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Intellectual Discourse

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Sherman A. Jackson (2024). *The Islamic Secular*. 621

Oxford: Oxford University Press. 527 pp.

Hardback. ISBN: 9780197661789. £32.99.

Reviewer: *Hamza Dudgeon*

Transliteration Table: Consonants

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
ب	b		ط	ṭ
ت	t		ظ	ẓ
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	j		غ	gh
ح	ḥ		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	q
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	ṣ		ء	’
ض	ḍ		ي	y

Transliteration Table: Vowels and Diphthongs

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
اَ، اِ	a		اَ، اِ، اِي	an
اُ	u		اُ	un
اِ	i		اِي	in
اَ، اِ، اِي، اِي	ā		اَو	aw
اُ	ū		اِي	ay
اِي	ī		اَو	uww, ū (in final position)
			اِي	iyy, ī (in final position)

Source: ROTAS Transliteration Kit: <http://rotas.iium.edu.my>

Media Framing in a Changing Political Landscape: Astro Awani's Political News Coverage of Post-HAWANA 2022

Juliana Abdul Wahab*

Azmil Tayeb**

Syaza Fuhat***

Abstract: The media plays a pivotal role in shaping public opinion and influencing political discourse. However, the relationship between the media and political issues is complex and often shaped by government control, regulations, and ownership structures. During the 2022 *Hari Wartawan Nasional* (HAWANA) celebration, the then Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri, assured the government would not interfere with media organisations' ability to fulfil their responsibilities. This study examines how Astro Awani, Malaysia's most trusted news source, framed political news following this announcement. Using qualitative methodology, the analysis employs an inductive approach to examine 56 news samples from 1 June 2022 until 1 August 2022. The sample and time frame for the study were chosen to capture the media's response following the 2022 HAWANA celebration and the then-Prime Minister's assurance of non-interference, providing an ideal period to assess how Astro Awani framed political news under this renewed commitment to media freedom. The findings indicate that Astro Awani strives to provide balanced reporting, incorporating positive and negative aspects of the government's performance. Overall, the study offers insights into the organisation's operations, highlighting its role

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in shaping public discourse within the local context amid a fluid and evolving media landscape.

Keywords: Television News, Framing, Politics, Malaysia, Astro Awani

Abstrak: Media memainkan peranan penting dalam membentuk pendapat umum dan mempengaruhi wacana politik. Walau bagaimanapun, hubungan antara media dan isu politik adalah kompleks dan sering dibentuk oleh kawalan kerajaan, peraturan dan struktur pemilikan. Semasa sambutan *Hari Wartawan Nasional* (HAWANA) 2022, Perdana Menteri ketika itu, Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri, memberi jaminan kerajaan tidak akan mengganggu keupayaan organisasi media untuk menunaikan tanggungjawab mereka. Kajian ini mengkaji bagaimana Astro Awani, sumber berita paling dipercayai di Malaysia, merangka berita politik berikutan pengumuman ini. Menggunakan metodologi kualitatif, analisis menggunakan pendekatan induktif untuk meneliti 56 sampel berita dari 1 Jun 2022 hingga 1 Ogos 2022. Sampel dan tempoh kajian dipilih untuk meneliti reaksi media selepas sambutan Hari Wartawan Nasional (HAWANA) 2022 dan jaminan Perdana Menteri ketika itu mengenai kebebasan media tanpa campur tangan kerajaan, sekali gus memberikan tempoh yang ideal untuk menilai bagaimana Astro Awani membingkai laporan berita politik di bawah komitmen baharu terhadap kebebasan media. Dapatan menunjukkan Astro Awani berusaha untuk menyediakan pelaporan seimbang dengan menggabungkan aspek positif dan negatif mengenai prestasi kerajaan. Secara keseluruhannya, kajian ini memberikan pandangan mendalam tentang operasi organisasi tersebut, sambil menekankan peranannya dalam membentuk wacana awam dalam konteks tempatan di tengah-tengah landskap media yang semakin dinamik dan berkembang.

