014) also suggests that companies should also express concern and sympathy for any victims of the crisis, therefore their communication should include a clear rehabilitation and compensation statement.

In order to avoid inconsistencies, the spokespersons must be quickly briefed on the key message to be conveyed, they must be in communication with each other and no one else in the company should be authorized to speak to the media (Coombs, 2014). This can be done through a taped interview, through mass media, press conferences and press releases, or industry publications. Furthermore, crisis managers need to use social media, by monitoring opinions expressed there, and also by using these modern tools to share information and communicate with the public (Baubion, 2012). Internal communication (print, electronic media, personal meetings, e-mails, phone-calls, bulletins, or Intranet sites) should keep employees informed, reassured, and ensure their participation in communication crisis response (Coombs, 2014).

Post- crisis is in final phase. Post-crisis involves dissecting the crisis management effort, communicating necessary changes to individuals, and providing follow-up crisis messages as needed. Crisis communication has focused on the crisis category/crisis response – what organizations say and do after a crisis.

When the crisis subsides, the business enters the final phase, the post-crisis phase, in which the risk is over and business is resuming as usual, so the crisis is no longer the focal point of management's attention although it still requires some attention. Now the company can focus its resources on recovering from the crisis and rebuilding trust and credibility by managing public perception (Coombs, 2014). The post-crisis phase looks for ways to better prepare for the next crisis and fulfills commitments made during the crisis phase and also aims to repair any reputational damage sustained during the crisis. A crisis should be a learning experience, and the crisis management efforts should be evaluated to see what is working and

what needs improvement. In order to do this, an organization may appoint a crisis evaluation team, which should be different from crisis management team members, to assess handling of the crisis and recommend changes in crisis procedures. This will prevent crisis recurrence and damage, by integrating lessons learned into the organization's crisis management system, allowing to improve prevention, preparation, and the response. Then, a company must identify and repair any damage that it has sustained during the crisis, most commonly reputational damage. Most frequently, the communication strategies used during the crisis to protect reputation. In order to determine this, managers can evaluate effects of the crisis by comparing with pre-crisis benchmarks of public opinion and stakeholder perceptions of organizational legitimacy. Another method is to review the intensifying factors of crisis history and prior reputation. If an organization has a history of similar crises or has a negative prior reputation, the reputational threat is intensified.

This is also the time to fulfill any commitments made during the crisis communication phase, such as victim compensation and follow up communication. The organization should release updates on the recovery process, describe corrective actions being taken, and publicize possible results from investigations of the crisis. The amount of follow-up communication required depends on the amount of information promised during the crisis and the length of time it takes to complete the recovery process (Coombs, 2000; 2014). Media coverage often can provide solution or response to the crisis through good reporting. Also, people can focus on the wrong sense of what is a crisis (Coombs, 2009).

In this research, researcher is focusing on the portrayal of crisis in pre- crisis stages. The portrayal of Lahad Datu crisis in mainstream newspaper will determine the frequency, speed and placement of crisis in selected newspapers to identify the appropriate crisis response strategies portrayed by government in responding to Lahad Datu crisis.

Many studies have been conducted to examine how local, national and international mass media portray the crises more specifically the terrorism crises all over the world. This section identifies and discusses some studies about the way media cover and frame crises. The researcher takes cases of some crises such as War September 11, Iraq War 2003, Syria conflict, Israel-Palestinian conflict, crisis in India and Thailand crisis.

3.4 Examples of Terrorism Crisis

3.4.1 WAR September 11 (9/11)

The attacks of 11 September 2001 also known as 9/11 was a series of four suicide attack organized by al-Qaeda on the United States of America on 11 September 2001. Nineteen al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial airliners during the attack. Attacks toward the World Trade Center twin towers in New York City, thus sacrificing the life of all the passengers and most of the staff in the buildings. Both towers collapsed within two hours, causing nearby buildings were destroyed or damaged. A total of 3,000 victims killed in the attack. Besides that,

the total cost of the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center comprising earnings losses, property damage, and the clean up and the restoration of the site is estimated to be between US\$33 billion and US\$36 billion through June 2002.

The economic sector was also disrupted as the September 11th attack coincided with, and exacerbated a world economic downturn. This attack also brought many changes in world politics, such as tightening the security of power holders. The United States responds to this event by launching a war on terror, invading Afghanistan to topple the Taliban group that protects members of al-Qaeda. 9/11 is chosen as a point of departure in this thesis since it portrays the danger of terrorists where they are capable of collapsing a country's economy such as was the case in the US. It showed that a strong nation such as the US with sophisticated and strong military power is still vulnerable to attack by a non-state actor, in this case Al-Qaeda.

The Sulu terrorists attack is chosen for this discussion due to the familiarity of this terrorist group with AL-Qaeda as a non-state actor, although they claimed to be part of the Philippines. When compared to 9/11 the Sulu attack in Sabah was smaller in scale in terms of loss of life. Ten security personnel died in the attack as compared to 3,000 people in 9/11. However, it still shows the vulnerability of the state to be attacked by terrorists and threatening the security of the state. The Malaysian government launched "Ops Daulat" to counter those attacks for the period from the 12th of February 2013 to 30th of March 2013. This study examines the perspectives of the state on counter-terrorism cooperation and looks at the diplomatic instruments of cooperation that involves Malaysia in relations to ASEAN.

3.4.2 Israel-Palestinian Conflict

The modern conflict between Jews and Arabs, the predecessor to the Arab-Israeli conflict, began in 1881. At that time, about 565,000 Arabs and 24,000 Jews lived in Palestine; about 90% of the Arabs were Muslim while most of the rest were Christian. The three regions on the

map; Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank were once known as Palestine. Ownership of the land is disputed primarily between two different groups: Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is part of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in claims to the same land. Syria, like many Palestinian fighters, had been calling for a people's war against Israel to re-claim Palestinian land and had been sending rebels across the Israeli border.

Since 2006, the Palestinian had broken down by the side of a conflict between two major factions: Fatah, the largest party, and Hamas, a militant Islamic Group. Therefore, the province in which the Palestinian National Authority (the Palestinian interim Government) split sides between Fatah in the West Bank with Hamas in the Gaza Strip. This has proved problematic because Hamas is regarded as a terrorist organisation by Israel and many other countries. In January 2006, Hamas won a surprise victory in the Palestinian parliamentary election exiling the Fatah government. Then in a burst of fighting in June 2007 in which more than 100 people were killed, Hamas gunmen routed the Fatah forces, and seized control of Gaza outright. Israel, which had refused to recognize the Hamas government, responded by clamping down even tighter on the flow of goods and people in and out of the territories.

Thus, although Hamas won Palestinian elections in 2006, it is not allowed to take part in any official negotiations. The main features of this conflict is the level of violence witnessed during the conflict. War held by soldiers remain, paramilitary groups, and terrorist cells not confined to the military, but many lives the public for both parties also sacrificed. When compared to Lahad Datu crisis, ten security personnel died in the attack. Impacted innocent's people is a main effect of a crisis is similar with Israel-Palestinian conflict.

3.4.3 Iraq War 2003

The Iraq war, also known as Third Gulf War, began on March 20, 2003 with the invasion of Iraq by the alliance led by the United States against the Baath Party of Saddam Hussein. The

United States occupied Iraq in an effort to establish a new government. However, violence against the alliance forces rapidly led a war between the insurgents, the U.S. military, and the new Iraqi government.

The war estimated that between 103,013 and 112,571 Iraqi civilians have died in the violence, and at least 250,000 Iraqi civilians were wounded, with a further 4483 deaths and 32,219 wounded in the troops of the American army. The war yielded to the emigration of two million Iraqis fled abroad to Syria and Jordan as well as Europe and the United States.

There are many reasons for this war. First, the "fight against terrorism", Iraq is presented as a state supporting al-Qaida, responsible among other things, the attack against the warship USS Cole, attacks against several U.S. embassies in Africa, and the attacks of September 11, 2001. Second, the abolition of weapons of mass destruction that was supposed to be held by Iraq. The possession of long range missiles and their proliferation is demonstrated since the 1990s but Iraq Survey Group which is charged by the U.S. government to find these weapons in September 2004, declared that there were no chemical weapons since 1991 or any current program in progress. Third, the arrest of Saddam Hussein and the abolishment of his regime which would introduce democracy and peace to the region (Youssef, 2012)

At large, the main consequences and results of the invasion of Iraq are an increase in terrorist attacks outside of Iraq, Sabotage of factories and refineries in the war that lead to lower oil exports worldwide and a shortage of gasoline, shortage of production and imports of basic necessities, food, medicines and finally loss of tourism due to war (Youssef, 2012).

3.4.4 Crisis in Afghanistan

In 2013 the Taliban conducted at least seven attacks targeting girls attending school, mostly in the north, resulting in over 160 casualties. Suicide attacks account for ten per cent of all attacks;

however, they are more fatal accounting for 18 per cent of all deaths and 32 per cent of all injuries. For every suicide attack there is on average five deaths and nine injuries. The majority of these attacks are bombings, constituting 93 per cent of all suicide attacks. The remaining suicide attacks were killings mainly targeting the police and hostage taking (economicsandpeace.org).

3.4.5 Crisis in Nigeria

In 2014 there were 5,662 more people killed from terrorism in 2014 than in 2013 in Nigeria. Boko Haram was the world's deadliest terrorist group in 2014 killing 6,118 people in Nigeria through terrorist attacks. In 2013 Boko Haram had killed 1,595 people. The aim for this change is the Fulani militants who killed 1,229 people in 2014, up from 63 in 2013. There has been an ongoing conflict over access and control of land between the semi-nomadic Fulani herdsmen and farmers in north-eastern Nigeria.

In Nigeria private citizens are overpoweringly targeted, most often with firearms resulting in very high levels of deaths per attack. In 2014 Boko Haram killed on average 15 people per attack whereas Fulani militants killed eight per attack. The most attacks were seen in Maiduguri, the regional capital of Borno State, and Kano in northern Nigeria which is the second largest city in Nigeria. There were 146 cities that had at least ten people killed from terrorist attacks in 2014 and 19 cities that had at least 100 people killed. The two areas with the most deaths from terrorism were Konduga with 444 and Maiduguri with 431 deaths (economicsandpeace.org).

3.4.6 Crisis in Pakistan

There were 1,760 people killed from terrorism in Pakistan in 2014. Terrorism in Pakistan is strongly influenced by its proximity to Afghanistan with most attacks occurring near the border

and involving the Taliban. The deadliest group in Pakistan in 2014, responsible for 31 per cent of all deaths and 60 per cent of all claimed attacks, is Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the Pakistani Taliban. This group killed 543 people in 2014.

There were 535 cities or regional centres in Pakistan that had at least one terrorist incident in 2014, with at least one death in each of 253 cities. The largest city in Pakistan, Karachi, had the most deaths with 374. Islamabad, the capital, had the second highest deaths from terrorism with 38 deaths. The city of Parachinar in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, the closest point in Pakistan to Kabul in Afghanistan, had among the highest rates of deaths per incident with 12 killed per incident.

Bombings and explosions continue to be the most common type of attack accounting for around 40 per cent of fatalities. However, the use of firearms and armed assault attacks has increased. In 2013 armed assaults were responsible for 26 per cent of fatalities whereas in 2014 this had increased to 39 per cent. The numbers killed by armed assaults rose 14 per cent to 685, up from 602 in 2013 (economicsandpeace.org).

3.4.7 Crisis in Yemen

In 2014 the number of terrorist attacks in Yemen increased by 72 per cent and the number of fatalities increased by 123 per cent. There were 654 people killed from terrorism in Yemen in 2014 which represents the highest level recorded. Previously, the worst year in terms of terrorism in Yemen was 2012, the year that President Ali Abdullah Saleh was ousted, when 372 people were killed.

AQAP is an al-Qa'ida affiliate which was led by Nasir al-Wuhayshi who was Usama bin Ladin's former secretary. After al-Wuhayshi's death by a drone strike in June 2015, Qasim al-Raymi took over the organisation. AQAP remains loyal to al-Qa'ida and is supportive of the

al-Nusra Front over ISIL. AQAP has mainly operated in the south of Yemen and has been the target of US drone attacks since 2002. AQAP are responsible for over 1,275 deaths from terrorist attacks over the last five years. They were the only group in Yemen to use suicide bombings, conducting 16 attacks that killed 184 people. Suicide bombings were very deadly, with an average of 12 deaths and nearly 18 injuries per attack. These bombings mainly targeted the police and military. However, the most deadly suicide bombing attacks targeted private citizens. The worst attack in Yemen was a suicide bombing which killed 50.

The other major terrorist group, the Houthis, is a militant Islamist insurgency made up of followers of a Shi'a sect known as Zaydi. The Houthis are in conflict with the Sunni-majority government and military. The Houthis are also opposed to AQAP, a Sunni group, and there have been several major battles between the two groups. Since 2009 the Houthis have killed 321 people in terrorist attacks (economicsandpeace.org).

3.4.8 Syria Conflict

The continual impact of terrorism in Syria is a direct result of the Syrian civil war. There were no recorded acts of terrorism in the two years prior to the civil war commencing in 2011. In 2014 there were 1,690 deaths compared to 600 in 2012. Most of the deaths in Syria are accounted for as battlefield deaths.

The present-day civil war in Syria began in March of 2011 as protests against President Bashar-al-Assad's government. These protests were similar to the various democratic uprisings occurring throughout the Arab region since December 2010, known as the Arab Spring. In several of the Arab Spring nations, the uprisings led to the toppling of some authoritarian leaders, but in the case of Syria the Assad regime aggressively responded to the demonstrations, which unwound into civil war. From its inception, the core of the opposition has been the Free Syrian Army, with many other groups entering the war and establishing

themselves as opposition forces, including Islamist rebel groups such as ISIL and the al-Nusra Front (economicsandpeace.org).

It is estimated that over 200,000 people have been killed in the civil war. The majority of these deaths are classified as a result of conventional warfare rather than acts of terrorism. However, terrorism has been deployed as a tactic by some of the rebel forces to bring about a political, economic, religious, or social goal rather than purely military objectives. As of September 2015, there are 4.1 million Syrian refugees and 6.5 million people displaced within Syria. Many have fled to nearby countries, with a growing number fleeing to Europe, underlining the worldwide spill-over effects of the Syrian civil war. A quarter of terrorist attacks in Syria are from unknown perpetrators. The biggest terrorist group in Syria is ISIL who killed 615 people, or 36 per cent. The second biggest group, the Sunni and al-Qa'ida linked al-Nusra Front, claimed responsibility for 27 per cent of deaths or 461 people (economicsandpeace.org).

Most deaths from terrorism in Syria have been from bombings. Bombings can be extremely deadly. There were two bombings in 2014 which killed more than 50 people and at least 19 bombings that killed ten or more people. Private citizens are the target of 53 per cent of attacks, with 475 people being killed. There were at least 30 different kidnapping incidents which resulted in 382 deaths. This includes two American journalists, James Foley and Steven Sotloff, who were kidnapped in Syria and murdered by ISIL in late 2014 (economicsandpeace.org).

The conflict started in 2011, a series of anti- Government protests as the Arab Spring breaks out in West Asia, starting in Tunisia. Then, it's spread to many other countries, including Egypt, Libya and Syria. In Syria, protests began in March 2011, after group of 15 boys who then detained and tortured after drawing the doodles symbolizes in order to support of Arab Spring. One of the teen's death after he was tortured with cruel. Later, the Syrian

Government led by President Bashar al-Assad killed hundreds of protesters and imprison thousands of peoples. Group Free Syrian Army (FSA), which consists of security personnel (police and soldiers) who attacks Egypt, established with the aim of toppling the Government led by Bashar, thus starting a civil war in Syria. FSA later joined members of the jihad group, not only from Syria but from outside too. The causes for the crisis is due to lack of freedom to Syria's citizens make them unhappy with economic and political pressure and Pro- democracy in Syria notice that there is a hope after people's uprising in Tunisia and Egypt succeed. Effected more than 450,000 people killed so far (astroawani.com.my).

3.4.9 Crisis in India

The year 2008 presented more challenges, erudite and shocking capabilities of terrorism than anything that the country had ever known in India. The Mumbai attacks in November showed the serial explosions across Indian cities were a clear demonstration that assembling locally available chemicals into deadly explosives was a cost effective way to cause death and havoc, and that terrorism was moving deeper into the Indian society (Rajeev & Harsh, FICCI Task Force on National Security and Terrorism).

The majority of terrorist attacks in India have low casualties. In 2014 around 70 per cent of attacks were non-lethal. Reflecting this, there were many groups which committed terrorist acts that didn't kill anyone. Of the 50 different terrorist groups that engaged in a terrorist act in 2014, 28 groups did not kill anyone. However, there were ten groups that were responsible for ten or more deaths.

Terrorism in India can be categorised into three distinct groups: communists, Islamists and separatist. Communist terrorist groups are by far the most frequent perpetrators and the main cause of deaths in India. Two Maoist communist groups claimed responsibility for 172 deaths in 2014, which constitutes 41 per cent of all deaths from terrorism. Police are overwhelmingly the biggest targets of Maoists, accounting for over half of the deaths.

Kidnapping is also a common tactic of the Maoists where it is often used as a political tool to force the government to release Maoist prisoners. The majority of Maoist attacks occurred in the provinces of Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand.

The dispute with Pakistan over Jammu and Kashmir is the main source of Islamic terrorism. Islamist terrorists were responsible for 57 deaths in this region, which is 14 per cent of the total deaths in India from terrorism. The announcement in September 2014 that al-Qa'ida was establishing a presence in India has not led to a dramatic increase in terrorism by the group. Jammu and Kashmir is in the north and has a population that is nearly two thirds Muslim. The two deadliest Islamic terrorist groups in 2014 were Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Hizbul Mujahideen. Lashkar-e-Taiba is a terrorist group that operates mainly in Pakistan and was responsible for 24 deaths in 2014. Hizbul Mujahideen is an Islamist group allegedly based in Pakistan with a membership of around 15,000. Hizbul Mujahideen were responsible for 11 deaths in 2014, down from 30 deaths in the prior year. In 2013 Hizbul Mujahideen was the only group in India to use suicide tactics, but in 2014 there were no suicide attacks in India.

India's north east region has for the last three decades seen continual ethno-political unrest from ethnic secessionist movements. The biggest year on year change for terrorist groups was the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) which killed seven people in 2013 and 80 in 2014. This was the second deadliest group in India in 2014. Other separatist groups include United Liberation Front of Assam and National Liberation Council of Taniland, both of which were responsible for ten deaths in 2014. Separatist groups are largely in the regions of Assam, Bodoland, Kamtapur and Meghalaya. The Assam region recorded 106 deaths in 2014 which is 25 per cent of the total deaths (economicsandpeace.org).

3.4.10 Thailand Crisis

Southern Thailand consisted with Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Songkhla still in battle with more than 2400 deaths and 4000 injured. War resulted in the occurrence of armed combat,

violence, including murder, bombings in public places, schools, shopping malls and entertainment centres (Azahar et al., 2015).

Crisis in Thailand involving matter of peace, violence and ignorance of the direction in the three provinces concerned occurred since 1960 and it was peaked in 2004 when clashes occurred between residents and troops which caused thousands of the people and military personnel became victims from the battle (Azizuddin, 2014).

On January 2004, a group of gunmen attacked an army camp in the southern Thai province of Narathiwat, seizing hundreds of weapons and killing four soldiers. Burners set fires at 20 schools and two unmanned police posts in the province. Simultaneous incidents in Yala province— tyres being burnt on many roads and the planting of fake explosives in several locations. On the next day, two police officers were killed in a series of bomb attacks in Pattani province headed to more than 2400 deaths and 4000 people being injured.

In 2014 Thailand recorded the most terrorist incidents ever in the country with a 16 per cent increase on the previous year. However there were fewer deaths than the peak recorded in 2009 of 255 people.

Terrorist activity is overwhelmingly confined to the south of the country where there is an ongoing insurgency between Muslim separatists and the Thai government, with Malay Muslims opposed to the Thai Buddhist minority and supporters of the government. This conflict has been ongoing since 2004 with estimates of 5,000 deaths and 10,000 injuries. Terrorist activity is so localised that only 18 out of the 76 provinces of Thailand suffered from attacks. However, this is up from 11 provinces in 2013.

Historically, most attacks have occurred in the three southern border provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala. In 2014 two of these provinces had the most attacks with 99 and 98 in Narathiwat and Pattani respectively. Pattani and Yala had increases in deaths in 2014, whereas

Narathiwat had a slight decrease in the number of deaths with 37 deaths, down from 46 in 2013 (economicsandpeace.org).

These areas are not where most people in Thailand live. Pattani, Narathiwat and Yala all have a population under a million people. However, the capital and most populous city, Bangkok, has seen a recent increase in attacks. Bangkok recorded a five-fold increase in attacks in 2014 with 58 attacks compared to nine attacks in the previous year. This is the most attacks ever recorded in Bangkok. Despite the large number of attacks there were nine deaths in Bangkok. However, in August 2015 there was a bombing at Hindu Erawan shrine in Bangkok which killed 20 people.

Two thirds of terrorism in Thailand is conducted by unknown actors. Of the known actors, Runda Kumpulan Kecil (RKK) were the deadliest killing nine in 2014 up from three the previous year. Separatists in the south remain deadly, killing 41 in 2014, up from 17 in 2013. Around 60 per cent of attacks are bombings and explosions, followed by armed assaults at 28 per cent. Private citizens are targeted 39 per cent of the time, with police and businesses targeted around 30 per cent each. (Azahar et al., 2015; economicsandpeace.org).

The mentioned above crisis is having similar characteristics with Lahad Datu crisis due to the nature and the impacts of crisis. Nacos (2002) defined terrorism as a violent and aggressive action performed by a group of people for political and economic reasons with the aim to win the publicity to get something. Additionally, extremism seek to blowout anxiety and worry among a large group of public and can impact the reputation of any organization such as the security forces, the local authorities, the mayor, the government and innocent publics.

3.5 History and Developmental in Newspapers

Newspapers in Malaysia started with the publication of English newspaper known as *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* in 1806 during the British colonial period. Newspapers at this time, targeted to serve the colonists in Malaya (Mohamed, 2006). Malay newspapers were published in the 1870s through to the 1900s. The first Malay newspaper was written in Jawi script published seven decades after the publication of the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* (Mohamed, 2006). The Malay newspapers were used to foster the spirit of nationalism and also as channels to speak out against attitudes that hindered the progress of the Malays (Halimahton et al., 2006). In addition, the Tamil press also carried the plight of the Indians in the oil palm estates and other economic sectors, while championing Indian education, helping to spread literary works and functioning as the vehicle for political demands (Halimahton et al., 2006). According to Halimahton et al., (2006), the development of the newspaper industry in Malaya could be summarized to two phases. The first phase (1806 until the late 1930s) saw the British traders and colonial officials pioneering the printing of English newspapers to satisfy the commercial needs of the British and the Europeans. A large part of the contents of these newspapers was commercial news and advertisements. The content of the Chinese and Indian newspapers then reflected the cultural, emotional and political attachment of the ethnic groups to their birthplaces. The Malay newspapers also mirrored the concerns of the community then religion and, later, Malay nationalism. The second phase (1940s and towards Independence in 1957) witnessed a shift in the Chinese and Indian newspapers. When both ethnic groups realised that they were going to make Malaya their home, the newspapers, especially the Indian newspapers, campaigned to the readers to remain and become citizens of Malaya. Malay language newspapers in Malaysia basically outfits to the interests and needs of the Malay, not Malaysian, community and same goes to Chinese and Tamil language newspapers are for their own ethnic and religious readers to support own community needs and interests. The exceptions are for English newspapers whose readership surpasses racial groups. The English newspapers are usually read by the elites and English educated readers who are mostly concentrated in the urban areas.

The first Chinese language newspaper was published in 1815 by the British missionary William Milne in Malacca known as Chinese Monthly Magazine (Lent, 1974). The Chinese Monthly Magazine was published to help the Christian missionary efforts in China and South East Asia. Singai Varthamani was the first Tamil newspaper published in Malaya. It was in circulation in 1875 and edited by an Indian-Muslim, C.K. Makhdoom Sahib (Tschacher, 2013).

The structure of media ownership in Malaysia is directly and indirectly controlled by the government or government-linked individuals. Radio Televisyen Malaysia (RTM) has been owned and controlled by the government since its inception. Media Prima is an investment arm of UMNO and it owned *New Straits Times*, *Business Times*, *Malay Mail*, *Berita Harian*, *Harian Metro*, *Shin Min Daily News*, *TV3*, *NTV7*, *8TV*, *TV9*, *Fly FM* and *Hot FM*. The dominant Malay language newspapers *Utusan Malaysia* are published by Utusan Melayu, which is affiliated with the ruling United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the main component of the BN (Azizuddin, 2014).

In addition, *Utusan Malaysia* and *Kosmo* are published by Utusan Melayu (M) Berhad, which is also related to UMNO (Yang and Md. Sidin, 2015). The Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) also control a substantial part of the mainstream media. MCA, through its official holding company, Huaren Holding Sdn Bhd, owned The Star, RedFM 104.9 and 988 (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2015). In October 2006, a business deal between the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA, a BN component party) and media tycoon Tiong Hiew King solidified the monopolization of the *Chinese press*, with all top four Chinese dailies now concentrated in the hands of a firm politico-business alliance (Azizuddin, 2014). There are two Tamil newspapers in Malaysia – *Tamil Nesan* and *Malaysia Nanban* (*Nanban*) – and their ownership rests mainly in the hands of former MIC president Samy Vellu and his wife (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2015). *Malaysia Nanban* is a relatively young as compared to its counterpart; *Tamil Nesan*. The newspaper was owned by the family of former Malaysian Indian Muslim Congress (KIMMA) president, the late Sikandar Batcha Bin Abdul Majeed that

was first published in 1986 (Kumar, 2012). Since then, Malaysia Namban has become top-selling Tamil language newspaper in this country. Business tycoon Vincent Tan, a close associate of the former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad and other leaders of Barisan Nasional (BN, National Front), owned The Sun and MiTV (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2015). On the other hand, the All Asia Television and Radio Company (ASTRO) is owned by Ananda Krishnan and Tunku Mahmud Besar Burhanuddin (Brown, 2005). Chinese newspapers such as *Sin Chew*, *Guang Ming Daily*, *Nanyang Siang Pau* and *China Press* are owned by business and media tycoon, Tiong Hiew King, while *Oriental Daily* is owned by Lau Hui Kang (Yang and Md. Sidin, 2015). *Sin Chew* (formerly known as Sin Chew Jit Poh) is a leading Chinese-language newspaper in Malaysia. It was formed during the British colonial period in 1929 and recorded as the largest circulating newspaper in South East Asia (*Sin Chew*, 2017). In the early 1990s, *Sin Chew* emerged as the best-selling Chinese newspaper and eventually became the first newspaper to go online. According to a report from the Audit Bureau of Circulation for the period ending 31 December 2013, *Sin Chew* has an average daily circulation of almost 462,000 copies (Selva, 2014). It maintained its position as the highest circulation of daily newspaper in Malaysia even though the number has dropped to 365,000 in 2015 (Selva, 2016).

The *Utusan Malaysia* newspaper which represent Malay community in Malaysia has strong links to ruling party in Malaysia which is United Malays National Organisation (UMNO). *The Star*, representing English daily newspaper is owned by Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) under the name of Star Publication (M) Berhad. Sin Chew Media Corporation owned and operating Chinese newspaper namely *Sin Chew* and *Namban* newspaper representing Tamil community in Malaysia. Generally, all the mainstream traditional newspapers in Malaysia is lack of freedom because it's owned by state of the country. There are two major mechanisms such as legal restriction and ownership control that are employed by the government to restrict media freedom in the country. Various laws such as the Printing Presses and Publication Act (PPPA), Internal Security Act (ISA), Official Secret Act (OSA) and

Sedition Act (SA) allow the government to impose prior restraints on publication, post-publication punishments and penalties for the acquisition of official information (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2012).

It is not only the government that has full control of the mainstream newspapers in Malaysia, the opposition parties in Malaysia such as Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) and People's Justice Party, Malaysia (PKR) also published their own newspapers to spread information. Harakah was published in 1987 as a representative of PAS (Jeniri & Hamed, 2013). The newspaper was originally published twice a week and in 1999, PAS has introduced its first online newspaper known as Harakahdaily to provide frequent updates (Shamsiah & Ahmad, 2014). Beside newspapers, PAS now owned web TV and used multiple online platforms to provide daily news.

An important characteristic of the vernacular newspapers in Malaysia is their tendency to concentrate on events important to their respective communities (Halimahton et al., 2006). This phenomenon has its roots in the colonial era. Early Chinese newspapers in Malaya were partisan and sympathetic to the Chinese revolution in China or focused their attention on business in Malaya. The relationship between the Chinese newspaper and their readers is based on trust. Today, the newspapers build trust by promoting traditional virtues and values strongly held by most Chinese people in Malaysia. At the same time, the Chinese community put a very strong emphasis on education as a priority.

Different ethnic of newspaper's function is to serve their reader's interest respectively. Vernacular newspapers concerned with the transmission of important issues from Chinese and Indian communities respectively in Malaysia. At current, there are 11 Chinese language newspapers and six Tamil language newspapers in Peninsular Malaysia (Selva, 2016). Furthermore, the editor for their own newspapers set specific agenda to educate and convince their readers. their influence on readers. Therefore, through this research, an interesting finding can be reveal on how different ethnic of oriented newspaper can influence on readers in

providing crisis responses through newspaper framing on serious war or crisis which is Lahad Datu crisis.

3.6 Coverage of Crisis Response Strategies

Scholars posted many opinions on the importance of media use during crisis coverage. Louie (2003) conclude that media use among people has become vital in their daily life. Piotrowski & Armstrong (1998) stated that media are usually the only credible information source for the public during a disaster and crises events. The media play an important role during crises (Masel & Hornig, 1993) particularly, the role of electronic media and the written press has become increasingly important.

Gillboa (2009) said media is an intermediary service of information include radio, television, magazines and newspapers. Therefore, during conflict, the media as intermediaries between people and information and plays a very important role because the media can influence the audience on what they reported. Thus, media is also seen a lot of news to report about the crisis. Lewis (2008) found the content of the newspaper helps to increase confidence and newspapers often give a more complete information than the news broadcast via television.

People gain information about the crisis and perceive the cause and solution for the crisis based on media coverage of the crisis (Kyoung & Gower, 2009). Responses should be quick, accurate, honest and relevant to the nature of crisis (Coombs, 2007). Holladay (2009) said public relied on the media for crisis information. Therefore, it is important to look at how the media frame a crisis event, the cause of the crisis, and the actor responsible for it because those frames influence the public's perception and impressions of the organization (Coombs, 2006a).

Understanding the types of crisis together with the way of how media slant and frame the issue can provide a better understanding to relevant organizations to find the best response strategy in order to cope and provide solution for the crisis (Valentini & Romenti, 2011).

Media transfers the crisis information to everybody and it helps to set the conflict agenda among public. Crisis coverage is known as overall reporting of content, characteristics and tools to cover during crisis. It must be accompanied by text and photos (ben-Yehuda et al. 2013).

Fearn (2011), described that Exxon-Valdez oil spill on March 24, 1989 as the worst crisis for oil spill. The collision ripped a hole into the hull of the tanker and subsequently released over 11 million gallons of crude oil. Exxon's initial response was request *apology* for crisis response. Even though the mentioned crisis is on oil spill crisis context, but the responses can be a guideline for the researcher in this research for the understanding of the types of responses used in Lahad Datu crisis.

On April 16, 2007, a South Korean student killed 32 Virginia Tech University students in the United States. This became a prominent story in the US and abroad. This study examines the South Korean response to the Virginia Tech events in order to examine cultural crisis communication and the nature and form of this response. The coverage proposed some crisis response to minimize the damage of a crisis via textual analysis of media coverage in two main South Korean newspapers such as *Korea Times* and *Chosun Ilbo*. The coverage was analyzed for the first week and the results suggested that *Korea Times* and *Chosun Ilbo* used a similar crisis response for the entire first week of coverage. On April 17, 2007, the *Korea Times* quoted the President of the Virginia Tech Korean Student Association as denying that the shooter was Korean. The same goes for *Chosun Ilbo*. On the same day, *Chosun Ilbo* quoted that the shooter was Korean (Coombs & Holladay, 2009). So, both publications used *denial* response to deny Korean involvement in the crime. However, after the shooter was identified as Korean, both publications used different crisis response strategies which were *mortification* such as offering condolences to the Americans. Additionally, both publications also used *transcendence* strategy in order to reduce the negative impact of a crisis while *Korea Times* and *Chosun Ilbo* engaged in *transcendence* strategy by diverting the issue to the problems of gun control laws and gun culture in American society. Researcher referred the above mentioned

crisis to identify the relevant crisis response strategies even the nature of crisis is different from Lahad Datu crisis.

A content analysis study by Kyoung & Gower (2009) about how the news media frame crises that occurred in 2006. A total of 247 crises-related news articles were analyzed by them to know which media frames appeared and the types of responses used during the crises. Selected samples of crisis were from the top 10 crisis. The study analyzed mentioned crisis news in three major newspapers such as *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today* for the period of first one month of when crisis happened. *Attribution of responsibility* frame was used more but, when reporting the crisis for *attribution of responsibility* frame, the news media tend to *assign blame* or used *denial* crisis response to other individuals or organizations in order to escape damage to the reputation.

Study on crisis response strategy have been used in British Petroleum's (BP's) press releases through framing analysis, to cover the Gulf oil spill crisis that occurred in April 2010 which killed 11 rig workers. To cover mentioned crisis, Choi (2012) did a content analysis method to explore the response strategies used by BP's press releases to deal with the crisis. With 93 press releases collected from April 29 to September 29, 2010, results showed that, BP continuously updating the public on what's the company is doing to resolve the crisis by using the company's official update frame. Through analyzing BP's press releases, this study found that from using the social responsibility frame, BP anticipated and reacted to the oil spill crisis by applying the responsibility strategy via stopping damage with that mortification strategy through offering compensation to victims. In its initial responses through press releases, BP publicly accepted responsibility for stopping the damage by using keywords, such as "well relief," "well kill operation," and "well containment." For compensating the victim, the company used keywords, such as "insurance claim," "adjustment," and "provide." That is, BP opted to accept responsibility by showing great concern for victims and displaying an effort for correcting the problem, which resulted in reducing public's anger. BP succeeded in minimizing severity of crisis through portraying how it was going to take responsibility, and

by focusing on what it was doing to correct the oil spill problem within its press releases and adding with expressing their concerns for victims by showing responsibility. In addition, BP used limited number of defensive frames to show to the public that BP is responsible without shifting the blame to others (Coombs, 2007; Choi, 2012). Chen Lyu (2012) did a content analysis method of media coverage of melamine- tainted milk powder crisis in 2008 happened in Mainland China to analyze the crisis communication strategy (CCS) that *Sanlu* and *KingCar* used to respond to the two melamine-tainted milk crises. Chen also did a comparison of crisis response strategies (CRS) between Mainland China and Taiwan. Even though the study context is not relevant to the researcher but this finding will help in getting to know the suggested responses taken by the authority in combating the effect of crisis. Using discourse analysis to examine how distinct political and media systems contributed to the difference of CCS selection between *Sanlu* and *KingCar*, findings revealed that CRS adopted by *Sanlu* were *denial, excuse, justification* and *concession*, while the crisis responses by *KingCar* were *excuse, justification, concession* and *diversion*. To explain in detail; (1) *KingCar* did not use *defeasibility* to *excuse* while *Sanlu* did. (2) *Sanlu* used *bolstering* and *suffering* strategies to *justify*. (3) *KingCar* used *minimization* and *attack the accuser* to achieve *justification*. (4) *Sanlu* used strategies of *corrective action, compensation* and *apology*, while *KingCar* use adopted instructive information. Suggested crisis responses is needed for Lahad Datu crisis research in order to examine the selection of responses through news framing.

Pamplona (2010) studied Filipino newspapers' coverage on conflict reporting. He concluded that ethnic conflict in Philippine - the Mindanao conflict did not stand a chance of being covered perfectly, sensitively and fairly by the mainstream media. The findings of his study show that *Mindanao Times* and *Philippine Daily Inquirer* reported more in social conflict than religious or political conflicts. It is also found that the two Filipino newspapers extensively reported the conflict in general news feature more than opinion pieces. However, the lack of studies in covering security or terrorism crisis in mainstream media influences the researcher to expose the media coverage of terrorism crisis in Lahad Datu.

Holladay (2009) did a study to examine the crisis communication strategies used in media coverage of chemical-accident crises in newspaper coverage. She coded the responses for the crises based on (1) *attacking the accuser*, (2) *denial*, (3) *scapegoating*, (4) *suffering*, (5) *excuse*, (6) *deny volition*, (7) *justification*, (8) *compensation*, (9) *apology*, (10) *repentance*, (11) *rectification*, (12) *bolstering*, (13) *transcendence* and (14) *ingratiation*. Based on the quantitative content analysis from newspaper coverage of chemical accidents, she found out that the most used response is the *ingratiation* response. Even though the above crisis response is out of the scope of this research, researcher used the selection of crisis responses as a reference for terrorism crisis coverage and crisis responses. Many of the communication principles and best practices upon which companies rely to interact effectively with key publics in the rouse of a crisis are designed to protect or reestablish reputations. Crisis managers must appropriately recognize and diagnose the crisis, thoroughly and quickly evaluate available options, and select the approaches and strategies that will be most conducive to resolving the situation and restoring a sense of normality (Coombs & Holladay, 2010).

For JetBlue Airways, Valentine's Day 2007 marked the beginning of the most trying period in the company's seven-year history. When the day began, JetBlue executives and employees had no inkling that foul weather and inherent flaws in the airline's operations would soon conspire to threaten the company's financial stability and tarnish its otherwise sterling public image. As the crisis unfolded, JetBlue leaders had opportunity to consider the adoption of one or more image restoration strategies. These options, as categorized by Benoit (1995), included *denial*, *evading responsibility*, reducing the offensiveness of the *transgression*, *corrective action*, and *mortification*. An examination of JetBlue's efforts to rebuild its reputation in the wake of the crisis reveals that the airline settled on two of these strategies: *mortification* and *corrective action*. *Mortification*, or a *full apology*, is the "most accommodative because it involves taking responsibility for the crisis and asking for forgiveness" (Coombs 1999: 121). *Corrective action* occurs when the accused publicly vows to correct the problem or issue that caused the crisis in the first place (Benoit 1995). This case

analysis, combining key elements of both a case study and a communication audit, gauges the efficacy of JetBlue's attempts to use *mortification* and *corrective* action to recover from what many referred to as the Valentine's Day Massacre (Coombs & Holladay, 2010).

Different types of responses are needed based on the types of crisis. Selection of the best solution is needed. First criteria to do prior to crisis solution is identifying the nature and types of crisis. The suggestion of crisis response by different scholars as describes above can be guidelines in getting more knowledge about crisis types and selection of crisis responses for suitable crisis types. It will be used in Lahad Datu crisis news framing to suggest whether crisis manager for Lahad Datu crisis able to find proper and immediate solution through news framing.

3.7 Visual Framing of Crisis

Coleman (2006) said that images and visuals can add on information which is not available in printed words. Visuals can be a substitute message to any printed words in disseminating messages. Coleman also noted that images induce people to think deeply. He also added that photos in news can elicit more emotional responses among readers.

In investigating the framing of the Iraqi War in both national and foreign media, Dimitrova & Stromback (2005), conducted a content analysis of articles in *The New York Times* and *Dagens Nyheter*, a Swedish newspaper, during the official war period. They found that *The New York Times* emphasized more on using military operations, troops, arsenal, and combat visual images in covering crisis of war. Carpenter (2007) conducted a content analysis comparing the visual framing of the Iraqi War in articles from elite U.S. newspapers with articles from non-elite U.S. newspapers. Carpenter found that elite publications were more likely to use visual of military frames, and non-elite newspapers were more likely to use visual of human interest or anti-war frames. Similarly, a content analysis was conducted

by Schwalbe (2013) did a visual content analysis study to examine visual portrayal of the Iraq war in *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News* and *World Report* of the Iraq War. Visuals were coded according to conflict images such as weapons, troops, and combat images. This is followed by visual of violence of war such as the results of conflict; for instances injury, death and destruction images. Human interest visuals are also included by Schwalbe such as civilians and humanitarian relief workers, politicians, antiwar protests images, media self-referential, looting images, oil resources and others. Results revealed that the pictures of weapons, troops, civilians and military leaders appeared most in all the dailies compared to other images such as oil resources, looting, and so on.

Through visual framing, particular pictures and photos can create a linkage between the issues and publics in the country especially during crisis coverage (Bruce, 2014). Fahmy & Kim (2008) explored visual differences in the coverage of the second Gulf War from *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*. They found numerous differences in the visual coverage of the war. For example, *The New York Times* focused on images of the U.S. military and government officials while *The Guardian* focused more photos of material destruction in Iraq.

Dobernig et al., (2010) explored differences in the coverage of the 2009 Gaza crisis in four printed news sources in Palestinian press and Israeli press. Study found out, Palestinian press using individual civilians as visual representation which portrayed a sense of empathy, while the Israeli press was represented by visuals of political or governmental officials portraying responsibility and responses.

A study by ben-yehuda et al., (2013) of crisis press coverage (CPC) to examine the reporting of Arab-Israel and East-West conflicts for 14 short crises in the Arab-Israel and East-West conflicts. Quantitative content analysis researches in this study measure the coverage of text items, headlines, photos and graphics for up to 21 days. Overall, 136 conflicts were depicted from Arab-Israel conflicts and 395 conflicts from East-West conflicts. The study

showed that politicians and decision makers' photos appeared more on the front page in both newspapers followed by soldiers and militants as the second most frequent image shown. The messages of the photo in this study expressed concern response as a core emotion.

Selection and suggestion of visuals for crisis framing can provide many meaning to readers. Visuals alone can substitute a long sentence on providing meaning for a message. In Lahad Datu crisis coverage, visuals selection will be adapted and modified by many visual scholars as per discussed earlier to identify types of messages portrayed by Malaysian government through newspaper framing.

3.8 News Sources

“Source” is used to refer to the people who reporters turn to for their information, often officials and experts connected to society's central institutions. Another use of the term is applied to news agencies, organizations such as the Associated Press that provide news content to newspapers, broadcast outlets and websites: that second use of the term is not part of the scope of this discussion (Berkowitz, 1997).

The ideology of the profession represents a paradigm, a method for accomplishing a task in a prescribed way. If journalists adhere to this paradigm, the desired result is expected to follow (Ericson, 1999). Essentially, journalism's paradigm follows a science-like model, where reporters gather authoritative data and then present it without explicitly taking a side in the discourse. Experts and officials—as sources—become the providers of this data. Reporters are not allowed to provide an opinion—even when reporting on an event—so that interpretation is limited to such things as crowd-size estimates, descriptions of settings, depictions of how people appeared, and what those people said. By following this source-driven process, reporters become society's scientists and the news they produce becomes their “scientific report”— their truth (Ericson, 1999).

Source power is somewhat simpler to assess. Sources located within a power structure, who have both authority of knowledge and autonomy to speak about that knowledge, tend to be most powerful (Ericson, 1999).

A crisis is “an event for which people seek causes and make attributions” (Coombs & Holladay, 2004). People seek information about the crisis and evaluate the causes of the event together with responsibility for the crisis and the actor responsible for it because those frames influence the public’s acceptance and reaction towards crisis (Coombs, 2006a). Any people or parties that are related to the news can be a source of information for the news. Credibility and accuracy of news are determined through the selection and usage of appropriate news sources. Sources in news can be categorized into physical - developed from printed publication and human beings as a statement from any relevant individual or organization (Mencher, 2000). When the crisis manager fails to inform and address the crisis, the media will look for alternate sources to get appropriate information (Lerbinger, 1997).

Sources in news articles refer to prominent people who will be contacted by journalists to collect any appropriate and relevant information. According to Dimitrova & Stromback (2012), news sources are used to (1) provide guidelines to verify the news, (2) adding credibility to the news, (3) clear any ambiguous content, (4) provide a variety of opinions and (5) prevent any misperception. As stated further by Wilson (2010), a selection of news sources is depended to quote trust, responsibility and accessibility in journalists and quoted news sources. He added, news without appropriate sources is not allowed to published because it’s been labeled as invalid news because usage of valid sources is very important during crisis coverage in informing public.

Chang et al., (2012), examine the influences of news sources in frame building process through the examination of a contemporary issue in Malaysia – teaching Mathematics and Science in English. The examination of the role of news sources in the process of frame building add significant to the knowledge of framing studies. Based on the 1,156 units of

analysis collected from five Malaysian Chinese dailies, the study's findings show that news sources or frame sponsors are reasonably more prominent in the frame building process. Government and Barisan Nasional in Malaysia have prominently promoted the *responsibility* frame.

One of the main tools in news framing is the selection of news sources. Ryan (2004) studied the framing the war against terrorism with 10 largest newspapers in the United States. It revealed that journalists used official government sources frequently. Dimitrova & Ahern (2007), examined the sources of online coverage of 2003's Iraq war between four online news sites; *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Al Ahram* and *Al Jazeera* through quantitative content analysis method. They analyzed all headlines, text, and photos about Iraq war. For the news sources, results revealed that, the most frequently used sources were government and military officials for all the four selected online sites.

Yang & Md. Sidin (2012) compared the coverage of interethnic conflicts by four newspapers in Malaysian newspapers; *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Malaysiakini*, and *Sin Chew* covered interethnic conflicts such as the *Keris* polemics, Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) and Religious conflicts. They found that newspapers focus on providing facts on news sources in the mainstream newspapers tended to legitimate the United Malays National Organizations' opinion and status, as well as supporting the state and its policy.

Kaewtipayanate (2008) investigates the media practices of two popular English newspapers in Thailand: *The Bangkok Post* and *the Nation* in covering the Tak Bai conflict incident. The study has applied the Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze the representation of the conflict. The study found that the journalists of two newspapers discovered that the two papers used authoritative voices as their sources and the voices of the local people, victims and human rights activities in presenting the news.

The tragedy of war between Israel and Palestine that had started since December 27, 2008 which resulted in at least 1054 of lives lost, including 355 children and 100 women while

more than 4870 suffered injuries. Through content analysis via newspaper coverage of war from *Utusan Malaysia* and *News Strait Times* found that, *Utusan Malaysia* carried the highest coverage of the issue with visuals compared to *News Straits Times* and *Utusan Malaysia* used more sources such as AP, AFP, Reuters and Agency. Furthermore, study concluded that *Utusan Malaysia* is responsible in delivering and educating the public about current news (Normah et al., 2011).