Kata kunci: Berita Televisyen, Pembingkai, Politik, Malaysia, Astro Awani

Introduction

The media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing political discourse. However, the relationship between the media and political issues is often complex and shaped by government control, regulations, and ownership structures. During the 2022 *Hari Wartawan Nasional* (HAWANA) celebration, Prime Minister Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri assured the government would respect the media's independence and refrain from interfering with their duties (Povera, 2022). This study explores how Astro Awani, widely regarded as Malaysia's most trusted

news source (Borneo Post Online, 29 June 2018), framed political news for public consumption.

Media freedom in Malaysia has long been contested, often shaped by the political climate and government regulations. Historically, the media landscape was dominated by laws such as the Printing Presses and Publications Act of 1984 and the Sedition Act, which placed significant restrictions on media independence and allowed the government to exert considerable control over news content (Sani, 2005). Despite periodic promises of reform, these restrictive laws remained in place. Even during the Pakatan Harapan government in 2018, while specific reforms were initiated, many of these laws were not fully repealed, leading to ongoing self-censorship among media practitioners (Lim, 2020).

During the 2022 HAWANA celebration, with the theme “People’s Voice, National Aspiration” (Bernama, 2022), then Prime Minister Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri assured that the government would not interfere with the media organisations’ duty to fulfil their responsibilities and report the news. Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri also advocated establishing the Malaysian Centre for the Study of Journalism, suggesting that it could collect data for various research purposes and enhance the country’s journalistic standards. With the announcement, it seems that the media in Malaysia would be free to perform their duties without interference from the state. They are free to report on matters and issues related to the current government without fear of facing actions as long as their reports comply with the law. The authorities have not only recognised the role of local media but also encouraged them to promote good governance actively. Hence, this paper aims to achieve two main objectives: firstly, to analyse the prevailing news slant conveyed through political news on Astro Awani, and secondly, to identify the sources used in constructing political news on Astro Awani.

Understanding Media Framing

This study looks at framing as a basis to understand how news is selected, framed, and constructed on television. In general, framing theory focuses on how the media draws the public’s attention to specific societal issues and topics. In this context, framing shapes our thoughts about news items and the presented content. According to Weaver (2007), the basis of framing theory is that the media focuses on specific

events or issues and places them within certain contexts to articulate meaning-making.

Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) assert that framing allows us to understand news as both a social construct and a tool that shapes social reality. As explained by Entman (1993), framing involves selecting and emphasising specific elements in a communication text, making certain aspects of perceived reality more salient. This process helps define problems, offer causal interpretations, make moral judgments, and suggest solutions. Entman also highlights that the information media choose to include or exclude, as well as what they emphasise or downplay, significantly influences the audience's perception and opinion on societal issues. Similarly, Tankard et al. (1991) define a media frame as the central organising principle behind news content, providing context and shaping how an issue is perceived through selecting, emphasising, omitting, and elaborating details. Similarly, Price et al. (1997) describe an issue frame as a theme or storyline that suggests a particular interpretation of events. Additionally, Griffin (2003) supports this view by noting that framing draws attention to certain aspects of reality while obscuring others, thus guiding how audiences interpret the news.

In the Malaysian context, Wong (2007) examines how the Chinese-language press in Malaysia framed political events during the 1999 and 2004 general elections. The research found that the framing strategies used by these newspapers evolved, adapting to the changing political climate. In 1999, the newspapers tended to present news more neutral and balanced. However, by 2004, a more critical and confrontational approach was evident. This suggests that framing strategies can change in response to political dynamics, reflecting the newspaper's adaptation to the evolving political landscape in Malaysia.

Yang (2012) examined how mainstream newspapers and an online news portal in Malaysia framed the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf) movement. The three mainstream newspapers shared a similar perspective, negatively portraying Hindraf using the conflict frame. In contrast, Malaysiakini, the online news portal, offered diverse coverage, reflecting varied political beliefs, cultural assumptions, and institutional practices, highlighting different ideological positions.

Another study by Wen, Chubundu & Chua (2020) on how alternative and mainstream newspapers in Malaysia cover the issue of Chinese primary education found that both types of newspapers use a responsibility frame in their news coverage. However, alternative newspapers focus more on conflict, highlighting conflict between ruling and opposition politicians and intra-Barisan Nasional (BN) disputes. In contrast, mainstream newspapers use a human-interest frame to capture readers' attention.