Similarly, Papacharissi & Oliveira (2008) did a comparative analysis of frames engaged in terrorism coverage in American and British newspapers. They examined frames in reports on terrorist events that combined computerized content analysis with discourse analysis in the following newspapers: *Washington post*, *New York Times*, *London Financial Times*, *Guardian*. Articles from June 2006 to June 2007 were analyzed. Combined with quantitative and qualitative methods, the data revealed that American papers rely on U.S government and military sources.

Baden (2003) compared the coverage of pre-war between *The Guardian* from UK and *The New York Times* from US and found that *The Guardian* framed its coverage mostly from foreign official sources as compared to *The New York Times* similarly Zaharopolous, (2004) did a comparative study about the coverage of the Greek terrorist group N17 between *The New York Times* and *Toronto Star*. The findings revealed both newspapers used the United States government, Greek government and police officers as the main sources of information with ordinary citizens cited the least.

Holladay (2009) did a content analysis method in studying the sources of information used in newspaper coverage of chemical-accident crises. Among the coded categories for news sources are such as: 1) organizational spokesperson, 2) first responder, 3) industry spokesperson, 4) government or elected official and 5) other sources. The finding revealed that, most quoted and used references are from the first responder and government.

News in mainstream media getting public attention due to their credibility (Entman, 2007). In this research, selection and quotation of news with or without news sources and people that

quoted most in Lahad Datu crisis news framing can add on credibility to the news and can gain support for their news readers as well. Thus, researcher used and modified few news sources as per suggested by previous scholars to provide a valid and relevant finding for Lahad Datu crisis news framing.

3.9 News Slants

The slants media use to disseminate news tell the audience not just news, but also the opinion of a particular news organization. The tone, or valence, is one part of media framing and agenda setting that influences audience members into thinking in a certain way about a particular issue. Organizing news stories based on slant can have a tremendous impact on a reader's understanding and perception of the issues. Slant provides personal news report from reporter and editor's point of view (Entman, 2010). Understanding the types of crisis together with the way of how media slant the issue can provide a better perception to a crisis managers to find the best responses for the crisis (Valentini & Romenti, 2008).

Slant characterizes individual news reports in which the framing favors one side over the other in a current or potential argument. If the patterns of slant persist across time, message dimensions, and media outlets, it means that the media may be systematically assisting certain entities to induce their preferred behavior in others (Entman, 2007).

A cross-cultural study conducted by Aday et al., (2005) examined the objectivity of media coverage during the 2003 Iraq war. They analyzed stories from five American networks. The result showed that the number of stories broadcasted by *Al Jazeera* and the *American networks* other than *Fox News* were balanced. The study revealed a strong bias in support of the American-led war effort at *Fox News* and showed important differences in how the various networks covered the war. In general, the study found evidence that the news norm of objectivity is defined in large part by culture and ideology more than the events. Aday and the

colleagues also stated that broadcasters showed a war of blood, dissent, and diplomacy, focusing on a clean version of combat.

A research about the tone of coverage between Sweden and the United States on Iraqi War by Dimitrova & Stromback in (2005), founded that the Swedish newspaper would use a more negative tone as compared to the US. Again, Dimitrova with Ahern conducted the same study to examine the tone of coverage of Iraq war between four online news sites; *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Al Ahram* and *Al Jazeera* through quantitative content analysis method. They found that, *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* used neutral coverage in all their news sites but, *Al Ahram* and *Al Jazeera* portrayed a more negative coverage of the Iraq war.

Valentinia & Romenti (2012), investigated how the Italians and International Press framed Alitalia's financial crisis in exploring which issues, tones and frames were chosen to cover the crisis. Content analysis data collected from two leading Italian newspapers - *Corriere della sera* and *La Repubblica* and two international newspapers which were *The Financial Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* for the period between January and December 2008. With 1483 news articles, the data showed that, negative slant of news was used wisely. As a conclusion, how a particular conflict news had been slanted by news frame can provide an opinion and summary about news. In this research, researcher will refer to previous scholars on how they slanted their news to covered crisis news as a way to know more on the suggested coverage of Lahad Datu crisis. This is because the way news is slanted either in positive or negative can provide some suggestion for a crisis by crisis manager through news framing.

3.10 News Frames

During crisis, public eager for updated information. Media is an important tool for them to gather information and media is playing an important role in crisis reporting to attract their audiences and participation in the process of forming public opinion (Ismail, 2015).

Selection and application of frames to a specific crisis situation, such as terrorist attack as per scope of this research, can provide a strategy to identify main causes and responsible agents,

make some responses and judgments for the incidents. Finally, the frames adopted by media to portray terrorism such as Lahad Datu crisis and the ones adopted by governments to respond for the crisis can influence public's perception towards the crisis (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2008).

Frames are concerned about the salience or emphasis of the crisis and operate on two related levels: frames in communication and frames in thought. Frames in communication involved images, words, phrases and many other elements that can present messages such as providing the whole background story of a crisis. However, frames in thought involve the cognitive structures (such as scripts or schema) the people utilize when interpreting information (Druckman, 2001). As restated by Druckman (2001), framing effects occur when a communicator selects certain factors to emphasize. People who receive the message will focus their attentions on those factors when forming their opinions and making judgments after reading the news. The way a message is framed shapes how people define problems, causes of problems, attributions of responsibility and solutions to problems (Entman, 1993).

Frames suggest that the mass media's function is on selecting what to include and what to exclude from a story (Iyengar & Kinder 1982). Neuman et al., (1992) discussed several different types of frames dominantly used in United States' news coverage such as *conflict*, *economic consequences*, *human impact* and *morality*. Based on these frames, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) analyzed five national newspapers and television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meeting of European heads of state in 1997 and identified five news frames in order of predominance: *attribution of responsibility*, *conflict*, *economic consequences*, *human interest*, and *morality*. The frame on *human interest* explains on emotional perception among readers of an event or issue. During crisis, this frame can stimulate psychological reaction among readers. The second type of frame is *conflict* frame. *Conflict* frame is used to portray quarrel or disagreement among individual, groups, society or country. Most of the news issue portrays conflict to grab reader's attention. *Morality* frame will direct issues or problems in the context of creating sympathy and to behave rationally.

Followed by the *economic consequences* frame of reporting on issue that impacts the overall economic sector to individuals, groups, society or country.

Finally, the *attribution of responsibility* frame discusses about finding solution and recommendation for a problem. They identified five news frames in order of predominance, they are: *attribution of responsibility*, *conflict*, *economic consequences*, *human interest*, and *morality* frame. They added that the attribution of responsibility frame was the most predominantly used in crisis news coverage.

Media people may employ various frames in their coverage of an issue to identify how the story is told through analysis of certain distinctive characteristics based on the nature and content of the frame. According to De Vreese (2005), certain frames are relevant only to specific topics or events. These frames may be labeled issue-specific frames such as framing the Intifada of Palestinian and women movements. Other frames are labeled generic frames, which can be identified in relation to a different topic and even different cultural context (Jasperson et al. 1998). In this trace, generic frames have been divided into two groups according to De Vreese (2005), a group of generic news frame focuses on the coverage of politics - more specifically elections as strategic news concentrates on winning and losing, game and competition, language of war and so forth. It has noticed that this strategic news dominated the American newspapers. Meanwhile the other group of generic news frames focus on the structural, norms, news values and conventions of journalism (De Vreese, 2005).

A study by Choi (2012) in analyzing what kinds of frames have been used in British Petroleum's (BP's) press releases, which dealt with the Gulf oil spill crisis that occurred in April 2010. He used content analysis method to explore the frames and themes used by BP's press releases to deal with the crisis. The five frames used for coding were *informational*, *philanthropic*, *social responsibility*, *defensive*, and *official BP updates*.

The *official BP updates* frame gave structured information about specific things BP did to contain the oil flow at the Deepwater Horizon well. With 93 press releases collected from

April 29 to September 29, 2010, results notified that, BP continuously updated the public on what the company was doing to resolve the crisis by using the company's official update frame. In addition, by using the *social responsibility* frame, BP tried to take responsibility and provided solution for the oil spill. Finally, the data revealed that BP used a minimal number of *defensive* frames as a way of showing the public that they did not want to avoid from taking responsibility of the oil spill crisis.

Yang & Md Sidin (2012), through content analysis research found that the *conflict* frame was the most salient frame across the four newspapers and the aspects of conflict highlighted by the mainstream and alternative newspapers for the coverage of inter-ethnic conflicts by four newspapers in Malaysia newspapers; *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Malaysiakini*, and *Sin Chew Daily* covered inter-ethnic conflicts such as the *Keris* polemics, Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) and religious conflicts.

A study by Supadhiloke (2012), on framing the Sino-US-Thai relation in the post global economic crisis, revealed that daily newspapers have a tremendous power in forming public opinions on particular current issues. He analyzed two English language newspapers in Thailand, which were *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* from the year 2008 until 2010. He wanted to know how these two major newspapers framed the global economic crisis and its effects on the relationship between United States and China. This study used De Vreese's (2005) Integrated Process of Framing as a conceptual framework and used frame-building process to generate the results by examining the generic or editorial frames as used by the mentioned newspapers. With the sample of 300 news stories, the result revealed that the *economic consequence* frame was the dominated frame followed by *morality* frame and *human-interest* frame. This is because sub-prime crisis was considered as an economic conflict effecting economic growth in general and causing recession in the US.

Kyoung & Gower (2009), did a content analysis study about how the news media frame crises that occurred in 2006. A total of 247 crises-related news articles were analyzed by

them to know which media frames appeared and were used most during the crisis. Selected samples of crisis were from the top-ten crises. The study analyzed mentioned crisis news in three major newspapers: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today* for the period of one month when crisis happened because crises are having more news value worthiness at the beginning of the crisis. The study proved that the major frame of media was *attribution of responsibility* frame followed by the *economic consequences* frame continued with *human interest* frame and the *conflict* frame. However, a majority of news stories did not use a *morality* frame at all. Suggestion and attachment of news frames in Lahad Datu crisis news framing can educate public on the suggested responses portrayed by crisis manager. Therefore, understanding of news frame is important to researcher to comprehend the main five types of news frames effectively.

3.11 Summary of The Study

With the review from other study on introduction to Sabah and Lahad Datu, definition of crisis and terrorism crisis, showing some examples of terrorism crisis, understanding crisis communication and crisis management together with history and developmental in Malaysian newspapers, studies of media framing, media coverage of crisis and crisis response strategies, news sources, news slants and visual portrayal of crisis can help researcher in identify the frequency of Lahad Datu crisis coverage and it will directed to know and understand the solution taken by crisis manager in combating Lahad Datu crisis.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The objective of the study is to examine the government's crisis response strategies through the extent of coverage devoted by the Malaysian mainstream newspapers in order to identify the prominent frames used by the selected newspapers together with dominated news sources, visuals coverage, news category and slant of news portrayed by dailies to expose the responses taken by government. To do so, this chapter describes the methods in conducting the study, data collection and data analysis.

4.2 Method of the Study

To answer the research's questions, the study used content analysis as one of the appropriate techniques to be used when it comes to measuring media content especially newspapers.

4.2.1 Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis method is used by researcher for this study. Media content analysis was introduced as a systematic method to study mass media by Harold Lasswell (1927), initially to study propaganda. Content analysis is found to be the most appropriate method in understanding how a frame in the news to influence publics. Content analysis is used to study a wide range of 'texts' from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and

social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines (Macnamara, 2005).

Media content analysis became increasingly popular as a research methodology during the 1920s and 1930s for investigating the rapidly expanding communication content of movies. In the 1950s, media content analysis proliferated as a research methodology in mass communication studies and social sciences with the arrival of television. Media content analysis has been a primary research method for studying portrayals of violence, racism and women in television programming as well as in films.

A widely used definition of content analysis which illustrates the early focus on quantitative analysis was provided by Berelson (1952) who described it as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (p. 18). Neuman (1997) said content analysis is “A technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. The ‘content’ refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The ‘text’ is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication” (pp. 272–273).

Neuendorf (2002) provides this definition: “Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method ... and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented”. (p. 10). Neuendorf argues that qualitative analysis of texts is more appropriately described and categorized as rhetorical analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, structuralist or semiotic analysis, interpretative analysis or critical analysis (pp. 5-7).

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) categorize content analysis into two customs – the behaviorist tradition and the humanist tradition. The behaviorist approach to content analysis is concentrated with the effects that content produces and this approach is the one pursued by social scientists. Whereas the behaviorist approach looks forwards from media content to try to

identify future effects, the humanist approach looks backwards from media content to try to identify what it says about society and the culture producing it. Shoemaker and Reese said that social scientists taking a behaviorist approach to content analysis rely mostly on quantitative content analysis, while humanist approaches to media content tend towards qualitative analysis. They also note that social scientists may use both types of research for better results.

Riffe et al., (2005) emphasized that quantitative content analysis is a systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods. Neuendorf (2002, p. 53). concludes that there are four main approaches to and roles of content analysis:

- Descriptive: most basic role, descriptive, provides insights into the messages and images in discourse and popular culture represented in mass media.
- Inferential: explore what media content says about a society and the potential effects mass media representations may have on audiences.
- Psychometric: psychoanalytic uses of content analysis for interpreting the text of patient interviews or statements
- Predictive: explore what media content says about a society and the potential effects mass media representations may have on audiences.

4.2.2 Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis collects data about media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, 'messages' determined by key words in context (KWIC), circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency. Quantitative content analysis also should consider media form (eg. visual media such as television use more sophisticated semiotic systems than printed text and, thus, are generally regarded as having greater impact).

While Neuendorf (2002) argues that media content analysis is quantitative only, Shoemaker and Reese's categorization of content analysis into humanist and behaviorist traditions indicates that content analysis can be undertaken using both approaches. They say: "Behavioral content analysis is not always or necessarily conducted using quantitative or numerical techniques, but the two tend to go together.

In media content analysis, a priori design is operationalized in a Coding System. A key component of a Coding System is a comprehensive written Code Book or Coding List. This contains the list of variables (units of analysis) to be researched and provides researchers involved in the project with a consistent framework for conducting the research (Macnamara, 2005).

According to Neuendorf (2002), to ensure the reliability of the research, there is a need for nine steps such as 1) theory and rationale, 2) conceptualization, 3) operationalization, 4) coding sheet, 5) sampling, 6) training and pilot reliability, 7) coding, 8) final reliability and 9) tabulation and reporting.

In this study, the researcher conducts content analysis of some written media by selecting a sample of newspapers from different political orientations which have widespread readership and large circulation as well as to meet the objectives of this research. According to Vreese (2004), the majority of studies investigating framing effects focus on print media due to the easy access to the material over time. Rhee (1997) also stated that there are stronger framing effects of exposure to newspapers' articles. This study seeks first to identify and analyze the frames used in Lahad Datu crisis and then explore how people perceive the coverage of crisis responses by different newspapers in Malaysia.

4.3 Research Design and Construction

The researcher used Semetko and Valkenburg's findings on European politics to measure the dominant news frame of Lahad Datu crisis. Reason for selection Semetko & Valkenburg framing analysis is because, they constructed few frames based on nature and types of crisis through qualitative method. In applying Semetko & Valkenburg's analysis of frames through quantitative analysis, appropriate crisis response strategies can be identified through finding. To examine the crisis responses taken by the actor, the researcher adopted and used Coombs' (2007) Crisis Response Typology to know the most dominant response and solution taken by government. In measuring the visuals, researcher used and modified Stromback operationalize of visual framing. To measure the slants of news, and news sources, Dimitrova and Ahern's coding protocol is used by researcher. The reason for using Stromback; Dimitrova and Ahern's operational is because they did a similar crisis coverage which is terrorism crisis and it's relevant to this study. The research structure will reveal the possibilities of association between coverage of crisis response strategies of Lahad Datu crisis through news framing, news slants, news sources, news category and the portrayal of visuals.

4.4 Unit of Analysis

According to Weber (1990), there are three sampling populations for content analysis: communication sources, documents and text within documents. Weber states that in communication sources such as newspapers the investigator has to put in mind some considerations in sampling e.g. newspapers' editorials categorized by region of the country and by the frequency of publication to ensure that the final sample includes an adequate number of newspapers, and this sampling design might call for stratified sampling (Weber, 1990, p.42).

In this study, the researcher conducts content analysis of some written media by selecting census samples of newspapers from different ethnic orientations which have widespread readership and large circulation to meet the objectives of this research. The

researcher used census sample because it often makes the most sense for research that examines a particular event or series of events (Riffe et al., 2005).

This study employed quantitative content analysis in order to answer the research questions. Four selected Malaysian mainstream newspapers were chosen for this study based on their circulation in the Audit Bureau Circulation Malaysia. Quantitative content analysis is used to identify how media framed government's response strategies. The focus of this research is on printed media which is newspapers. The rationale in choosing printed media is because, sources are most often quoted in the print media, and the print media reaches out to the mass audience (Chang, 2009).

Many scholars such as Berelson (1952) and Weber (1990) listed down some categories of units for news articles such as word, theme, word sense, paragraph, sentence, character, item, whole text, time and space. In this study, the unit of analysis is the news articles including straight news, editorial, column, opinion piece, interview and letter. All the articles and news stories that contain the keywords "Lahad Datu", "Lahad Datu Invasion" or "Lahad Datu Conflict" in full text and headlines in the four selected newspapers during the study period from 9th February until 31st March were being analyzed by the researcher. This study limited the time period of news articles to within 1 month of when each crisis occurred because crises are more newsworthy at the beginning of the crisis (Kyoung & Gower, 2009).

4.5 Operationalized Research Framework

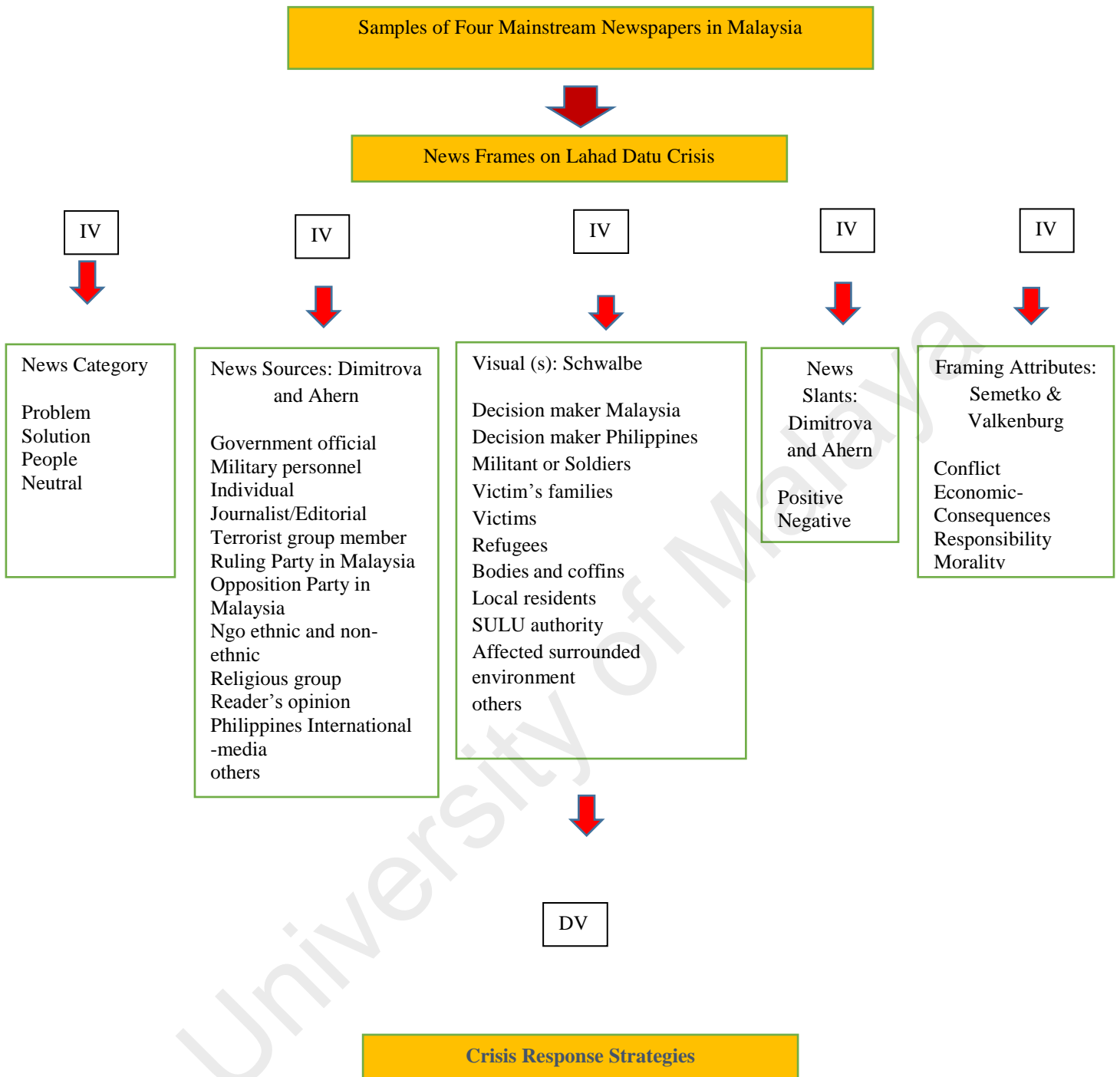


Figure 4.1: Operationalized Research Framework based on Coomb's (2007) Crisis Response Model

The objective of this research is to identify the main crisis response strategies taken by the crisis manager during the Lahad Datu crisis through portrayal of news in mainstream newspaper in Malaysia. As per figure 4.1, media coverage of LD crisis from selected dailies will be measured through four independent variables such as news category portrayed on LD crisis, quotation and portrayal of news sources on LD crisis, slant attachment of LD crisis, visuals in selected dailies and lastly the framing attributes to LD crisis. All the mentioned variable will act as guidelines and measurement to indicate the success or failure of crisis response by crisis manager through the selection of a few types of crisis response such as *justification*, *concern*, *compensation*, *denial* and *excuse* crisis responses, as suggested by Coombs.

According to the objective 1 which is to examine the media coverage of Lahad Datu dailies in selected newspaper, independent variable such as news category, news slants and visuals of Lahad Datu crisis will be use to answer objective 1. The selection of news category either news is focusing on people, problem, solution or neutral category will determine the coverage of solution for the crisis. In examining the news slants between positive, negative and neutral slants in coverage of Lahad Datu crisis can be use as another crisis response strategies and finally the portrayal of visual and the messages of visual can emphasised on how the responding for the crisis.

In answering the objective 2; which is to know the government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage and for the objective 3; to examine if there is any similarities or differences between dailies in portrayal crisis response strategies, researcher will use visual of Lahad Datu crisis, portrayal of news sources and selection of framing attributes will be use to answer objective 2 and 3.

In measuring the independent variables as per stated in figure 3.1, coding selection for news category is created by researcher from reading from crisis communication journals and Lahad Datu stories in newspapers. For the news sources, coding variables is adapted and modified from list of variables suggested by Dimitrova & Ahern (2007).

Visual analysis as another measurement in independent variables was adapted and modified from Schwalbe (2013). For the news slants categories, researcher used Dimitrova & Ahen (2007) coding variables and for the framing attributes, researcher used and modified framing attributes suggested by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000).

Selections of independent variables as mentioned above is use to identify appropriate dependent variable which is crisis response strategies as per suggested by Coombs (2007). The listed crisis responses are *justification, denial, concern, compensation, regret* and *excuse* responses.

4.6 Sampling Procedures

The researcher has used four Malaysian mainstream newspapers and used them for data collection to examine the suggested crisis response by government in combating Lahad Datu crisis through news reporting. Readers rely on traditional media such as printed newspapers to perceive news and information especially on emotional news. They believe traditional news sources more than social media. That's the reason why the researcher is interested to study on newspaper coverage (Liu & Kim, 2011).

Weber (1990) said, there are three sampling populations for content analysis: communication sources, documents and text within documents. Weber states that in communication sources such as newspapers the communicator has to put in mind some considerations in sampling e.g. newspapers' editorials categorized by region of the country and by the frequency of publication to ensure that the final sample includes an adequate number of newspapers, and this sampling design might call for stratified sampling (Weber, 1990, p.42).

To answer the research questions, the study used content analysis as one of the appropriate techniques to be used when it comes to newspapers content. In selecting the sample size of print copies for a period of a study, daily newspapers have received more

attention in sampling efficiency studies than other forms of media due to their dominance (Riffe, Lacy & Fico 1998).

The unit of analysis for this study are news articles on Lahad Datu crisis were collected from *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* newspapers in measuring the crisis response strategies by Malaysian government as a crisis manager. Malaysia is a multi race country mainly with Malay, Chinese and Tamil community. *Utusan Malaysia* publication is published to give latest and updated news to Malay community, *The Star* is published to serve English readers and it's owned by MCA a Chinese political association under Barisan Nasional coalition. *Sin Chew* is published to Chinese mandarin readers and *Nanban* is published to serve Tamil newspaper readers in Malaysia and it's owned by former MIC president Samy Vellu and his wife (Yang & Md Sidin, 2015). *The Star* is a tabloid newspaper however, *Utusan Malaysia*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* are broadsheet newspapers.

Census is used for this content analysis study. The census was drawn from 9th February 2013 until 31st March 2013 which represent the earliest coverage of the crisis. *Utusan Malaysia* were chosen for this study due to the historical record and pioneer for Malay newspaper (Teik, 1988). *Sin Chew* and *The Star* were chosen due to their highest circulation as per recorded in Audit Bureau of Circulation Malaysia. To be note here, *Nanban* circulation's data is not recorded in Audit Bureau of Circulation Malaysia, due to this, researcher walk in to *Nanban* and *Tamil Nesan* headquarters located at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia to collect their data for newspaper copies for the period of January- June 2013. Circulation of the newspapers as of June 2013- per year is depicted in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: Circulation of Selected Mainstream Newspapers in Malaysia (January- June 2013)

Utusan Malaysia	191, 302
The Star	289, 362
Sin Chew	385, 299
Nanban	55, 000

4.7 Inter-Coder Reliability

Lynch & Peer (2002) stated that inter-coder reliability refers to the consistency, or agreement of coding between two or more coders. They suggested that having a diverse but small number of coders is ideal. While Krippendorff (2013) stated that reliability data requires at least two coders in content analysis independently determine the reliability of the coding scheme. In a same vein, Macnamara (2003) indicates that in content analysis reliability requires that two or more coders be used, supported by the training, then the coders should be prepared to submit blind coding to help support the level of confidence in the resulting research.

To choose the content samples for inter-coder reliability testing, Riffe et al. (2005) suggested random selection for doing so. Between 10% and 25% of the body of content should be tested for inter-coder reliability test (Wimmer & Dominick 2006). Lynch & Peer (2002) provide a scientific way to measure inter-coder reliability: 1) a random sample of stories is distributed among all coders and coding is compared to those stories; 2) between 10%-20% of the total number of stories is coded independently by an expert and then coding is compared to those stories. Accordingly, in this study 10% of the articles were taken to test the reliability from the overall 466 articles for data as suggested by Wimmer & Dominick (2006). Lombard et al. (2002) suggested five most popular reliability measurement in content analysis such as Scott's pi, Cohen's Kappa, Krippendorff, liberal category of percent agreement and Holsti's CR. Inter-coder reliability test was conducted by two coders with Holsti's formula in this research.

The formula is as following:

$$CR = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

CR = Holsti's CR, level of agreement

M = observed agreement

N_1 = agreement of Coder 1
 N_2 = agreement of Coder 2

Solutions:

N_1 & N_2 =
 1 2

51 examined items multiple the number of collected news articles from the two Coder 1 and Coder 2

$$\begin{aligned}
 CR (UM) &= \frac{2(3700)}{4641 + 4641} \\
 &= 0.79
 \end{aligned}$$

From the four selected newspapers, 91 test units for the *Utusan Malaysia*, 71 test units for *The Star*, 74 test units for the *Sin Chew* and 63 test units for *The Nanban daily* dailies were tested to measure the agreement for the inter-coder reliability test. The test revealed that the agreement of inter-coder reliability coefficient for this study of both coders is 0.82 on average, with 0.79 for *Utusan Malaysia*, 0.85 for *The Star*, 0.83 for the *Sin Chew* and 0.80 for the *Nanban daily*.

4.8 Coding Instruction

In the method of text analysis, a coding protocol was developed to capture the variables under investigation. The articles qualified for analysis were numbered and were categorized and coded according to the code book (See Appendix A). There are at least two approaches in content analysis which are inductive and deductive. This study adopts the deductive approach because it is easy to identify the kinds of frames, news slants, news category, visuals in news and crisis responses in the news and this approach can be replicated easily unlike the inductive

approach, which can detect many ways in which an issue can be framed to find the responses. (Matthes & Kohring, 2008).

Two coders had been used for coding process and standardized coding sheets were prepared and a coding book was generated for categorizing and inter-coder reliability test. The coding book consisted detailed instructions on how to codify the variables for analysis. Refer to Appendix A for coding book. Training will be given to coders in teaching them how to determine the unit of analysis from newspapers and also guide them how to record them into the coding sheet. Wimmer & Dominick (2006) mentioned that there are two ways to develop coding categories for content analysis. *Priori coding*, which is based on the conceptual rationale, are categories developed before data collection. However to test the significant differences between newspaper and the variable of the crisis response strategies, the researcher used Kruskal Walli's test using Ordinal data measurement such as '1' for 'Yes', '2' for 'Neutral' and '3' for 'No'. The reason for using Kruskal Walli's test because, data used to measure the crisis response strategies are ordinal data with the option of 'Yes', 'No' and 'Neutral'.

For the category of the articles in this study, the researcher herself created the category of articles from extensive reading and understanding of news articles of LD crisis news in all the dailies and from relevant journals. The researcher used four categories to see how the newspapers report the crisis such as:

- **Problem:** Revealing that the country is in a dangerous, potentially uncontrollable situation.
- **People:** News focusing on victims, victim's families, security personnel and all types of individual involved in a crisis.
- **Solution:** News revealing solutions and responses to overcome the conflict and to remain in a stable situation.
- **Neutral:** News is in a neutral situation. Any news which does not fall under the categories of 'problem', 'people' and 'solutions' is a neutral news.

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To code for the news sources, the researcher used and adapted sources listed in Dimitrova and Ahern's (2007) studies on framing analysis of online news sites in coalition countries and the Arab world during the Iraq war from online news sites such as:

- Government official(s).
- Military personnel.
- Individual(s).
- Journalist(s)/Editorial(s).
- Terrorist group member(s).
- Others.

The researcher added a few more sources to the above list based on the Lahad Datu crisis from other Malaysian and Filipino perspectives such as:

- Ruling Party in Malaysia.
- Opposition Party in Malaysia.
- Ngo - ethnic and non ethnic.
- Religious group(s).
- Reader's opinion(s).
- Filipino(s).
- International media.

The coding categories for news framing were developed based on Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) studies from content analyzed of 2601 newspaper stories and 1522 television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meetings of European presidents in 1997.

The adapted news framing are:

- Conflict frame: News in this category emphasize on the conflict or the disagreement between two sides or among individuals, groups, parties and institutions.
- Economic Consequences frame: News items that present an event, problem, or issue

in terms of the consequences either economically, socially or politically has on individual, group, institution, region or country; news reports damages, casualties or losses.

- Attribution of responsibility frame: News that present an issue, problem or event that attribute responsibility for causing or solving it to the government or individuals or group; suggest an urgent action for the issue, problem or event.
- Morality frame: Frame the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or morals and social prescriptions; emphasizing on collaboration, brotherhood and integration.
- Human interest frame: News that bring a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an issue/problem/event; refer to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news in order to capture the audience's interests; employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate empathy and sympathy care.

Coding for the slants of the articles applied for the Lahad Datu crisis was used and adapted from Dimitrova & Ahern's (2007) studies on framing analysis of online news sites in coalition countries and the Arab world during the Iraq war from online news sites such as:

- Positive: Positive toward the issue; supportive; provide justification and solution for the issue.
- Negative: Carries negative aspects/ meaning towards the issue or events; causes the readers to form a negative opinion towards the issue or event and contains unfavorable descriptions of the issue or event.
- Neutral: News is neither in positive or negative slant in the news articles.

Coding for crisis response strategy is adapted and modified from Coombs (2007) for crisis responses. The researcher grouped the types and nature of solutions based on:

- Denial: Responsible people or actors through news coverage in newspaper who denied that there is no crisis or dangerous situation in the country and they admit that all the operations are under normal situations.
- Excuse: Responsible parties or actor or management minimize the crisis impact by giving a lot of excuses in order to escape from the impact of crisis.
- Justification: Responsible parties or actor try to minimize the impact of crisis by suggesting appropriate solutions and responses to overcome the crisis.
- Concern: Responsible parties or actor felt sympathy and concern for victims of crisis.
- Compensation: Responsible parties or actor contribute money or other forms of compensation to the victims of crisis.

The selection of visuals categories was adapted and revised from Schwalbe (2013) in examining visual framing of invasion of Iraq. Through content analysis of 2258 images from selected news magazines, Schwalbe listed few categories of visuals such as:

- Conflict: depicted images such as combatants, weapons, troops, prisoners of wars and combat.
- Violence of war: using images such as injury, death, and destruction.
- Human interest : portrayal of pictures such as non-combatants; such as civilians and humanitarian relief workers.
- Politicians.
- Anti-war protests.
- Media self-referential (journalists at home and in Iraq).

- Looting.
- Oil resources.

The added categories for portrayal of pictures by the researcher are as below:

- Decision maker – Malaysia.
- Decision maker – Philippines.
- Militant or Soldiers.
- Victim's families.
- Victims.
- Refugees.
- Bodies and coffins.
- Local residents.
- SULU authorities.
- Affected surrounded environment.
- Others.

Two coders were guided to record information for each and every unit of analysis, among others:

- The person who codified the news story.
- Which newspapers.
- Date of newspapers.
- Title and headline of the story.
- Placement of news story.
- Placement of visual (s).
- News sources.
- News slants.

- Identified Frames.
- News Category.
- Identified crisis responses.

4.9 Data Analysis

The total number of articles collected from the four newspapers is 466 articles which were then analyzed by using SPSS Statistics version 22. To summarize the data, descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentage were used. To test the significance difference between the variables and the different newspapers, this study used Pearson Chi-Square Test and Kruskal Wallis Test to test the hypotheses as per shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Question	Hypotheses
RQ1:How does the local newspapers frame the crisis?	H1: There is a significant difference between portraying of News Sources and four newspapers.
RQ2:What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage	
RQ3:What are the differences in portraying responses	
RQ1:How does the local newspapers frame the crisis?	H2: There is a significant difference in portraying Concern Response and four newspapers.
RQ2:What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage	
RQ3:What are the differences in portraying responses	
RQ1:How does the local newspapers frame the crisis?	H3: There is a significant difference between portraying Compensation Crisis Response and all four newspapers.
RQ2:What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage	
RQ3:What are the differences in portraying responses	
RQ1:How does the local newspapers frame the crisis?	H4: There is a significant difference in Portrayal visuals and all four newspapers.

RQ2:What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage	
RQ3:What are the differences in portraying responses	
RQ1:How does the local newspapers frame the crisis?	H5: There is a significant difference in portraying Denial Crisis Response and all four newspapers.
RQ2:What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage	
RQ3:What are the differences in portraying responses	
RQ1:How does the local newspapers frame the crisis?	H6: There is a significant difference in portraying Excuse Crisis Response and all four newspapers.
RQ2:What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage	
RQ3:What are the differences in portraying responses	
RQ1:How does the local newspapers frame the crisis?	H7: There is significant difference in framing of Justification Crisis Response and all four newspapers.
RQ2:What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage	
RQ3:What are the differences in portraying responses	

“Table 4.2 continued”

Seven hypotheses as mentioned above were developed in order to answer the research objectives as per stated in chapter 1. Hypothesis 1(H1) is used to examine the media coverage of Lahad Datu crisis in selected newspaper, to know the government's crisis response strategies through newspapers and finally to examine if there is any significant differences among dailies in portrayal of news sources in combating the crisis. Hypothesis 2(H2) is used to answer the research question 2 and 3 which are to know the government's response strategies among dailies and also to know if there is any significant differences among dailies in

portrayal of concern crisis response. In measuring hypotheses 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 (H3, H4, H5, H6, H7), researcher will answer research question 1, 2 and 3 (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3) which are to know the coverage, to examine the crisis response strategies and to identify if there is any significant differences among dailies.

Tests would be conducted for following the significant level in order to predetermine the requirement of the needs of the statistical test. The significant level is important to prove the statement in hypotheses. Therefore, if a hypothesis is not proved, then respective hypothesis will be rejected. It is accepted that, 95% confidence is acceptable in communication and social science studies (Chang, 2009). So that with this 95% of confidence level, the researcher has the 5% possibility of making type-1 error. Hence, this research will follow the convention using the level of significance or alpha at .05 or 5%.

4.10 Summary of The Study

Through quantitative content analysis with the assistance of coding book and coding sheets, this reaserch identified 466 news articles from four dailies in Malaysia such as *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban*. The selctions of independent variables are news category, news slants, news sources, visuals and news frames are use to measure the dependent variable which is crisis response strategies portrayed in dailies.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the content analysis of four different ethnic newspapers for the period of 9th February until 31st March 2013 namely *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* newspapers in Malaysia. The explanation of the data will be done through descriptive and empirical analysis which will depict the coverage of Lahad Datu crisis; the types of framing attributes portrayed in the four dailies in Malaysia; Lahad Datu crisis news category; how the news has been concentrated in the four dailies, news sources or actors that quoted frequently in the issue, news slants; and the portrayal of visuals in dailies. The findings from the data will also expose the suggested crisis response strategies performed by all the dailies on behalf of responsible crisis manager in Malaysia throughout the entire duration of the analysis. The statistical test for all hypotheses will be based on 95% or 0.05 level of confidence.

5.2 The Coverage of Lahad Datu Crisis News

This study has found 466 news of Lahad Datu crisis throughout four newspapers namely *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* from 9th February until 31st of March 2013. Since Lahad Datu crisis is an unusual situation created fear and anxiety (*Utusan Malaysia*, *Sin Chew*, *Nanban* and *The Star* (3-10 March, 2013) among publics in Malaysia, the researcher is interested to know about the frequency of news in all mainstream newspapers in Malaysia.

Table 5.1: Frequency of Coverage of the LD Crisis by different Newspapers

Newspaper	Frequency	Valid percentage
Utusan Malaysia	159	34.1
The Star	105	22.5
Sin Chew	113	24.2
Nanban	89	19.1
Total	466	100.0

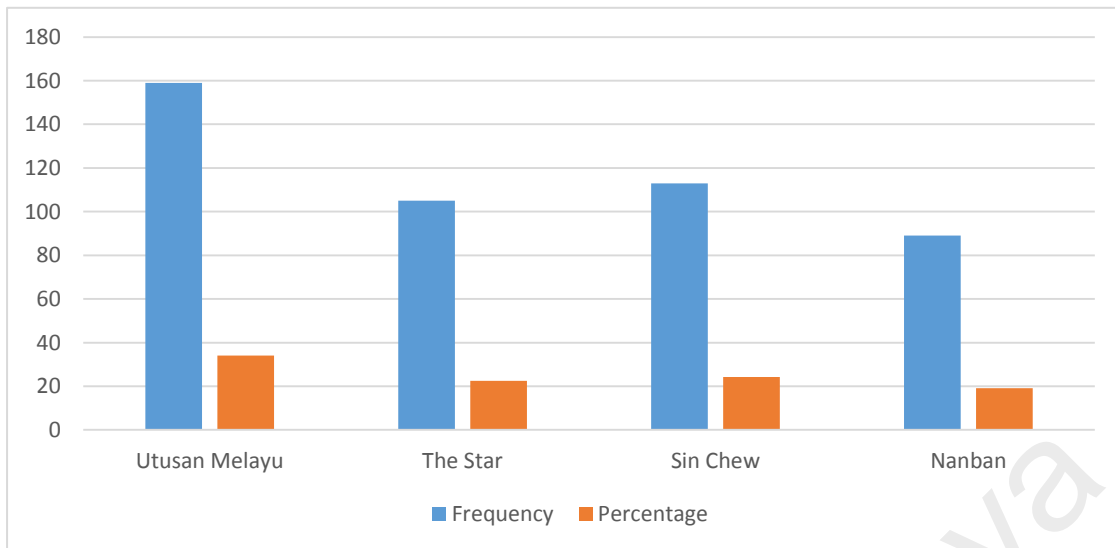


Figure 5.1: Percentage of LD Crisis News Articles According to Dailies

In measuring the coverage of the Lahad Datu crisis, *Utusan Malaysia* which representing Malay community readers in Malaysia covered the highest of publication, followed by *Sin Chew*. This data is contradictory by Yang & Md Sidin (2010) study in covering interethnic relation conflict, because according to them, vernacular newspaper is used to represent their community but in this study, researcher found out that, *Sin Chew* newspaper covered the second highest of Lahad Datu crisis coverage after the *Utusan Malaysia* in joining together with government in informing the citizens about the crisis situation that's happening in Malaysia. To conclude, all the dailies in Malaysia are doing their job effectively in reminding and educating publics about abnormal situation that's happening in Malaysia.

Table 5.1 indicates the number of articles and percentage of news based on the type of the newspapers and news report on the LD crisis during 2013. It was found that *Utusan Malaysia* carried the largest coverage - 159 (34.1%), followed by *Sin Chew* - 113 (24.2%), *The Star* - 105 (22.5%), and *Nanban* - 89 (19.1%).

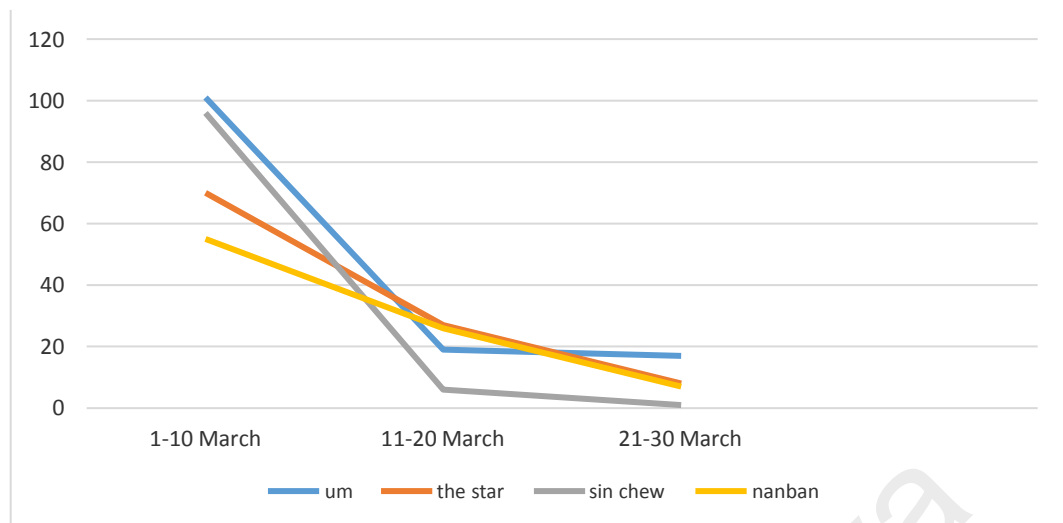


Figure 5.2: Total LD News Coverage and Peak Period

Peak period for the LD crisis coverage was spotted during the first week of the month of March (Kyoung & Gower). The reason is because during this week, few Malaysian border officers became victims and lost their lives in the dispute between Sulu followers and Malaysian security forces. Therefore, all the four dailies *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* portrayed nearly the same peak of coverage for the period of 1st of March until 10th of March 2013 to give awareness to the public that government is ready for the battle and the public are in potentially dangerous situations (Refer to figure 5.2).

For the first week of the peak coverage which is started from 1st March 2013 until 10th March 2013, researcher found out that, *Sin Chew* which is representing Chinese language community are revealing most of the articles on the problem faced by local citizens from Sulu attacks and also revealing more on the severity and pain faced by security officers.

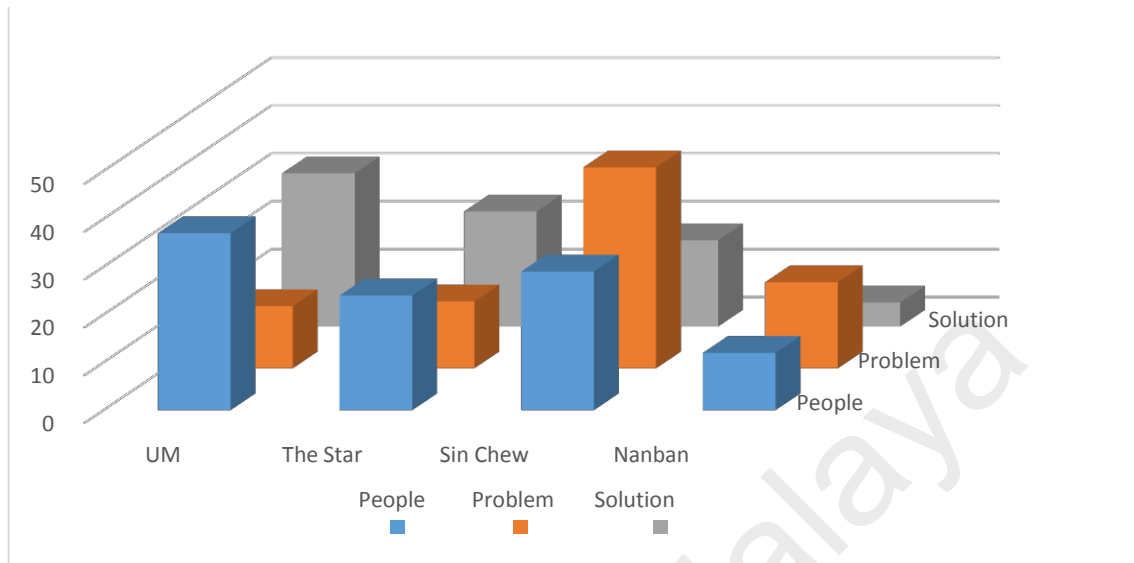


Figure 5.3: Coverage and Peak Period

Examples of the news from Sin Chew for the peak period are such as:

- 12 sulu intruders and 2 security police die in lahad datu attack (*Sin Chew*, 2 March, 2013)
- No more tolerance to sulu intruders said Najib (*Sin Chew*, 2 March, 2013)
- Najib offers condolences for 2 policeman (*Sin Chew*, 2 March, 2013)
- Sulu sultan claim malaysia attack (*Sin Chew*, 2 March, 2013)

For the first week of the period of coverage, *Sin Chew* portrayed most of the seriousness of the issue. As said earlier, *Sin Chew* is representing Chinese community, even though it's owned by business and media tycoon, Tiong Hiew King, *Sin Chew* were portraying most of the concern to the publics and considering Lahad Datu crisis as a serious problem that should take seriously by publics in Malaysia. That's the reason why *Sin Chew* is more concentrating on the problem of the issue rather than providing solution.