On the other hand, Ting, Murudi & Chuah (2020) suggest that framing in media directs readers' focus toward specific aspects of an issue, often aligned with the interests of the media source. Their study found that The Star published fewer articles on the 1MDB issue, sometimes omitting certain discussions. In contrast, Malaysiakini extensively reported on the opposition's viewpoints, critiquing the government's accountability. This illustrates how different media outlets present the issue in varied ways and highlight selected aspects for public attention. Overall, the study highlighted the influential role of media framing in shaping public understanding and interpretation. It highlighted how the choice of language, news slant and framing strategies can significantly influence the news narrative in Malaysia.

Malaysian Media

Over the last four decades, Malaysia's television industry has undergone tremendous changes primarily due to various responses to local politics and economic and cultural situations. The latest development of streaming television provides further impetus to the growth of the local broadcast industry.

As a vital medium for public communication, television continues to play a key role in distributing information to society. Television news, in particular, holds a distinctive place within the industry, as audiences generally perceive it to be more credible than other genres of television content (Fiske, 1987; 2010; Gunter, 2015). In this context, television is seen as a mechanism that can promote the concept of the public sphere (Habermas, 1969). It can be regarded as a site of the struggle' where different issues and meanings are articulated and negotiated to provide critical discourse in society (Dahlgren, 1996; Fiske, 2010; Gunter, 2015). From its inception, the ownership and management of television

in Malaysia have been in the hands of the Barisan Nasional (BN) government. The BN government has exercised direct control over television stations, ensuring that all programs align with state policies and suppressing alternative perspectives or voices (Zaharom, 1996; Wang, 1998; Beng & Ahmad, 2015). These policies have resulted in the proliferation of commercially driven “safe media products” that do not challenge the status quo of the previous government (Mustafa, 2005).

Studies by Wang (1998) and Zaharom (2000) revealed that television news often favoured government policies and ideologies, portraying the government positively while either excluding or framing the opposition parties in a negative light. Similarly, Lee (2014) found that English news on TV2 and NTV7 followed a “top-down flow of information,” reinforcing the ideology of those in power. Lee further argued that these news broadcasts reinforced the position of the Barisan Nasional (BN) by using rhetoric around “national unity” and “national development” to gain public validation.

Past studies have also shown that Malaysian television, newspapers, and online news portals often framed news to favour the BN government, highlighting its positive aspects while emphasising negative reporting on the opposition (Mustafa, 1990; Wang, 1998; Zaharom, 2000; Abbott, 2004; Mustafa, 2005; Nicole, 2009; Lee & Safar, 2009; Lai & Md Sidin, 2012; Norazleen et al., 2013; Beng & Ahmad, 2015). To this end, it is evident that both mainstream and alternative outlets exhibited political bias, resulting in a lack of balanced and fair reporting under the Barisan Nasional’s administration.

Astro Awani was selected for this study because it is considered Malaysia’s most trusted news source, according to a 2018 report by the Reuters Institute of Digital News (Newman, 2018). Therefore, it is interesting to examine how Astro fulfils its duty to disseminate news in Malaysia.

The concept of ideology and hegemony, as described by Antonio Gramsci, illustrates the state’s relationship with media and its ownership by the ruling class. Gramsci argued that power operates at the intersections of culture, economy, and politics within a hegemonic discourse. Hegemony, in this regard, involves a “hegemonic class” leading a “subordinate class” by gaining their moral and intellectual

consent. As an ideological tool, the media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion and maintaining social control by promoting the dominant class's norms (Gramsci, 1971). Over the past century, media has influenced public opinion, promoted the status quo, and simplified complex issues (Yilmaz, 2014; Sjoavaag, 2013).