However, again, *Sin Chew* showing a difference in coverage because it's revealing about the losses of people and asset from crisis is another consideration to *Sin Chew* for the first week of peak coverage compare to providing solution as per concentrated by *Nanban* and *The Star*. Finding from *The Star* and *Nanban* dailies are more concentrating on the framing of solution taken by authority people in controlling the crisis situation. Such as:

- School closed in Lahad Datu (*Nanban*, 3 March, 2013)
- Heavy punishment for intruders (*Nanban*, 3 March, 2013)
- More security officers will be send to Lahad Datu (*Nanban*, 5 March, 2013)
- Increment for die police (*Nanban*, 5 March, 2013)
- Police take step to fight intruders (*Nanban*, 5 March, 2013)

Some of the articles from *The Star* also concentrating to the solution taken by government such as:

- Commandos move in after 12 police killed (*The Star*, 2 March, 2013)
- 11 schools were ordered to close (*The Star*, 3 March, 2013)
- Red zone declared over fears of intrusion (*The Star*, 5 March, 2013)
- “Government looking into a peaceful end Said Zahid (*The Star*, 5 March, 2013)

Even though the data revealed that *The Star* and *Nanban* are portraying most of the solution coverage, but there is a difference among them because for the peak coverage of the news, *The Star* is more fast in portrayal of providing solutions compare to the *Nanban* because, news depicted on 3rd March 2013 for the earliest coverage from *The Star* were covered on:

- Died commandos will be remembered as heroes (*The Star*, 3 March, 2013)
- 11 schools were ordered to close (*The Star*, 3 March, 2013)

And news on 4th March 2013 are as per below:

- Police and army work on operation (*The Star, Nanban, 4 March, 2013*)
- Special Hero fund set up to victim's families (*The Star, 4 March, 2013*)
- Ready for action in more power said Ismail (*The Star, 5 March, 2013*)
- Red zone declared over fears of intrusion (*The Star, 5 March 2013*)

However, after 5th of March 2013 only news in the *Nanban* focusing on portrayal of solution by government as per the earliest coverage such as:

- More security officers will be send to Lahad Datu (*Nanban, 5 March, 2013*)
- Increment for die police (*Nanban, 5 March, 2013*)
- Negotiation will be between Malaysia and Philipines (*Nanban, 5 March, 2013*)

In comparing with the *Utusan Malaysia*, data proved that, most of the news in *Utusan Malaysia* is focusing on the quarrel among people involved and also solution taken by government. The reason why *Utusan Malaysia* cater a highest frequency for the people category is because, some of the articles in *Utusan Malaysia* is more concentrating on the linked of Opposition Party lead by Anwar Ibrahim with the Lahad Datu crisis. So, for the peak period of the issue, *Utusan Malaysia* is more concentrating in revealing the opposition's party involvement with this crisis such as:

- Police report about Tian Chua's statement on Lahad Datu Conflict (*Utusan Malaysia, 3 March, 2013*)
- Muhyiddin replied angrily with Tian Chua's statement (*Utusan Malaysia, 3 March, 2013*)
- Tian Chua's statement created anger among citizens (*Utusan Malaysia, 3 March, 2013*)
- Investigation verified meeting between Anwar and Nur Misuari (*Utusan*

Malaysia, 3 March, 2013)

- Azam' family disappointed with Tian Chua's statement (*Utusan Malaysia*, 3 March, 2013)
- Prime Minister, Najib said Tian Chua's statement is shameful (*Utusan Malaysia*, 4 March, 2013)
- PKR is force to give detail report regarding the meeting between Nur Misuari and Anwar (*Utusan Malaysia*, 4 March, 2013)
- Tian Chua's statement worsen the situation (*Utusan Malaysia*, 4 March, 2013)
- 300 former police officer did police report against Tian Chua (*Utusan Malaysia*, 5 March, 2013)

In examining the peak period of the coverage, as said earlier, mainstream newspaper is directly and indirectly controlled by the government or government-linked individuals through various laws. But the writing styles and tone by respective newspaper can reveal so much on the nature, impact and solution for the crisis. This is because, data analysis revealed that, *Sin Chew* to represent Chinese vernacular newspaper revealing and concentrating more on alerting publics and news reader about the seriousness and severity of the crisis and at the same time alarming citizens and responsible people regarding the precaution and immediate solution. But, as in highest coverage of Lahad Datu crisis, *Utusan Malaysia* is more responsible in revealing and relating Lahad Datu crisis with opposition party in Malaysia. The main coverage during the peak period for *Utusan Malaysia* is about Anwar Ibrahim and Tian Chua representative from Opposition Party in Malaysia. Data providing an opposite finding between *Utusan Malaysia* and *Sin Chew*. Even both of these newspaper sharing the same agenda which is government agenda, but their duties as a crisis manager is totally different. Coverage in *The Star* and *Nanban* as said before are showing more solution news but both of these dailies is differ in the time response because, *The Star* is more fast in providing solution news compare to the *Nanban*, slow in portrayal of solution compare to *The Star*.

5.3 Category of News

Table 5.2: Category of News

Category of news	Frequency	Valid percentage
Problem	113	24.2
Solution	151	32.4
People	146	31.3
Neutral	56	12.0
Total	466	100.0

The writing styles of news can reveal on how news had been categorized in reader's mind. Some news can direct a reader to a decision that the news editor or gatekeeper wants according to their agenda (Entman, 1993; De Vreese, 2005). In this research, the researcher alone figured out a few categories of news from the extensive reading of Lahad Datu crisis in all mainstream newspapers in Malaysia. And then, the researcher grouped the categories of news based on *problem*, *solution*, *people* and *neutral* categories. Table 5.2 displayed the different categories of news.

The data revealed that, most of the articles focus on portrayal of solution category in portraying the Lahad Datu crisis which is 151 (32.4%), suggesting that the government is trying to solve the problems through newspaper coverage as compared to 'revealing problem' category coverage which is 113 (24.2%). For example, *The Star* stated, "frequent patrols and 5 road blocks for security in Lahad Datu" (*The Star*, 3 March 2013). The second focus in the reporting of Lahad Datu crisis is on 'people' -146 (31.3%), such as updating information on the safety of the security personnel in Lahad Datu and at the same time, revealing the victims' information to the public and also to reveal the compensation amount to the victims and their families. However, 113 (24.2%) news from 466 news articles admitted that there was a crisis and the situation was dangerous. 56 (12%) of the news were in neutral category.

5.3.1 Category of News and Newspapers

Table 5.3: Category of News and Newspapers

Category of news	Problem	Solution	People	Neutral	Total
Utusan Malaysia	22 4.7%	60 12.9%	48 10.3%	29 6.2%	159 34.1%
The Star	25 5.4%	30 6.4%	40 8.6%	10 2.1%	105 22.5%
Sin Chew	45 9.7%	28 6.0%	32 6.9%	8 1.7%	113 24.2%
Nanban	21 4.5%	33 7.1%	26 5.6%	9 1.9%	89 19.1%
Total	113 24.2%	151 32.4%	146 31.3%	56 12.0%	466 100.0%

Data from Table 5.3 is used to relate to the category of news with the respective newspapers. As discussed earlier in Table 5.2, the highest category of news is for *solution*. *Utusan Malaysia* covered 60 news (12.9%) for LD crisis and *Nanban* portrayed for 33 news (7.1%) framed for solution and remedies to overcome the problems in comparison to other categories such as revealing the problems and consequences from crisis and showing concerns and sympathy to the people. However, *Sin Chew's* main coverage of category is on informing people that the situation is dangerous and immediate solution is needed because 45 news (9.7%) from 24.2% of news in *Sin Chew* daily alerted readers that the situation was critical. Interestingly, *The Star* concentrated on *people* 40 (8.6%) while showing concerns and sympathy to the victims and victims' families and other security personnel. Similar findings were revealed for the category of people news coverage, where *Utusan Malaysia* posted the highest number of articles in

updating the public on Malaysian security and victims from the police and army is 48 (10.3%), followed by *The Star* is 40 (8.6%), *Sin Chew* daily is 32 (6.9%) and *The Nanban* covered 26 (5.6%).

To sum up, there is a drastic difference among *Sin Chew* daily and the other three newspapers in portraying the incident as serious and problematic because *Sin Chew* daily portrayed the highest percentage is 45 (9.7%) in telling the public that Lahad Datu crisis is getting worse as compared to *The Star* 25 (5.4%), *Utusan Malaysia* 22 (4.7%) and *Nanban* covered for 21 (4.5%) of news articles because highest coverage for *Utusan Malaysia* and *Nanban* is on providing solution for the crisis and for *The Star* daily, concentrating on people's category.

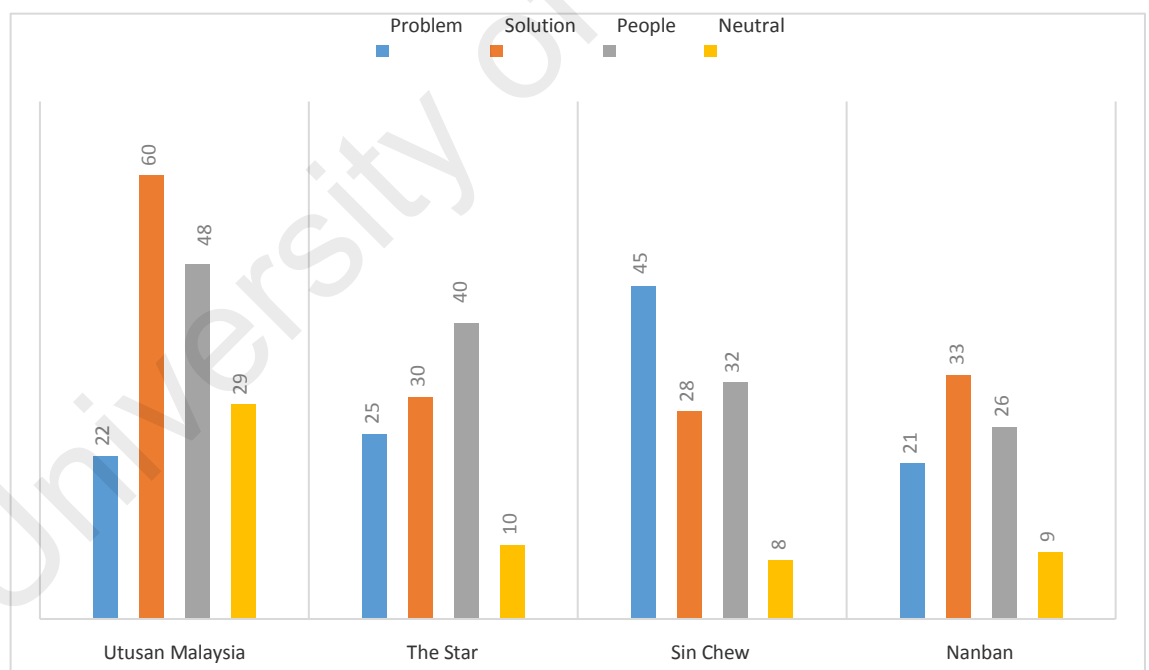


Figure 5.4: Category of LD News and Newspapers

Some of the articles in news that showing government through newspaper coverage is providing solutions:

- Help RM 1000.00 will be awarded by the Malaysian Government to citizens

involved in the crisis, invasion of Lahad Datu.

- Assistance will also be given in the form of reconstruction of residential and business premises destroyed due to disturbances by terrorists in Lahad Datu”, said Najib Tun Razak.
- Government loans will be given to those who suffered losses in business due to the crisis.
- Datuk Seri Musa Aman as Sabah Chief Minister has announced that the contribution of RM 100,000.00 will be given to family members of police killed in the battle in Lahad Datu. While for injured personnel, a total of RM 50,000.00 will be contributed by the State Government.

5.4 News Slants of News

Table 5.4: News Slants of LD Crisis News

Slants of news	Frequency	Valid percentage
Positive	194	41.6
Negative	151	32.4
Neutral	146	31.3
Total	466	100.0

In order to slant the news to give a particular perception and interpretation of the news, researcher used and modified Dimitrova & Ahern’s (2007) categories of news slants. The general three types of news slants are *positive*; positive toward the issue; support or provide justification and solution for the issue, *negative*; carries negative aspects or meaning towards the issues or events; cause the readers to form a negative opinion towards the issue or event and contains unfavorable descriptions of the issue or event and *neutral* slants; news about the crisis are neither positive nor negative. Overall, according to the data showed in Table 5.4, *positive* slants appeared more dominant in all four mainstream newspapers for the coverage of 194 (41.6%), followed by *negative* slants 151 (32.4%) and *neutral* slants is 146 (31.3%). The

data in this research is contradictory to the previous research because when Aday et al., (2005) examined the objectivity of media coverage during the 2003 Iraq war, it showed that the news was slanted in *balanced* or *neutral* slant but in this research dominant of positive slants were portrayed in selected dailies to educate publics that situation is under control and necessary solutions and compensations are taken.

A content analysis of Iraq War coverage by Dimitrova & Stromback in (2005), found that the Swedish newspaper used more *negative* tone as compared to the American counterparts and similar results applied to Dimitrova with Ahern in examining the online coverage of Iraq War which had more *negative* slant. Valentinia & Romenti (2012) concurred that *negative* slant is portrayed in the Italian and International Press frame of Alitalia's financial crisis.

In this research, the researcher found and concluded that, most of the news is slanted in the *positive* slant to portray that crisis manager is playing a gatekeeper's role while educating and informing the public through news frames that the conflict is under control and publics should feel grateful to government for putting the situation under control (De Vreese, 2005).

5.4.1 Chi - Square Test for News Slants and Newspapers

Table 5.5: News Slants and Newspapers

News Slants	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
Utusan Malaysia	61	53	45	159
	13.1%	11.4%	9.7%	34.1%
The Star	53	40	12	105
	11.4%	8.6%	2.6%	22.5%
Sin Chew	28	51	34	113
	6.0%	10.9%	7.3%	24.2%
Nanban	52	28	9	89
	11.2%	6.0%	1.9%	19.1%

Total	194	172	100	466
	41.6%	36.9%	21.5%	100.0%

X^2 for the slants of news=37.151, $P < 0.05$

“Table 5.5: continued”

In portraying the slants of crisis with respective newspapers, as revealed in Table 5.5, most of the coverage portrayed Lahad Datu crisis as a positive situation because 194 coverage is on *positive* slants and *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed the highest *positive* slants in the coverage of 61 articles, followed by *The Star*, 53 articles and *Nanban daily* 52 articles.

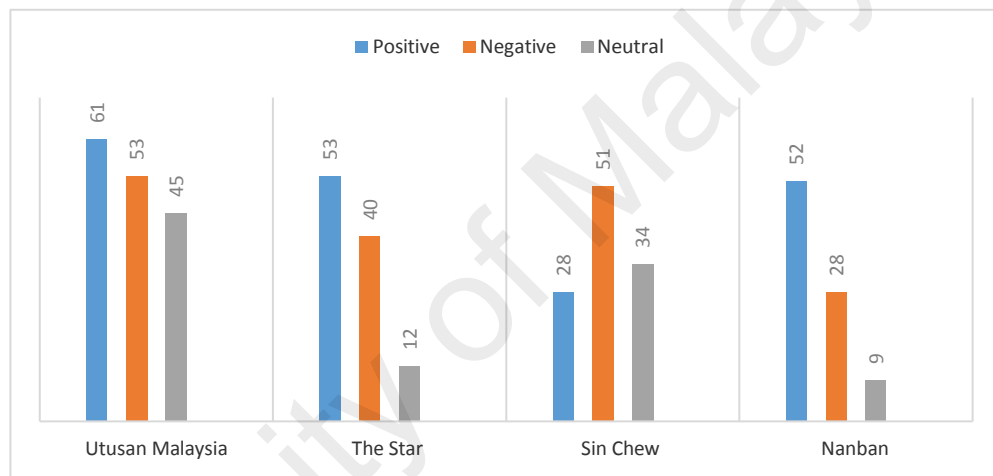


Figure 5.5: Slants of LD Crisis News and Newspapers

All the three dailies such as *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* and *Nanban* with the exception of *Sin Chew* newspaper, were portraying the situation as in control and the government and responsible actors are prepared for it. *Positive* slants also reassure the public to not worry about the issue. This finding is contradictory to the research carried out by Valentini & Romenti, (2012); Dimitrova & Stromback, (2005) and Dimitrova & Ahern (2007) revealed that *negative* slants of crisis coverage are more dominant in mainstream newspapers.

However, in this study, *negative* slants are the second highest after *positive* slants which were found in 172 articles. It's reminding the public that LD crisis is spiraling out of control and everybody is in danger. Among the four dailies, as mentioned above, *Sin Chew* daily portrayed most of the highest slants of *negative* with 51 articles as compared to the other three

newspapers that portrayed *positive* slants. The researcher also noted that *Sin Chew* daily covered the least *positive* slants and the data revealed that, *Sin Chew* daily newspaper also covered most of the *problem* category of news as compared to other categories mentioned in Table 5.5 (Coombs & Holladay 2010; Yang & Md. Sidin, 2012). Thus, to further analyze the differences among four newspapers in portraying the slants of news, the researcher ran a Chi - Square test and the result is a significant difference for the slants of news and newspapers (X^2 for the slants of news=37.151, $P < .05$). So, it's proved that there is a difference in the portrayal of slants in news among four newspapers whereby, *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* and *Nanban* portrayed the highest coverage of *positive* slants as compared to *Sin Chew*'s predominantly *negative* slants of news.

5.5 Portrayal of News Sources of LD Crisis and Newspapers

Adapted news sources from Dimitrova & Ahern's were used in this research with few modified news sources. Table 5.6 is used to explain the portrayal of news sources to strengthen the credibility of news. Most of the dailies coverage were attached with majority of government sources. Government sources are included Ministers, government, ruling party, opposition party and International state as well.

Table 5.6: News Sources and Newspapers

News Sources	Government	International media	Ordinary/re sidents	Not stated	Others	Total
Utusan Malaysia	24.2%	2.1%	3.2%	0.4%	4.4%	34.3%
The Star	13.7%	0.2%	4.7%	1.3%	3.1%	23%
Sin Chew	15.7%	1.1%	2.4%	0%	4.8%	24%
Nanban	12.2%	0.9%	0.6%	2.8%	2.2%	18.7%
Total	65.8%	4.3%	10.9%	4.5%	14.5%	100%

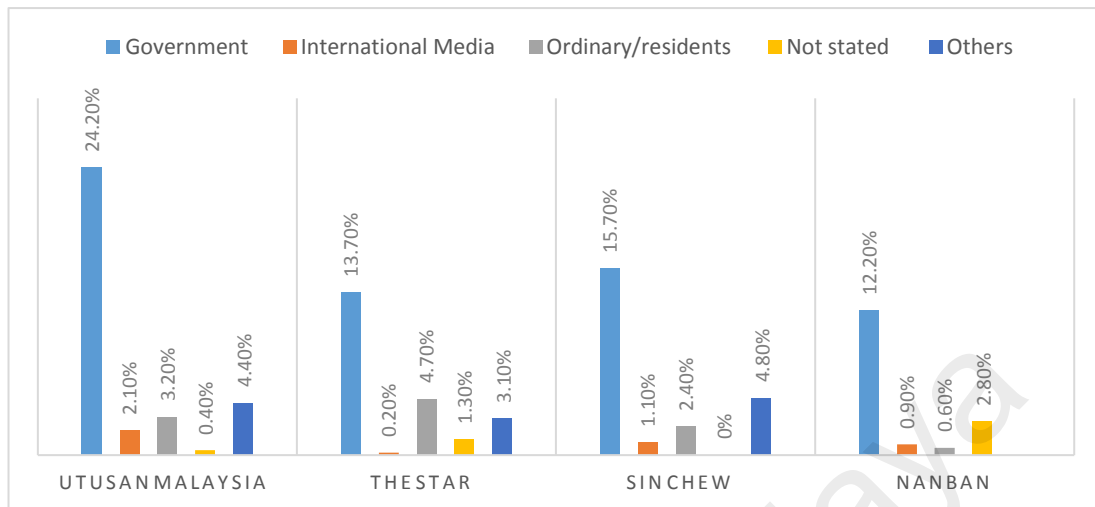


Figure 5.6: News Sources and Newspapers

In discussing the news portrayal for the news sources in covering LD crisis, there is no doubt that all the dailies in Malaysia used government as the main and most dominant source to be quoted to give credibility to the news (Entman, 1999). This finding is similar to Papacharissi & Oliveira (2008); Zaharopolous (2004); Dimitrova & Ahern (2007) and Dimitrova & Stromback (2005); (2012) studies because all of them quoted in their studies that the government is the sole major source for news during crisis.

All of the four newspapers reported that the government is the main source of news in updating the public on the issues and solutions for crisis. News coverage as per shown in Table 5.6 has reported that 65.8% in four newspapers used government as an actor to portray solutions for Lahad Datu crisis. After the government, the second important news source is from ordinary citizens or nearby residents who can give statements or opinions for the issue. 10.9% of news is used by citizens or ordinary people as a source of information. This is because they play eyewitness roles and they have some opinions to share around with media. Among the dailies, *The Star* portrayed highest sources from ordinary or surrounded residents to quote their own opinion or first-hand information. After *The Star*, *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed the second highest in quoting residents as a news sources.

Example of headline news in portrayal of news sources from ordinary residents as per below:

- Horrible news to swallow for Simunul villagers said one of the villagers in Kg Tanduo (*The Star*, 5 March, 2013)
- Those who worried about situation, flee to other place. Villagers said felt scared and stay inside and some migrate to other safer place (*The Star*, 6 March 2013)

5.5.1 Kruskal Wallis Test and The Role of News Sources during Crisis

In getting more details of the portrayal of news sources between selected dailies, the researcher did a Kruskal Wallis Test to know whether there is an association or difference between newspapers and the role of news sources. The reason for using Kruskal Wallis test is because, the researcher would like to examine the association or differences in portrayal of news sources by mainstream newspapers in Malaysia namely *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban*. Ordinal data is used to measure the dependent variable which is crisis response strategies in this study as per discussed earlier in chapter 3. Thus, the researcher will follow the convention by using the level of significance or alpha at .05 or 5% to calculate the significance level of whether to accept or reject the hypotheses discussed earlier.

To answer the first hypotheses, in relation to Table 5.7, the researcher used analysis of Kruskal Walli's test to prove or reject the hypotheses based on mean rank. The Kruskal Wallis test indicated no significant difference between all the four dailies in portraying the news sources for LD crisis because of the significant value of .112 ($P > .05$), for all the papers *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* in covering the news sources to add credibility to the news. As mentioned earlier, the government was cited the most to represent news sources during a crisis and Kruskal Walli's test showed no significant difference in portraying source from the government to add credibility to the news. Mean rank for *The Star*

was the highest (251.35), followed by *Nanban* (241.85), *Sin Chew* (231.91) and the lowest mean rank is for *Utusan Malaysia* (218.17).

Dominant news sources appeared in all the four dailies such as Prime Minister Malaysia Najib Tun Razak, Home Minister Malaysia Hishammuddin Hussein and Deputy Chief Minister Malaysia Datuk Seri Yahya Hussin. Table 5.7 displayed mean rank for all the dailies in portraying the news sources in newspapers. However, according to mean value, *The Star* scored a highest mean for the usage of credible news sources compared to other dailies and the most dominant news sources in *The Star* daily were from government and ordinary witnessed.

Table 5.7: Kruskal Walli's Test for News Sources and Newspapers

Newspaper	N	Mean Rank	Assump-sig
Utusan Malaysia	159	218.17	
The Star	105	251.35	
Sin Chew	113	231.91	
Nanban	89	241.85	.112

As a conclusion, in determining the portrayal of news sources in selected dailies during the LD crisis, the researcher was able to conclude that the selected dailies in Malaysia was able to provide trustworthy news to get readers' attention and support from reliable news sources such as government (Ismail, 2015).

5.6 Portrayal of News Frames and Newspapers

News frames is used to know how the selected dailies will select the text, sentences and words to slant the news according to the dailies news agenda. As per table 5.8, the finding for news frames in this study were adopted and modified from Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). The suggested frames by Semetko & Valkenburg are *attribution of responsibility*, *human interest*,

economic consequences, conflict and morality frames. Finding in this research for news frames of Lahad Datu crisis revealed that the most dominant frame appeared in selected dailies is *attribution of responsibility* and it were covered most by *Utusan Malaysia* followed by *Sin Chew* daily.

Table 5.8 demonstrated data for news framing that has been portrayed in all four newspapers. According to Entman (1993) & Hallahan (1999), frames can shape people's perception through the use of themes, word, headline, paragraph and some other elements in writing news and portraying pictures in media. In this study, the researcher was able to figure out the highest and most dominant frames employed in all of the mainstream dailies in Malaysia. The *attribution of responsibility* frame is the strongest frame in LD crisis in all newspapers at 53.4% followed by *economic consequences* frame 17%, conflict 14.4% and *human interest and morality* frame are 7.7% and 7.5% respectively. The reason why *attribution of responsibility* frame covered the most is because, all the dailies wanted to portray solution for the crisis and to make a stable situation in the country rather than admitting that there is a crisis Kyoung & Gower (2009); Coombs, (2007); Chang et al., (2012). *Attribution of responsibility* frame portrayed most in all the selected dailies can be seen through selected headlines as per shown below:

- KPN sahkan tiada polis ditawan (*Utusan Malaysia*, 6 March, 2013)
- Strategi mantap tangani isu penverobohan (*Utusan Malaysia*, 5 March, 2013)
- Tiga anggota penceroboh ditahan (*Utusan Malaysia*, 3 March, 2013)
- Frequent patrols and 5 road blocks for security in LD (*The Star*, 4 March, 2013)
- Full attack to protect Malaysian's right (*The Star*, 4 March, 2013)
- Malaysia is capable handling Sulu army (*The Star*, 5 March, 2013)
- More security officers will be send to Ld (*Sin Chew*, 3 March, 2013)
- Malaysia and Philipines will discuss about LD solution (*Nanban*, 3 March, 2013)

Table 5.8: News Frames for LD Crisis and Newspapers

News Frame	UM	The Star	Sin Chew	Nanban	Total
Conflict	6.4%	2.1%	3.6%	2.1%	14.4%
Human interest	2.1%	1.9%	1.3%	2.4%	7.7%
Morality	3.0%	2.1%	1.3%	1.1%	7.5%
Attribution Responsibility	17.6%	12.4%	13.1%	10.3%	53.4%
Eco Consequences	4.9%	3.9%	4.9%	3.2%	17.0%

After the *attribution of responsibility* frame, *economic consequences* frame portrayed the second most in the four dailies. *Economic consequences* frames provide details of losses of people, victim and country in news framing. This finding show a contradictory result with many other researches on framing conflicts because most of the scholars who did research in framing conflict proved that, *conflict* frames were portrayed wisely in all their findings but in this research, the researcher revealed a finding with data that *conflict* is in the third rank of framing as compared to *attribution of responsibility* frames and *economic consequences* frame (Yang & Md. Sidin, 2012; Coombs, 1999) (Refer to table 5.8).

In *economic consequences* frame, the researcher was able to conclude that all the four dailies revealed the extent of losses suffered by the country in this conflict. *Sin Chew* daily and *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed equally the losses of crisis to public and society. Through this frames and as a second highest of frames, instead of showing how crisis manager is solving the crisis, news articles are also playing an important role in portrayal of revealing the losses and amount of impacted to country and society from the crisis. Some of the headlines issues in dailies, portraying of economic consequences frame are as per below:

- Such as food prices increased due to sulu attack (*Sin Chew*, 6 March 2013)
- 2000 refugees having diarrhea (*Sin Chew*, 7 march 2013)
- Tourist business in Sabah dropped (*Sin Chew*, 8 march 2013)
- Mee price and food price increase in Sabah (*Utusan Malaysia*, 10 March 2013)
- Petrol prices increase (*Utusan Malaysia*, 10 march 2013)

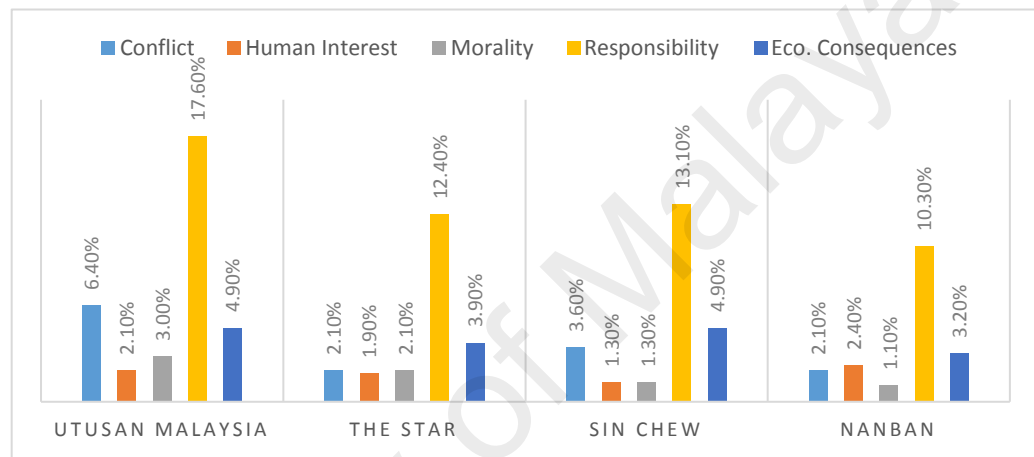


Figure 5.7: News Frames of LD Crisis and Newspapers

In examining the portrayal of dominant frames for *Utusan Malaysia*, in relation to Figure 5.7, revealed that, *attribution of responsibility* frame covered most followed by *conflict* frame. It's meant that while revealing the problem, government through *Utusan Malaysia* is portraying news for relevant solution however for *The Star*, *Nanban* and *Sin Chew* daily even though the highest dominant frame is *attribution of responsibility*, but *The Star*, *Nanban* and *Sin Chew* dailies are concentrating more in showing and updating the *economic consequences* frame faced by individual and country overall. Such as revealing the losses amount, insufficient foods, increasing food prices and tourism impact to Malaysia country especially for Sabah state.

After *economic consequences* frame, *conflict* frame appeared in all the dailies. Among four selected newspapers, again *Utusan Malaysia* frames many articles on *conflict* frame

followed by *Sin Chew*. *The Star* and *Nanban* portrayed the same amount of news articles on *conflict* frame to inform and give awareness about crisis and seriousness of Lahad Datu crisis.

In explaining detail the selection of frames in framing Lahad Datu crisis for respective dailies, *attribution of responsibility* frame appeared most for *Utusan Malaysia* followed by *conflict* frame and *economic consequences* frame. Researcher conclude that *Utusan Malaysia* concern is providing the best crisis response strategies for the Lahad datu crisis through admitting that situation is in crisis and solution is a must and also revealing the amount of losses while providing support and compensation to victims. Move on to *The Star*, again *attribution of responsibility* frame appeared most followed by *economic consequences*. *Morality* and *conflict* frame appeared in the same percentage for the third highest for *The Star*. Similar to *Utusan Malaysia* daily, *The Star* also concentrating in providing the best and fast solution for the crisis and revealing amount of losses through providing mental support and compensation amount to publics and victim. Unlike *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* providing some coverage for morality frame because *morality* frame appeared in third highest. It's proved that *The Star* is giving attention to discuss and relate to *morality* frame such as frame the Lahad Datu crisis in the context of religious views or morals values to release updated information about mentioned crisis.

In examining news framing from *Sin Chew*, data show that the highest frame portrayed by *Sin Chew* focused on *attribution of responsibility* frames followed by *economic consequences* and *conflict* frame. Overall, *Sin Chew* daily news coverage aim is providing solution for the crisis through revealing the amount of losses and also providing compensation to victims through news framing and the third highest news frame is on *conflict* frame; admitting that situation is bad and everybody are looking for a fast and effective solutions from government. For *Nanban*, the highest coverage of news frame is about *attribution of responsibility* frame, followed by *economic consequences* frame and *human interest* frame. Again *Nanban* also in line with other three dailies in providing solution for the crisis and

providing information about amount of losses but *Nanban daily* focusing on *human interest* frame compare to other dailies because *human interest* frame covered in third highest frame after *attribution of responsibility* and *economic consequences* frame. *Nanban* concentrate on the selection of news that present emotional angle to capture the reader's empathy and sympathy care (Figure 5.7).

5.7 Frequency of Visuals portrayed of Lahad Datu Crisis and Newspapers

Visuals played a complement and supplement function for textual message. In this study, visuals react as an independent variable to examine the crisis response strategies portrayed in Malaysian mainstream dailies. Visuals suggested by Schwalbe's in (2013) were used and modified by researcher. Pie chart in figure 5.8 showing the amount of visuals portrayed in all selected dailies. Overall, 288 visuals of Lahad Datu crisis were collected from the study. Coleman said images can induce people to think deeply about the issue and he added that photos in news can elicit more emotional responses among readers. In agreeing with his information, one of the variable for this research is visual framing of the Lahad Datu crisis. Overall, from 466 news on LD crisis issue, the data depicted 288 visual images for it.

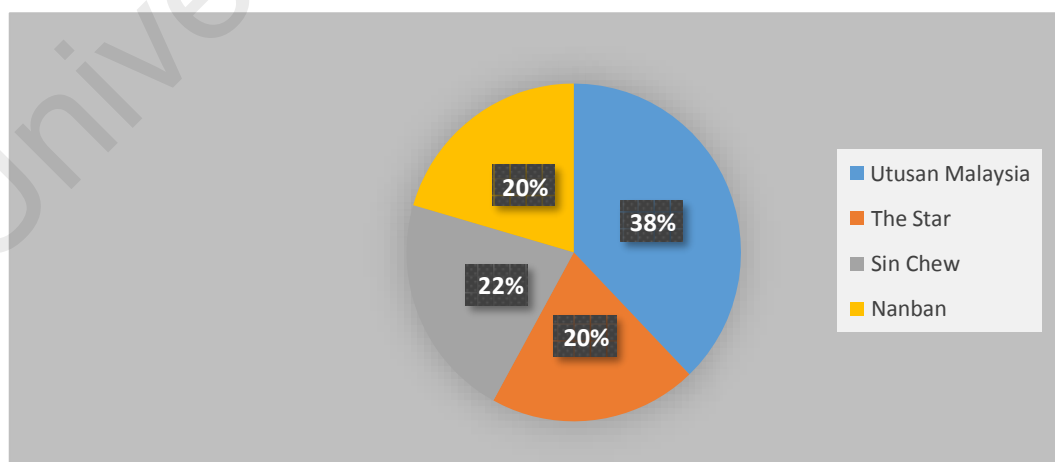


Figure 5.8: Visual of LD Crisis and Newspapers

Among the 288 visuals, as listed in figure 5.8, 38% of visual images were portrayed by *Utusan Malaysia*, followed by *Sin Chew* daily for 22%, *Nanban* and *The Star* respectively covered for 20% of visuals. When the researcher measured the messages portrayed by shown visuals of LD crisis, as per Figure 5.9, the findings showed that the majority of the visuals of LD portrayed messages that needed urgent attention or with immediate solution needed from the authority because, 130 visuals from 288 portrayed an impending crisis that needed immediate solution followed by visuals of information sharing, with 83 visuals covered in information sharing messages such as providing information and news about LD crisis or explanations on the root cause and background of the LD crisis.

Sympathy visual messages consisted of 29 visuals. In explaining the sympathy visual messages, *Utusan Malaysia* carried the highest visuals for 14 articles followed by *The Star*, *Nanban* and *Sin Chew* daily. *Sin Chew*'s visuals framing are more on revealing information sharing and crisis need immediate solution rather than expressing their sympathy through news coverage.

5.7.1 Messages portrayed through Lahad Datu Visual Images

Messages conveyed by visuals can be explained and interpreted through the placement of pictures in dailies. Figure 5.9 explaining more about the portrayal of Lahad Datu crisis images in selected dailies.

Based on Figure 5.8, *Utusan Malaysia* newspaper portraying images on Lahad Datu crisis need an immediate solution from relevant crisis manager. And same messages were portrayed in *Nanban daily* because two of these dailies dominant visuals were on crisis need to solve immediately. Data concluded that among the four dailies, *Utusan Malaysia* and *Nanban* is showing image of Lahad Datu crisis need an immediate solution.

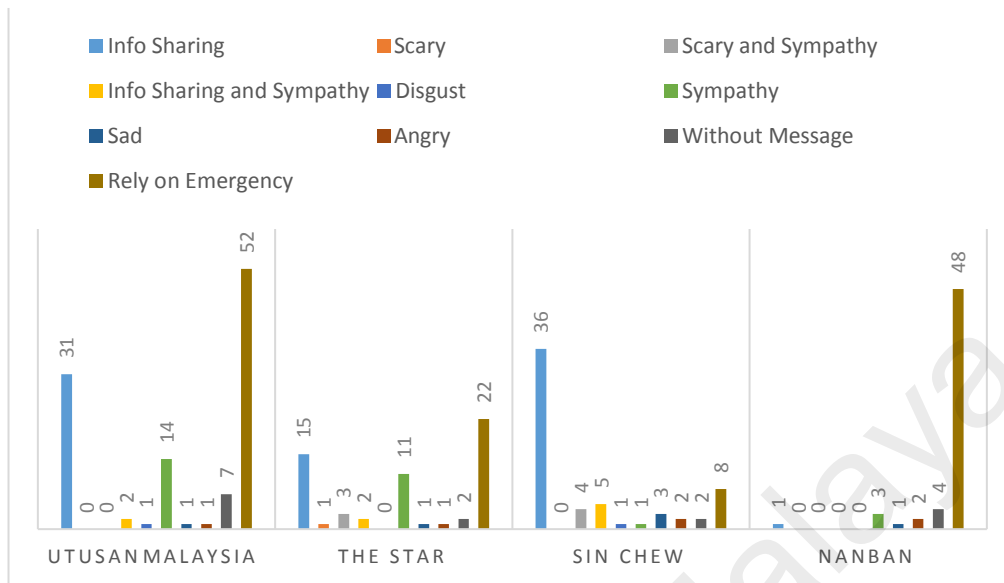


Figure 5.9: Visual Messages of Lahad Datu Crisis

Visuals in the *Sin Chew* daily are more concentrating on the information sharing images to provide updated and necessary information about Lahad Datu crisis to their respective readers and *Sin Chew* daily also portraying the highest images of information sharing together with sympathy visual images in order to update people with the necessary information and at the same time expressing news editor's sympathy towards the impacted people. In showing scary images, data in Figure 5.8, revealing that, *Sin Chew* daily portrayed most of the scary and sympathy images compare to other three dailies. Scary and sympathy images portrayed most in *Sin Chew* daily is mainly because, this daily want to alert people regarding the dangerous that might face by Malaysian public if an immediate solution is not taken.

5.7.2 Portrayal of Lahad Datu Visuals and Newspapers

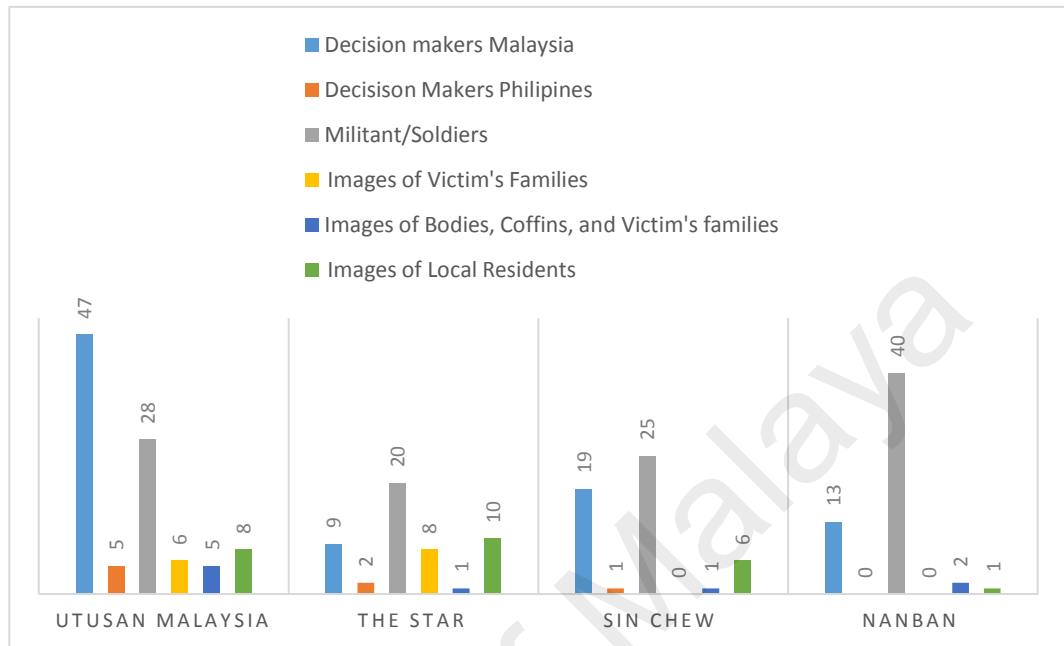


Figure 5.10: Portrayal of Lahad Datu Visuals in Newspapers

For the portrayal of visual images for the selected period, data revealed that, visual of militants and soldiers of Malaysian security personnel were portrayed most which is 113 articles. Similar finding was depicted with Dimitrova & Stromback (2005) & Carpenter (2007), founded the emphasized visuals were on military operations, troops, arsenal, and combat visual images. Images of Malaysian decision makers and politician images is in second highest which is 88 articles is accordance with previous studies by Dobernig et al., (2010); Schwalbe (2013) & ben-yehuda et al., (2013) revealed that the highest portrayal of visual is decision maker and authority people. Followed by images of local residents of 25 articles from 288 articles in this visual portrayal of LD crisis. Researcher found that, the highest portrayal of militant and soldier pictures were portrayed in *Nanban* daily most and for the images of decision maker and politicians in Malaysia, *Utusan Malaysia* covered most.

Images of local residents and villagers from Sabah appeared most in *The Star* daily compare to *Utusan Malaysia*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban*. *The Star* daily portrayed 10 visuals of

images of local residents compared to *Utusan Malaysia* for 8 visuals, *Sin Chew* for 6 visuals and *Nanban* for 1 visual only. The star portrayed most is because *The Star* daily would like to create a bond and linkage between news readers and people from Sabah in the news agenda through attaching local villager pictures and *The Star* also is the daily that portrayed most of the images of victim's families. This is due to *The Star* would like to express their sad and sympathy through portrayal of victim's family photos to generate feelings among their readers. In getting more detail of the portrayal of pictures between selected dailies, researcher did a Kruskal Wallis Test to know whether there is an association or differences between newspaper and portrayal of pictures. In order to prove and reject the hypotheses, researcher used empirical research to test the mean rank among all the four mainstream newspaper in understanding the crisis response strategies. Kruskal Wallis test is used by researcher to calculate the significant value.

5.7.3 Kruskal Wallis Test in Portrayal of Visuals in Dailies

Table 5.9: Portrayal of Visual LD Crisis in all Dailies

Newspaper	N	Mean Rank	Assump-sig
Utusan Melayu	159	207.65	
The Star	105	266.45	
Sin Chew	113	250.11	
Nanban	89	219.72	.001

As mentioned before, pictures transfer many meaning as a complement and substitute to the words. Table 5.9, revealed mean rank and significant value between dailies and portrayal of pictures. The highest mean rank in portraying LD crisis images is portrayed by *The Star* for (266.45), followed by *Sin Chew* (250.11), *Nanban* (219.72) and least is covered by *Utusan Malaysia* (207.65). Data above revealed that there is a significant differences in portrayal of LD crisis pictures among four dailies with the value of ($P < .05$). The dominant pictures by *The*

Star, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* is portrayed by visual of Militants and Soldiers. However, visuals of Decision Makers displayed most in *Utusan Malaysia* (Refer to Figure 5.9).

Finding also concluded that, pictures portrayed in *The Star* daily is more concentrating on the revealing the local villager pictures and affected area's pictures to inform and portray to their readers how affected the village and villagers in Sabah. On top of that, *The Star* newspaper also is creating connection and relationship with their readers through revealing the images of victim's families to portray news agenda.

5.7.4 Samples of Visuals

Samples of visuals: (Source: *Sin Chew*, 2013)



Figure 5.11: Visual Images 1 and the *Sin Chew*

Figure 5.11 portraying the images of effected Malaysian security officers from Lahad Datu attack.



Figure 5.12: Visual Images 2 and the Sin Chew

Figure 5.12 exposing the types of solutions and precaution to be use in attacking Sulu intruders in order to prevent from any dangerous situation.



Figure 5.13: Visual Images 3 and the Sin Chew

Figure 5.13 portraying images of security officers from Malaysia in getting updated information and instruction from their superior before starting the attack.

Samples of visuals: (Source: The Nanban, 2013)



Figure 5.14: Visual Images 1 and the Nanban

Visuals in Figure 5.14 portraying images of security personnel in Malaysia in showing precaution for the Sabah attack.



Figure 5.15: Visual Images 2 and the Nanban

Figure 5.15 framing the images of security officers to show that they are ready for the battle.



Figure 5.16: Visual Images 3 and the Nanban

Figure 5.16 portraying images of security officers to show that they are ready for the attack.

Samples of visuals: (Source: *The Star*, 2013)



Figure 5.17: Visual Images 1 and The Star

Figure 5.17 exposing images of military operation in fighting with Intruders.



Figure 5.18: Visual Images2 and The Star

Figure 5.18 portraying images of security officers from Malaysia and military equipment in order to combat the LD crisis.



Figure 5.19: Visual Images 3 and The Star

Figure above showing images of security officers from Malaysia are ready for the crisis and attack.

Samples of visuals: (Source: *Utusan Malaysia*, 2013)



Figure 5.20: Visual Images 1 and the Utusan Malaysia

Picture above portraying images of decision makers as a crisis manager from Malaysia.



Figure 5.21: Visual Images 2 and the Utusan Malaysia

Figure in 5.21, showing images of Prime Minister from Malaysia in providing full support to security personnel to win from the battle.