In the Malaysian context, the BN government exerted significant control and influence in the media by introducing various laws, acts, and regulations that curbed the freedom of the media to maintain state ideology. For instance, the BN government maintains its hegemony by using the powerful Internal Security Act of 1960 (ISA) to enforce actions such as arbitrary arrests without warrants and detentions without charges (George, 2007). In 2012, the Internal Security Act (ISA) was abolished and replaced by the Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (SOSMA). In addition, other oppressive laws like the Sedition Act, Presses and Publication Act, and Communications and Multimedia Act are implemented to curtail media independence, effectively preserving their existing power structure.

Media Ownership

Past studies have highlighted how the Malaysian government controlled the media through legislation and ownership. Pro-BN conglomerate Media Prima controls over half of Malaysian media, with mainstream newspapers and major free-to-air TV stations owned or dominated by corporations linked to the BN government (Gomez, 1990; Zaharom & Mustafa, 1998; Mustafa, 2005; Mohd Safar, 2006; Loh, 2009; Zaharom, 2013; Lumsden, 2013; Beng & Ahmad, 2015). Major media organisations like The New Straits Times Press (NSTP), Utusan Group, and The Star Publications dominate newspaper publishing. Government-owned RTM1 and RTM2, along with commercial stations like TV3, ntv7, 8tv, TV9, and Astro, also maintain strong government ties (Zaharom, 2000; Wang, 2001, Beng & Ahmad, 2015, Rahman, 2017).

Legislative Control Over Malaysian Media

In Malaysia, media freedom is limited by several regulations, such as the Printing Presses and Publications Act (1984) for print media and the Communications and Multimedia Act (1998) for broadcast and internet media. Scholars argue that these restrictive laws hinder

access to reliable information (Sani, 2005). The Internal Security Act (ISA) was replaced by the Security Offences (Special Measures) Bill (SOSMA) in 2012, which many view as merely a continuation of the ISA's repressive measures (George, 2007). Meanwhile, the Anti-Fake News Act, enacted in April 2018, penalised the spread of "fake news" and was widely seen as an attempt to suppress reports on the 1MDB scandal (Lim, 2020). Although the Pakatan Harapan (PH) coalition, which won the 2018 election, pledged to abolish restrictive media laws, these promises were not fulfilled. After PH's 22-month rule, Muhyiddin Yassin formed the Perikatan Nasional (PN) government in March 2020. The PN government used laws like the Sedition Act, Official Secrets Act, Communications and Multimedia Act, and Anti-Fake News Act to control media. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Emergency Ordinances further empowered the government, tightening its grip on media freedom (Reporters Without Borders, 2021).

Media Environment During Pakatan Harapan and Perikatan Nasional Government

When Mahathir Mohamad's PH government took power in May 2018, it pledged to repeal laws restricting media freedom, such as the Printing Presses and Publications Act and the Sedition Act (2020). Reporters Without Borders noted a significant improvement in journalism, with Malaysia rising 22 places to 101st in the Press Freedom Index (Lim, 2020).

However, since the PN government took power in March 2020, Malaysia has experienced unprecedented political turmoil and media operations in Malaysia are more controlled and restricted (Azmil, 2021). The employment of the draconian legislative arsenal was seen to have posed a threat to the idea of information flow and freedom of expression, encouraging a return to self-censorship (Reporters Without Borders, 2021), which has resulted in a detrimental impact towards the country's democracy index. As a result, Malaysia dropped from 18th in the 2021 World Press Freedom Index to 119th out of 180 countries, the most significant drop of any country in the index (Surin, 2021). In addition, Muhyiddin's government had also taken steps to revive the Special Affairs Department (JASA), which disseminates political propaganda and is given funding of 85 million ringgits (17.4 million euros) in the 2021 budget (Justin, 2020).

Operational Definitions of Key Terms

News Tone

Eisenman (2012) defined news tone as the propensity to evaluate news as positive, neutral, balanced, or negative. The researcher has established the tone for the political news based on observing the news coverage. The definitions are outlined below:

Key terms	Definition
Positive Tone	‘Positive’ refers to the coverage that supports the government,
Negative Tone	‘Negative’ refers to the coverage that opposes the government
Neutral Tone	Neutral’ refers to news that doesn’t lean either in favour of or against the government.