5.8 Crisis Response Strategies through Newspaper Coverage

One of the main objective of this research is to find out the suggested crisis response taken by the government to combat the Lahad Datu crisis throughout the coverage in selected dailies. The frequency of issue, writing styles in news and portrayal of visuals in news, can determine the suggested and most prominent response taken by responsible people to react with the mentioned crisis. Table 5.10 display the descriptive amount of the proposed responses by Coombs, such as *denial*, *concern*, *compensation*, *justification*, *excuse*, *apology* and *regret*. Out of 466 articles on LD crisis, *justification* respond is displayed most by all the dailies at (247) articles followed by *concern* response which had (81) articles, *regret* for (47) articles, *excuse* in (34) articles, *compensation* in (32) articles and *denial* and *apology* at (15) and (10) articles.

Table 5.10: Frequency of Crisis Response Strategies of the Lahad Datu Crisis

Crisis Response	Frequency	Valid percentage
Denial	15	3.2
Concern	81	17.4
Compensation	32	6.9
Justification	247	53.0
Excuse	34	7.3
Apology	10	2.1
Regret	47	10.1
Total	466	100.0

For the responses portrayed by crisis managers in providing solutions for the LD crisis through news coverage, most of the dailies covering the crisis manager used *justification* crisis response in newspaper framing for (247) articles (53%) as compared to other responses. This means that, the government through news coverage portraying immediate solution and remedy to protect the public to overcome the severity of crisis by minimizing the impact of crisis. The second highest response after *justification* response is a *concern* response, covering (81) articles (17.4%). These findings showed similar results to the Exxon-Valdez oil spill crisis

response, by Kyoung & Gower (2006); Choi (2012) crisis response strategies through news coverage. This *concern* response is the second highest after *justification* response, it showed that the government is concerned about the public and victims by showing deep sadness toward the LD crisis. Not only that, government and appropriate actor also directed their anger to the Filipino intruders and many other irresponsible parties who had a hand in creating this crisis. (47) 10.1% of news articles coverage used regret response; they wanted to readers to feel regretful and sorry toward the crisis impact. News articles (34) articles 7.3% of the newspaper coverage is giving Excuses that the conflict has happened but not to a level that could cause an alarm. This is followed by *compensation response* (32) articles 6.9%, denial (15) articles 3.2% and *apology* (10) articles for 2.1%.

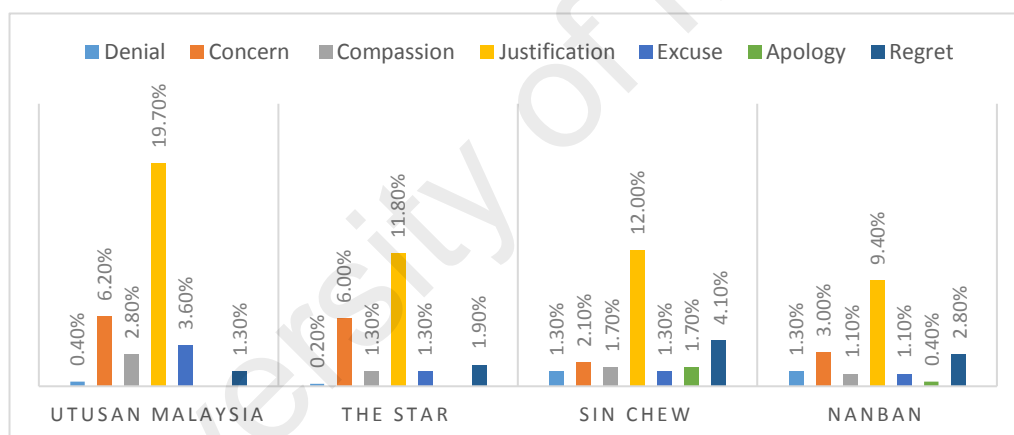


Figure 5.22: Crisis Response Strategies and Newspapers

Justification crisis response appeared most in *Utusan Malaysia* daily. Same applied to *The Star*, *Sin Chew* daily and *Nanban*. After *justification* crisis response, *concern* crisis response appeared most in *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star*. Both of these newspapers portraying news of providing solution for the crisis and also expressing their *concern* response to the affected victims. *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* also portraying *justification* response as the main crisis response. However, *regret* crisis response appeared most after the *justification* crisis response for *Sin Chew* and *concern* response and *regret* crisis response appeared most in the *Nanban*.

5.8.1 Crisis Response Strategies and Newspapers

Table 5.11: Crisis Response Strategies and Newspapers

Crisis Response	Utusan Malaysia	The Star	Sin Chew	Nanban	Total (%)
Denial	0.4%	0.2%	1.3%	1.3%	3.2
Concern	6.2%	6.0%	2.1%	3.0%	17.4
Compensation	2.8%	1.3%	1.7%	1.1%	6.9
Justification	19.7%	11.8%	12.0%	9.4%	53.4
Excuse	3.6%	1.3%	1.3%	1.1%	7.3
Apology	0%	0%	1.7%	0.4%	2.1
Regret	1.3%	1.9%	4.1%	2.8%	10.1%
Total	34.1%	22.5%	24.2%	19.1%	100.0

Among the dailies, *Utusan Malaysia* newspaper portrayed more *justification response* - 19.7%, followed by *Sin Chew* - 12.0%, *The Star* - 11.8% and finally *Nanban* newspaper - 9.4%. Same goes to *concern* crisis responses where *Utusan Malaysia* covered more *concern* response 6.2%, followed by *The Star* 6.0%, *Nanban* 3.0% and *Sin Chew* 2.1% (Refer to Table 5.11).

5.9 Portrayal of Justification Crisis Response in all four Newspapers

Government through coverage admitted that there is a crisis and providing solutions to minimize and overcome any negative effects from crisis through news reporting. This is known as *justification* crisis response (Coombs, 1999). As mentioned earlier in (Table 5.11), *justification* crisis response is portrayed most in all the selected dailies in Malaysia. In showing the differences in portraying *justification* response to LD crisis, Kruskal Walli's test was run by the researcher to see if there is any association or significant differences between *justification* response and all the selected dailies.

5.9.1 Kruskal Wallis test to portray Justification Crisis Response and differences in selected dailies

Table 5.12: Portrayal of Justification Crisis Response and differences in Selected Dailies

Newspaper	N	Mean Rank	Assump-sig
Utusan Melayu	159	276.26	
The Star	105	284.62	
Sin Chew	113	157.79	
Nanban	89	192.92	.000

Kruskal Walli's test indicates a strong significant difference between four dailies in response to the *justification* crisis response for the value of .000 ($P < .05$). The highest mean rank is portrayed by *The Star* (284.62), followed by *Utusan Malaysia* (276.26), and *Nanban* (192.92) and the lowest mean rank is (157.79) covered by *Sin Chew*. *The Star* newspaper revealed more news coverage of solution through texts and photos in combating the crisis as compared to other dailies.

Some headline examples of LD news in portraying justification crisis responses in *The Star* are as below:

- “Troops secure half of village by nightfall” (*The Star*, 6 March, 2013)
- “Security forces expanded” (*The Star*, 7 March, 2013)
- “Ships goes wider for mopping up operations by police” (*The Star*, 7 March, 2013)
- “Lay down arms or die says PM, warned the Intruders” (*The Star* 8 , March, 2013)
- “Ops Daulat will go on until Sulu gunmen are finished- Hishammuddin said” (*The Star*, 10 March, 2013)
- “Teen killed and man injured in Kg Sungai by Police” (*The Star* , 11 March, 2013)

- “Ceasefire only if gunmen surrender unconditionally, Said Najib” (*The Star*, 11 March, 2013)
- “Another Sulu gunmen deaths raises to 54” (*The Star*, 12 March, 2013)
- “PM to provide more details on ESSCOM” (*The Star*, 24 March, 2013)

As mentioned earlier, *Nanban* which represents the Tamil community is the third highest in portraying the *justification* response. Some of the LD crisis headlines from *Nanban* for justification response are as below:

- “Heavy punishment for Intruders” (*Nanban*, 3 March, 2013)
- “More security officers will be send to Lahad Datu” (*Nanban*, 5 March, 2013)
- “Aggressive fight by Police officers with Intruders” (*Nanban*, 6 March, 2013)
- “Police take step to fights with Intruders” (*Nanban*, 6 March, 2013)
- “Selected area is still strictly control and RED label” (*Nanban*, 6 March, 2013)
- “Intruders can’t be escape said Hishammuddin” (*Nanban daily*, 7 March, 2013)



Figure 5.23: ESSZONE Areas

(Source: <http://TheStar.com.my>)

Prime Minister Najib Razak established an area known as Special Security Area of the East coast of Sabah (ESSCOM) on 7 March 2013 to further strengthen maritime security in the eastern part of Sabah and on 25 March 2013, he launched a new zone called as the Security Zone east coast of Sabah (ESSZONE) (*Utusan Malaysia, The Star, Sin Chew and Nanban*, 8 March, 2013) (Figure 5.22).

5.10 Kruskal Wallis Test in Portrayal of Concern Crisis Response during Crisis

Table 5.13: Kruskal Walli's Test for Concern Crisis Response and Newspapers

Newspaper	N	Mean Rank	Assump-sig
Utusan Melayu	159	289.00	
The Star	105	274.50	
Sin Chew	113	148.19	
Nanban	89	194.30	.000

In this analysis, as per (Table 5.13), the researcher wanted to explore that the style of news writing and placement of news can portray *concern* crisis response in news reporting. *Concern* crisis response is defined as expressing sympathy and sad emotions for the impact of crisis (Coombs, 1999; 2009; 2010). In order to know any associations or differences between dailies in portraying of *concern* response in newspapers, Kruskal Walli's test was tested.

Portraying and expressing sympathy response is one of the main *concern* response strategies as suggested in crisis response strategies by Coombs. Through drastic news coverage of concern response, readers can be induced into expressing their sympathy and join together with the crisis manager to offer support (Holladay, 2009). Choi (2012); Coombs (1999); (2007) discussed in their studies that, portraying concern response and express sympathy is the best crisis response strategy. So, the researcher supports their findings with the revelation that Malaysian government also combats the crisis in portraying concern response effectively. The outcome of the test revealed that the significant value is 0.000 ($P < .05$) which means that

there is a strong significant difference in portraying concern response in combating LD crisis. As per Table 5.13, the highest mean rank is performed by *Utusan Malaysia* for the mean rank of (289) in portraying the most concern response, followed by *The Star* which has (274.50) mean rank, *Nanban* is (194.30) and the lowest mean rank is owned by *Sin Chew* for the value of (148.19). *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed *concern* response most frequently in comparison to three other dailies, while *Sin Chew* portrayed less of a concern response. As mentioned in Table 5.4, for the news slants of LD crisis, *Sin Chew* news portrayed mostly in the negative slant. Due to this reason, *Sin Chew*, which represents the Chinese community in Malaysia, are portraying the root cause more and are warning the people to be more cautious. This is the reason for *Sin Chew* for the least of *Concern* response coverage.

Some of the headline samples for *Concern* response portrayed in *Utusan Malaysia* are as below:

- “Prime Minister express condolences” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 2 March, 2013)
- “Higher position to Zulkifli and Sabaruddin” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 3 March, 2013)
- “Prime Minister and his wife pay tribute to 2 heroes” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 5 March, 2013)
- “I’m proud to be son to world hero” “Said son of die police officer” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 5 March, 2013)
- “Donation to die officers” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 5 March, 2013)
- “Government help villagers” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 7 March, 2013)
- “Proud for the Suluk people in Sabah, “Said Najib” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 8 March, 2013)
- “Rosmah felt sympathy for the die officers” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 8 March, 2013)
- “Prime Minister visited Srjn, Sabaruddin” (*Utusan Malaysia*, 9 March, 2013)

Some of the selected headlines from *Sin Chew* in portraying least for *Concern* response and more on the negative slant of coverage:

- 12 Sulu Intruders and 2 Security Police perished in Lahad Datu attack (*Sin Chew*, 2 March, 2013)
- Najib offers condolences for 2 policemen (*Sin Chew*, 2 March, 2013)
- Sulu army still with their arms (*Sin Chew*, 2 March, 2013)
- Fake surrender by Sulu army (*Sin Chew*, 3 March, 2013)
- Eleven schools closed in Lahad Datu (*Sin Chew*, 3 March, 2013)
- Sulu army may enter the country through identity swap (*Sin Chew*, 4 March, 2013)
- Sulu army familiarize with Semporna environment (*Sin Chew*, 5 March, 2013)
- 50 Sulu army seize village (*Sin Chew*, 5 March, 2013)
- Unknown bullet shots heard in Semporna (*Sin Chew*, 5 March, 2013)
- Sulu army ready for night Battle (*Sin Chew*, 6 March, 2103)
- Bomb drop 1km from Target (*Sin Chew*, 6 March, 2013)
- Beheaded, eyes removed, detained and pounced police officer by Sulu (*Sin Chew*, 8 March, 2013)
- Police been tortured (*Sin Chew*, 11 march, 2013)

5.11 Kruskal Wallis Test between Compensation Crisis Response and Dailies

Compensation crisis response strategy is defined as crisis manager who offers financial support and psychological support to the victim and victim's families such as offering money, gifts, expressing confidence and providing motivation to the affected people (Coombs, 1999; 2007). Based on Table 5.14 below, Kruskal Walli's test showed no

significant differences between compensation crisis response and the selected dailies in LD crisis coverage.

The test is having significant value of .075 ($P > .05$). All the selected means are in between (246.87) for *Utusan Malaysia*, (236.72) for *The Star*, (217.86) for the *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* is having (225.67) of mean rank value. The mean rank in the table displayed showed that *Utusan Malaysia* is having higher *compensation* crisis response compare to other dailies. However, to sum up, the findings from Kruskal Walli's test proved that all the dailies in Malaysia are doing their jobs effectively in informing the public that the crisis manager or government is caring for the victims in providing sufficient compensation to neutralize their feelings of sadness.

Table 5.14: Kruskal Walli's Test for Compensation Crisis Response and Newspapers

Newspaper	N	Mean Rank	Assump-sig
Utusan Melayu	159	246.87	
The Star	105	236.72	
Sin Chew	113	217.86	
Nanban	89	225.67	.075

Depicted headlines portraying *compensation* crisis response in all four dailies are as per below:

- MCA to compensate RM2000 for family of police force (*Sin Chew*, 7 March, 2013)
- 480 Chinese organizations held hero fund (*Sin Chew*, 8 March, 2013)
- Increment for deceased police (*Nanban*, 5 March, 2013)
- "Malaysias should and will pray for the security of the police," said Najib (*Nanban*, 7 March, 2013)
- RM33,000 donation to cops (*Nanban*, 17 March, 2013)
- Palanivel/MIC donate RM80,000 to warriors (*Nanban*, 18 March, 2013)
- Special Hero fund set up to aid victims' families (*The Star*, 4 March, 2013)

- MCA pays tributes to security forces (*The Star*, 7 March, 2013)
- Donations for police killed (*The Star*, 11 March, 2013)
- Dr. Rozmey donated RM 150,000 to dead security officers' families (*Utusan Malaysia*, 5 March, 2013)
- Affected security officer get RM 10,000 (*Utusan Malaysia*, 7 March, 2013)
- MIC to provide help to victim (*Utusan Malaysia*, 12 March, 2013)
- Government to help security officer's family (*Utusan Malaysia*, 12 March, 2013)
- Donation to villagers at Kg Tanduo (*Utusan Malaysia*, 13 March, 2013)
- Felda established donation sources for dead cops LD (*Utusan Malaysia*, 13 March, 2013)

5.12 Denial Crisis Response portrayed in all four newspapers

Denial crisis response is used to reveal that the crisis has not happened and the situation of the conflict is not too serious to raise alarms. There were (15) articles out of 466 articles that portrayed the *denial* crisis response among the four dailies (refer to Table 5.15). In examining the association and significant differences among the dailies, the Kruskal Walli's test was conducted. It showed a significant value of .025 ($P < .05$). There is a significant difference in portraying *denial* crisis response of LD crisis for all the papers such as *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban*. The mean rank for *Sin Chew* paper was highest (240.33), followed by *Utusan Malaysia* (235.36), and *The Star* and *Nanban* having the same mean rank which is (228) (Refer to Table 5.15). In a sum, the data concluded that *Sin Chew* and *Utusan Malaysia* daily portrayed the highest news with *denial* crisis response. The *Star* and *Nanban* have the same amount of news in portraying the *denial* crisis response.

Table 5.15: Kruskal Walli’s Test for portrayal of Denial Crisis Response and Newspapers

Newspaper	N	Mean Rank	Assump-sig
Utusan Melayu	159	235.36	
The Star	105	228.00	
Sin Chew	113	240.33	
Nanban	89	228.00	.025

Selected headlines from *Sin Chew* in portraying *denial* crisis response are as below:

- Semporna situation under control (*Sin Chew*, 7 March, 2013)
- Villagers felt save (*Sin Chew*, 8 March, 2013)
- UNESCO Secretary: Solve issue peacefully (*Sin Chew*, 8 March, 2013)
- “ Create special area to prevent invasion,” said Najib (*Sin Chew*, 8 March, 2013)
- Many Sulu invaders surrender to stay alive (*Sin Chew*, 9 March, 2013)
- ESSZONE to be executed (*Sin Chew*, 26 March, 2013)

5.13 Portrayal of Excuse Crisis Response in all four newspapers

Any kind of statement and sentences used or said by crisis manager to shift the blame to others or admittance that a crisis is in control with no bad happenings is the best definition for the *excuse* crisis response strategy. (34) articles out of 466 articles framed the news in *excuse* crisis response (Refer to Table 5.16). *Excuse* crisis response can be used by authorities and responsible people in informing the public that there is no crisis by attaching it with relevant excuses to divert the public’s mind into other matters and thus ignoring the severity of the existing crisis (Coombs, 1999; 2007). Table 5.16 revealed the findings of the significant differences between dailies in portraying *excuse* crisis response.

Table 5.16: Kruskal Walli's test for Portrayal of Excuse Crisis Response and Newspapers

Newspaper	N	Mean Rank	Assump-sig
Utusan Melayu	159	234.97	
The Star	105	221.28	
Sin Chew	113	233.43	
Nanban	89	245.39	.146

Kruskal Walli's test indicates that there is no significant difference for all the papers; *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* newspapers in portraying excuse crisis response to solve the LD Crisis with the significant value of .146 ($P > .05$). Mean rank for the *Nanban* is of the highest value at (245.39), followed by *Utusan Malaysia* (234.97), for the *Sin Chew* it is (233.43) and *The Star* has (221.28) a mean rank for the portrayal of *excuse* crisis response.

Some of the articles that show *excuse* crisis response are as per below:

- Conspiracy theory referring to UMNO, not army (*Sin Chew*, 3 March, 2013)
- Conspiracy theory immoral said Muhyiddin (*Sin Chew*, 3 March, 2013)
- People should unite said Najib (*Sin Chew*, 6 March, 2013)
- Sabah politician invoked Sultan of Sulu (*Sin Chew*, 3 March, 2013)
- "Anwar met SULU leader previously" said source (*Sin Chew*, 4 March, 2013)
- "People should not upload military photos" said Ismail (*Sin Chew*, 4 March, 2013)
- Malaysia is capable in handling Sulu army (*Sin Chew*, 6 March, 2013)
- "More people support government decisions" said Najib (*Sin Chew*, 6 March, 2013)
- "Don't believe in SMS" said Musa (*Nanban*, 3 March, 2013)
- "Did Anwar meet with Misuari?" (*Nanban*, 4 March, 2013)
- Lahad Datu link with opposition party? (*Nanban*, 4 March, 2013)
- "Revoke the Sultan title from Sultan Kiram" said MIC (*Nanban*, 7 March,

2013)

- Anwar said government is not doing well in solving Lahad Datu case (*Nanban*, 7 March, 2013)
- 100 protest against two PKR leader against their statement (*The Star*, 11 March, 2013)
- “ICJ declared Sabah as part of Malaysia” says BAR (*The Star*, 11 March, 2013)
- Tian Chua’s statement make people angry (*Utusan Malaysia*, 3 March, 2013)
- The meeting of Anwar and Nur Misuari really did take place (*Utusan Malaysia*, 4 March, 2013)
- “Tian Chua’s statement is a play of politics” said Prime Minister (*Utusan Malaysia*, 4 March, 2013)
- PKR is forced to give statement about meeting of Anwar and Misuari (*Utusan Malaysia*, 4 March, 2013)

5.14 Summary of The Study

Through quantitative content analysis using systematic coding book and coding sheet were able to deliver some interesting and useful data for further understanding of the elements and variables to frame crisis effectively in identifying crisis response strategies. Throughout this research, the results depicted that 466 news about Lahad Datu crisis were found in the duration of study. out of 466 news articles, *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed highest followed by *Sin Chew* and *The Star*. In providing responses for a crisis or known as crisis response strategies of Lahad Datu crisis, few independent variables were created by researcher such as news category, news slants, visuals, news frames and news sources. Variables of news category such as problem, people, solution and neutral category can determine the success or failure of a crisis response. In this study, the category of solution appeared most in all the dailies. Instead of using the category of news, how the news is being slanted was also one of the

measurements in this study. The news slants were categorized into positive, negative and neutral slants. The researcher concluded that, positive slants of news were portrayed most in Lahad Datu crisis news coverage. In giving credible and trustworthy news, news sources as one of the independent variable, has been tested in this study. The government and the authorities have been quoted most as a news sources in all the dailies in providing solution through news coverage. Through Kruskal Walli's test proved that there is no significant difference in portraying news sources for all the dailies. In doing framing by media for different newspapers, the results showed that, attribution of responsibility frame dominated in all newspapers except for *Sin Chew* which focused on conflict frame as the most.

In examining the visuals attached with Lahad Datu crisis news, Visuals of militants and soldiers were framed most to show that security officers are ready and well prepared to combat and overcome the Sulu intruder and crisis. The second most portrayed visuals are decision makers from Malaysia. *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed most of the visuals and the highest coverage of decision makers from Malaysia followed by visuals of militants and soldiers. However, visuals of militants and soldiers appeared most in *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* followed by visuals of decision makers from Malaysia. In finding the differences between dailies, the Kruskal Walli's test revealed that there is a significant difference in portrayal of pictures whereby *The Star* and *Sin Chew* portrayed most of the visuals of security officers and victim's images however *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed most on decision maker images.

In understanding the messages portrayed by the attachment of visuals, data showed that messages of crisis need immediate solution and information and updated information about crisis appeared most in the dailies. It's to educate and inform their publics on what was happening. Among the dailies, *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* and *Nanban* portrayed more visuals on transferring message about providing immediate solutions however, messages from *Sin Chew* visuals are on sharing and releasing updated information about crisis.

In examining the crisis response strategies, *justification* crisis response appeared most in all the dailies for 53% followed by *concern* and *excuse* crisis response. *Apology* is in the least

response portrayed by all the dailies. In providing *justification* response, Kruskal Walli's test revealed that, there is a significant difference among the dailies; *The Star* and *Utusan Malaysia* portrayed most of the justification response as compared to *Sin Chew* and *Nanban*. The same results are applied for *concern* crisis response, which means there is a significant difference in the portrayal of concern response and the daily with the highest concern response was *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star*. In providing compensation crisis response, all the dailies framed equally the compensation response in providing support such as money, shelter, clothes, moral support, donations and so on. In showing *denial* crisis response, selected dailies showing a difference based on the test because, *Sin Chew* dominated most coverage in *denial* crisis response according to highest mean rank followed by *Utusan Malaysia* and finally, for the *excuse* crisis response, all the dailies having an association relationships in showing *excuse* crisis responses for Lahad Datu crisis. The highest daily that framed excuse crisis response is *Nanban*.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the whole research study. The main discussion of this topic is the findings based on descriptive and inferential results. The contributions and implications of the study are also discussed in this chapter. Finally, the limitations of the study and recommendation for future research are also highlighted in this chapter.

6.2 Summary of the Study

Lahad Datu crisis is an unforgettable crisis that was happened in Sabah, Malaysia which killed ten of Malaysian security officers and also remain a black point in the history of the country. The mentioned crisis impacted many negative impact to country especially Sabah's economic impact and emotion feeling among Sabah residents. Researcher throughout this study would like to identify and examine how was the crisis responses by crisis manager represented by government through printed newspapers in Malaysia.

Quantitative content analysis method was used in this study to examine the three objectives such as to examine media framing of Lahad Datu crisis in selected newspapers from different ethnic of readers followed by to identify government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage in selected newspapers especially through framing elements that have been omitted and included through newspaper framing and the last objective is to examine is there any significant differences in portraying responses for Lahad Datu crisis by respective daily newspapers.

In collecting finding data, researcher coded independent variables into few variables such as category of news, slant of news, selection of framing attributes and portrayal of visuals of Lahad Datu crisis. All the independent variables will be used to measure the effectiveness of the crisis response by crisis manager.

Framing devices in newspapers can help in connecting with the public, it is how the media portrays the issue from defining the situation until providing cues to take action (Liu & Kim, 2011). The effectiveness of framing can help a crisis manager to frame the crisis appropriately in portraying solution and the best crisis response for the crisis (Hallahan, 1999). With the assistance of these two approaches, the researcher is able to answer the research questions as stated earlier such as:

1. **RQ1-** How does the local newspapers cover the LAHAD DATU crisis?
2. **RQ2-** What are the suggested government's response strategies during crisis through media coverage in selected newspapers especially through framing elements that have been omitted and included by the government through newspaper framing?
3. **RQ3-** What are the differences in portraying responses to Lahad Datu conflict by respective daily newspapers.?

The findings in this research from quantitative content analysis with the assistance of coding sheets and coding book, revealed that 466 news were found in regards to the Lahad Datu crisis. In analyzing the coverage of Lahad Datu crisis, in answering research question 1(RQ1); which is to measure the frequency of Lahad Datu crisis coverage among the dailies, from descriptive data analysis, researcher concluded that *Utusan Malaysia* represented Malay community readers covered most which is 34.1% of the Lahad Datu crisis news followed by *Sin Chew*, *The Star* and *Nanban*. Researcher concluded that *Sin Chew* is good in setting agenda for the public after the *Utusan Malaysia* eventhough, *Sin Chew* is to represent Chinese reader in Malaysia.

For the duration of the one month of coverage studies, the peak period for the coverage was covered during the first week of the month of March. All the selected dailies covered the same peak period of the coverage in informing citizens about Lahad Datu crisis. However, researcher found out few differences among the dailies in order to answer the objective three which is to identify any significant differences in portrayal of crisis response strategies among four dailies. During the first week of coverage for the period of 1 March 2013 until 10 March 2013, *Sin Chew* coverage was focused on informing and alerting their readers about the severity of crisis and pain suffered by affected security officers from the crisis attack. On top of it, *Sin Chew* also covered most of the articles in expressing their concern to publics via alerting their readers about the seriousness of Lahad Datu crisis.

Nanban and *The Star* are focusing more on framing the solution taken by crisis manager in their dailies for the peak coverage. In providing solutions through news coverage, researcher concluded that solution portrayed by *The Star* is more fast compare to the time frame taken by *Nanban* daily. As said earlier, *Utusan Malaysia* daily represent Malay readers in Malaysia portrayed the highest coverage of Lahad Datu crisis, but *Utusan Malaysia's* news articles revealing more on people conflict and quarrel between political people in Malaysia especially the linkage between Opposition Party headed by Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim in Malaysia with Lahad Datu crisis.

6.2.1 Category of news

In answering research objective two and three; to examine the crisis response strategies portrayed by all the dailies and to identify any significant differences among the dailies in portrayal of crisis response strategies, descriptive analysis was used by researcher to gather the data. In revealing the category of Lahad Datu crisis news, finding concluded that *Utusan Malaysia* and *Nanban* portrayed most of the solution articles.

These two dailies are concentrating on portrayal of providing solution for the crisis as fast as can to prevent from any worse situation and *The Star* focusing on people category; which mean revealing the problem and experience faced by the villagers from affected area and impacted victims from the crisis. *The Star* is concentrating on human value compare to attribute responsibility for the crisis. However, *Sin Chew*'s main category of coverage is on problem category because most of the news articles portrayed in *Sin Chew* daily revealing the root cause for the problem and also alerting people on the dangerous of Lahad Datu crisis if urgent action is not taken by responsible people.

6.2.2 Slant of news

Slant of Lahad Datu crisis news is one of the independent variable in measuring the crisis response for the crisis. As said earlier, slant in news can use to express opinion about the news by news editor or crisis manager. To measure the slant of news in order to answer research objective two and three which are to identify the suggested crisis response among the dailies and also to reveal the significant differences among the dailies, researcher ran a descriptive analysis and Chi- Square analysis. Most of the articles of Lahad datu crisis were slanted in positive slants in all the dailies except for *Sin Chew* daily because majority of the Lahad Datu crisis in *Sin Chew* were in negative slants of news which mean reminding the public that Lahad Datu crisis is in out of control and country is in danger.

In portrayal of differences among dailies for the slant of news. Chi- Square test revealed a significant difference among all the dailies in portrayal of slant of news. Finding can be concluded that all the three dailies such as *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* and *Nanban* slanting the news in positive slant except for *Sin Chew*.

6.2.3 News Sources

Portrayal of news sources is used to measure the portrayal of crisis response in all the dailies because selection of appropriate source can add credibility for the news. Portrayal of news sources in selected dailies is used to identify government's response strategies from coverage and also to examine any differences between dailies in portrayal of responses by government through news framing. Finding proved that all the dailies framed government sources as a main news source and Kruskal Walli's test proved that there is an association in portrayal of news sources among *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban*. After government, witnessed and ordinary people quoted most in the Lahad Datu crisis news coverage.

6.2.4 Visuals

Visuals were identified as one of the independent variables in this study to identify government's response strategies and to examine any differences between dailies in portrayal of responses by government through news framing. Descriptive test portrayed militant and soldier visuals appeared most in *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* dailies followed by Malaysian decision maker visuals were portrayed by *Utusan Malaysia*. Kruskal Walli's test for empirical analysis proved that Malaysian government was effective in providing responses through selection and portrayal of Lahad Datu visuals because the dominant visuals attached with Lahad Datu crisis news is militant, soldiers and decision maker from Malaysia images. In accepting or rejecting hypotheses, test proved that there is a significant difference in portrayal of visuals among the dailies because images of militant and soldiers appeared most in *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* however, visuals of decision makers from Malaysia were portrayed most in *Utusan Malaysia*.

In portrayal of visual messages, most of the visuals were revealing message on rely on emergency followed by visuals information sharing about the Lahad Datu crisis. Among the dailies, *Utusan Malaysia*, *Nanban* and *The Star* portrayed most on rely on emergency except

for *Sin Chew* revealing on visuals of information sharing messages and information sharing and sympathy visuals.

6.2.5 News Frames

In portrayal of news frames to examine the crisis response strategies, *attribution of responsibility* frame appeared most in all the dailies followed by *economic consequences* frame, *conflict frame*, *human interest* frame and *morality* frame. All the selected dailies framed *attribution of responsibility* frame as a dominant frame but some dailies concentrated *morality* and *human interest* frame. *The Star* portrayed *morality* frame to discuss and relate Lahad Datu crisis in the context of religious views or morals values and for *Nanban* focused on *human interest* frame to portray emotional angle to capture the reader's empathy and sympathy care. The portrayal of *attribution of responsibility* frame and *economic consequences* frame as dominant frames in all the dailies revealed that government as a crisis manager in Malaysia is portraying solution for the crisis and also to provide relevant support to needed people through physical and mental support.

6.2.6 Crisis Response Strategies

The proposed responses were adapted by Coombs, such as *denial*, *concern*, *compensation*, *justification*, *excuse*, *apology* and *regret*. Overall, in portrayal of responses for the crisis, finding concluded that, the most frequency of crisis response portrayed by dailies are *justification* crisis response followed by *concern* crisis response. Data concluded that, dailies in Malaysia equally portraying solution for the Lahad Datu crisis. In explaining the differences among the four selected dailies in portrayal of justification crisis response, Kruskal Walli's test proved a significant difference among the dailies, *The Star* and *Utusan Malaysia* are portraying most of the justification crisis response compare to *Sin Chew* and *Nanban*. In examining the concern crisis response among the dailies, all the dailies equally covered the

concern crisis response however, Kruskal Walli's test showing a significant difference among the dailies whereby the highest concern response was portrayed by *Utusan Malaysia* which represented to Malay newspaper readers and *The Star* daily representing English newsreaders. Portrayal of denial crisis response is least frame in the dailies which mean denying that the crisis is worst is showing a significant difference among all the dailies; *Sin Chew* showing a highest coverage of denial crisis response and lowest coverage of denial crisis response were portrayed in *Nanban daily* and *The Star*.

In examining the compensation amount to the victims and affected people from the crisis, data revealed that there is an association relationship in portrayal news of providing compensation crisis response in all the dailies equally. Data also revealed the same association between dailies in portrayal of excuse crisis response and regret crisis response because Kruskal Walli's test showing an association relationship in providing excuse and regret crisis response among the selected dailies.

Kruskal Walli's test was used by researcher to answer the proposed hypotheses. Table 6.1 describe the accepting and rejecting of hypotheses.

Table 6.1: Hypotheses and Finding

Hypotheses	Finding
There is a significant difference between portraying of News Sources and four newspapers.	There is no significant difference in the portrayal of news sources among selected dailies. <i>Utusan Malaysia</i> , <i>Sin Chew</i> , <i>The Star</i> and <i>Nanban</i> portrayed the same of types of news sources which involved the government and decision makers in Malaysia.
There is a significant difference in framing of Justification Crisis Response in all four newspapers.	There is a significant difference in the portrayal of justification response whereby the highest justification response is portrayed by <i>The Star</i> , followed by <i>Utusan Malaysia</i> .
There is a significant difference in portraying Concern Response and four newspapers.	In explaining the concern response, as the second highest of coverage in all the dailies, the data

There is a significant difference between portraying Compensation Crisis Response in all four newspapers.	There is no significant difference among the dailies in portraying compensation crisis response because most of the dailies portrayed equally the compensation crisis response. The response serves to provide compensation such as money, gift and rewards.
There is a significant difference in the Portrayal of Lahad Datu visuals and all four newspapers.	In examining the portrayal of visuals, militants and soldier pictures appeared most in all the dailies. However, in accepting or rejecting the hypotheses, the data revealed that there are significant differences in portrayal of visuals such as <i>The Star</i> portrayed most of the relevant visuals such as information oriented and rely on emergency visuals.
There is a significant difference in portraying Denial Crisis Response in all four newspapers.	Some of the Lahad Datu crisis news portrayed denial response. So, the researcher noticed from the result that, there is a significant difference in the portrayal of crisis response in all the dailies. The highest denial crisis response is portrayed by <i>Sin Chew</i> and <i>Utusan Malaysia</i> .
There is a significant difference in portraying Excuse Crisis Response in all four newspapers.	In showing the Excuse crisis response through news framing, data revealed that there is no any significant difference between excuse crisis responses with the selected dailies. All the selected dailies show a same amount of excuse crisis response in selected dailies.

“Table 6.1: continued”

In conclusion, the findings from the overall study revealed that using independent variable such as news category, news frames, slants of news and visual portraying attached with LD crisis, news reporting is affecting the dependent variables which is crisis response strategies. The portrayal of solution category and positive slant of news through numerical data finding using chi-square test revealed that news is providing necessary and updated information pertaining to the crisis. In addition, the selection of frames such as using the dominant news frame which is the *attribution of responsibility* revealed the dependent variable (government or crisis manager) is providing necessary solutions.

Furthermore, using visuals of militants, soldiers and decision makers showed that the crisis manager is educating and informing the public in solving the crisis accordingly. On top of it, through the measurement of selected crisis response as suggested by Coombs (2007) through ordinal data finding using Kruskal Walli’s test, revealed that, *justification* crisis response is

used mostly in all the dailies but the highest coverage of justification response is portrayed by *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star*. This is followed by *concern* response which were framed as the second highest of crisis response strategies and again the *Utusan Malaysia* and *The Star* portrayed the most of concern response in their coverage of the news.

Throughout this finding, researcher able to reveal that, all the dailies in Malaysia such as *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star*, *Sin Chew* and *Nanban* is good and effective in educating and alerting their readers on behalf of publics in Malaysia. However, each of the selected dailies is differ in their own way in reporting and portraying the Lahad Datu news with selection of visuals and portrayal of news sources. Researcher concluded this finding based on the data collected from content analysis for news category showing that solution category is used most in all the dailies except for *Sin Chew*. For the slants of news, positive slant is used wisely in all the dailies except for *Sin Chew*. For the news frames, all the dailies are portraying equally on *attribution of responsibility* frame and for the portrayal of visuals, most of the dailies portraying visuals of militants, soldiers and decision maker from Malaysia. It's a significant finding to prove that government as a crisis manager in Lahad Datu crisis, portraying the fast solution and decision in avoiding the impact and severity of crisis.

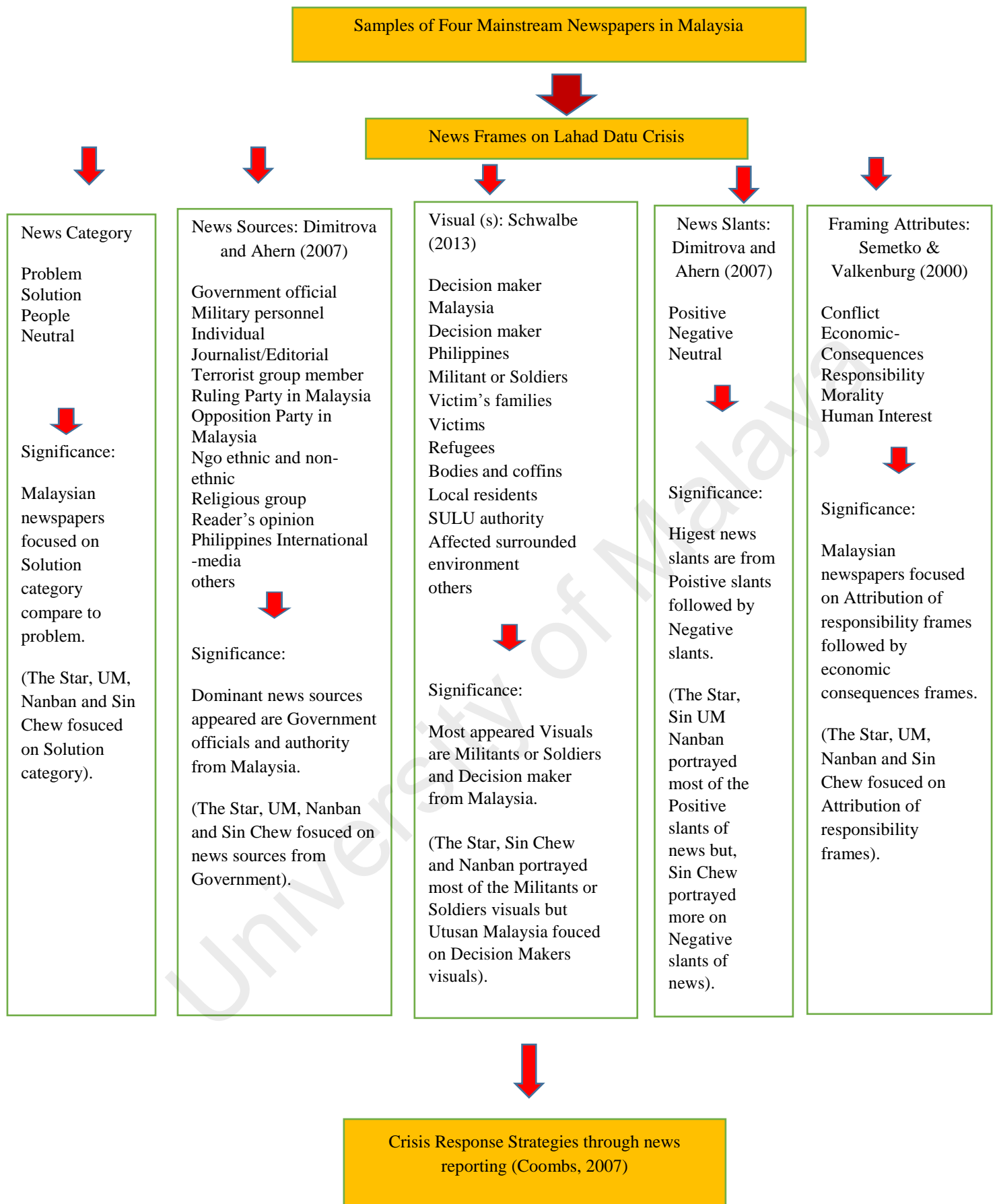


Figure 6.1: Government's Crisis Response Strategies in News Reporting Model: Adapted and adopted from Coombs (2007), Dimitrova & Ahern (2007), Schwalbe (2013) and Semetko & Valenburg (2010)

Data analysed from quantitative content analysis help researcher to adapt and adopt new research framework such as in revealing the category of Lahad Datu crisis, data from this study proved that, category of solution used more in combating the impact and severity of crisis however, most of the crisis coverage in other studies focused and concentrate on problem category (Coombs, 1995 & 1999) (Refer to Figure 6.1).

In revealing the news sources for the Lahad Datu crisis, finding revealed that government sources were used mostly. The finding is similar with Dimitrova and Ahern, 2007 studies, revealing that the most quoted sources are government sources to add credibility for the crisis responses suggested by crisis manager (Chang et al. 2012; Yang & Md. Sidin, 2015). In portrayal of visuals to alert their audience about the urgent decision taken by government, data revealed that visuals of militants and soldiers were portrayed most. Portrayal of militants and soldier visuals revealed that government is urgent and take situation seriously in providing solution (Dimitrova & Ahern, 2007; Dimitrova & Stromback, 2012).

For the slant of news, data concluded that positive slant is used most in the coverage of Lahad Datu crisis. This finding is contradictory to other crisis coverage because Dimitrova & Stromback in (2005), research on coverage of Iraq war used neutral coverage. Portrayal of positive slant concluded that government as a crisis manager portrayed Lahad Datu crisis in a positive slant to indicate that government is providing solution for the crisis.

For the selection of frames, data revealed that *attribution of responsibility* frame is used most to provide solution for the crisis. Most of the crisis coverage revealing using attribution of responsibility frame (Kyoung & Gower 2009). This is proved by the crisis response strategies through news reporting in Malaysia as seen in Figure 6.1 government crisis response strategies comparing with Coombs (2007) where the focus of crisis more on problem category however, through this research, crisis response strategy by Malaysian government focusing more on solution category. In comparing with news sources model

proposed by Dimitrova & Ahern (2007), finding in this research showing a similar news sources which is government as the main and dominant news sources for the Lahad Datu crisis. In comparing with the news slants as per shown in Figure 6.1, government's crisis response strategies for Lahad Datu crisis are more focusing on positive slants. The significance of this study revealed that government's slant through news reporting is on positive slants. Showing and revealing to publics that government as a crisis manager is effective enough in portrayal of solution for the crisis.

However, researcher able to figure out an interesting difference for framing attributes proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg because most of crisis framing portrayed in *conflict* frame but throughout in this research, *attribution of responsibility* frame and *economic consequences* frame used more in news framing. For the visuals portrayal of Lahad Datu crisis, finding shown as similar results as per suggested by Dimitrova & Ahern (2007) and Dimitrova & Stromback (2012) which focusing on the portrayal of militants, soldiers and decision maker's images. The selection of independent variables in this study concluded that responses is fast and adequate responses were taken by crisis manager from Malaysia however, different ethnic of newspapers in Malaysia portrayed the news and responses differently through selection of news category, news slants, news frames, and visuals pertaining to Lahad Datu crisis.

6.3 Limitation of the Study

Throughout this research, the researcher faced some limitation such as the coverage of the Lahad Datu crisis news is only collected from mainstream newspapers in Malaysia. As Malaysia has online newspapers, alternate newspapers, social media and other types of media are not accounted for. So, it's a limitation for this research to know what has happened and the trait of coverage in the mentioned media.

Other than that, this research is focused on local circulation of newspapers only. It will be good if the researcher could add a Sabah newspaper and also newspapers from other countries to know the extent of the coverage in these newspapers.

There is also a lack of information; especially first hand information from an interview and finally, public opinions from citizens were not considered for this research, which could be done through survey. It's a part of limitation as well.

Finally, due to ordinal data scale measurement used in this study, researcher was not able to perform a more vigorous analysis due to the acquiescence of statistical assumptions. Therefore, the researcher was not able to identify the interaction effect size of dependent and independent variables.

6.4 Recommendation for Future Research

Due to the mentioned limitations, the researcher hoped that future research can include interview sessions that seek answers to the government's attempt in solving the Lahad Datu crisis. In meeting the crisis manager directly, it is hoped that the researcher can probe more answers which might be off record and thus not printed in the media or answers that were not printed due to the limitation of space in the newspapers. Other than that, post-crisis response strategies from interview is also one of the recommendations for future research.

The researcher also wanted to know what are the responses and public perception at the affected area. The researcher wants to know more of their emotions, feelings and feedback to the government's responses: whether they are satisfied or not with the responses taken by the crisis manager. Through this method, researcher can read respondents feeling especially for those living at affected areas. More emotional messages can be gather from interview method with publics.

Besides, analysis of this study was conducted with selected mainstream newspapers only. For future recommendation researcher would recommend to cover all printed newspapers in Malaysia regardless, online and alternate newspapers. Other than that, different medium also

can be analyzed especially television news, radio news, blogs and social media as well. Data from variety of media can generate an interesting findings and it can help future researcher to compare between crisis framing with different media.

Framing analysis are too general analysis but in this research, only focused on generic analysis. In future, more framing studies of crisis coverage can be carry on through different types of framing analysis.

In future, research can be analyse through focusing on visual elements only rather than concentrating on textual analysis. In doing this, interesting finding can be estimated and relevant comparison can be identify between textual crisis response and visuals crisis response strategies in variety of media on Lahad Datu crisis.

6.5 Summary of The Study

Data from this study proved that, category of solution used more in combating the impact and severity of crisis. In revealing the news sources for the Lahad Datu crisis, finding revealed that government sources were used mostly. Visuals of militants and soldiers were portrayed most. For the slant of news, data concluded that positive slant is used most in the coverage of Lahad Datu crisis and for news frames, attribution of responsibility frame is used most to provide solution for the crisis. The selection of independent variables in this study concluded that responses is fast and adequate responses were taken by crisis manager from Malaysia however, different ethnic of newspapers in Malaysia portrayed the news and responses differently through selection of news category, news slants, news frames, and visuals pertaining to Lahad Datu crisis. This research faces few limitations such as coverage of the Lahad Datu crisis news is only collected from mainstream newspapers in Malaysia and the focused of study is on local circulation of newspaper. Therefore, recommendation for future studies has introduced by researcher.

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