News Source

A news source is someone directly credited with a statement, fact, or comment in a news report. Awani’s news sources include lawyers, government officials, academicians, activists, citizens, courts, royals, the speaker of the Dewan Rakyat, public and private sector agencies, and international news sources. Politicians are categorised as either pro-government or opposition. This addition results from the researcher’s observation of news videos throughout the respective period. The definitions are outlined below:

Key terms	Definition
Government Officials	Any elected official, officer, or employee who taxpayers pay, the government, or businesses owned, managed, or supported by the state, and any person employed in a particular position or sector designated or governed as a public servant by local law.

Key terms	Definition
Politician (PRO)	Politicians/parties in favour of the government.
Politician (OPPOSITION)	Politicians/parties opposed to the government.
Royals	A member of the Royal Institutions/ family.
Speaker of Dewan Rakyat	The Speaker of the House, who is in charge of upholding order in the House, may be either a member of the House or a non-member eligible to run for election.
Court	An institution that the government establishes to resolve conflicts using the legal system.
Legal Practitioner	An individual who practices law
Academician	A member of a university or college who teaches or does research.
Activist	An individual who runs campaigns to affect political and social change.
Media	Journalists, correspondents, media analysts, and people identified as working for the media.
Citizen	An individual who is given full rights and obligations as a member of a nation or political community under their place of birth, the nationality of one or both of their parents or their naturalisation.
Ministry	A government department headed by a minister.

Key terms	Definition
Public Sector/Agency	The sector of the economy that is under the supervision of the federal, state, local, or local governments and offers a variety of governmental services.
Private Sector/Agency	The sector of a nation's economic system that is managed by private citizens and businesses rather than by the government.
NGO	A non-profit group that is not under the control of any government and whose primary goal is to solve social or political issues.
International News	Reports covered by global media organisations.

Method

The study utilised content analysis of news broadcasts from Astro Awani, which was chosen for its reputation as Malaysia’s most trusted news source (Borneo Post Online, 29 June 2018). A sample was selected from Awani’s YouTube channel from 1 June 2022 to 1 August 2022, coinciding with the HAWANA celebration. The data collection period was selected after Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri assured that the government would not interfere with media organisations from executing their duties and publishing news reports in his speech at the HAWANA celebration (Povera, 2022).

Throughout the period, 56 news broadcasts from Awani 7:45 were analysed quantitatively for frequency, news sources, and tone. A qualitative approach was also used to differentiate between tones when reporting political news. An inductive approach was employed to identify the tone of the news. The inductive approach systematically analyses qualitative data, allowing key themes or patterns to emerge naturally from the raw data (Thomas, 2003). In this study, this method enables researchers to explore how television news frames narratives for public consumption.

Findings and Analysis

This section presents the study’s findings, focusing on the news slant and sources used in Astro Awani’s political news, categorised by themes, sources, and the tone of political news coverage.

News Theme

Throughout the two months, 826 issues were reported (Table 1). Awani reported political issues the most frequently, with a percentage value of 38% of all issues. Social issues are the second most prevalent category, with 20% of the total, followed by Economic and Criminal issues, with 16% each. There were additional reports of concerns with the legislation (3%) and (6%) Environmental issues.

Table 1: News Theme

Theme/issues	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Politics	318	38
Social	164	20
Crime	135	16
Economy	135	16
Environment	49	6
Law	25	3
Total	826	100

In the social issues category, Awani reported on religion, culture, welfare, infrastructure, and events. Meanwhile, in the economy category, Awani reported the rise and control of staple goods, the appointment of company board members, and developments in the nation’s economy and business sector. Awani also reported crime-related topics such as criminal issues and crime victims. On top of that, Awani has also reported on the nation’s environmental problems under the environment category. Under the law category, Awani has reported on several laws that have been enacted or are in the process of enactment. To this end, regarding coverage, Awani tends to emphasise political news compared to other types of news. The way the news items were presented, in general, highlighted the key issues that the government sees as essential and that should be made known to the public.

News Sources

Based on Table 2, Government officials accounted for 51% of Awani’s most frequently mentioned sources. The opposition party’s politicians received 9% of citations, compared to pro-government politicians, who received 7%. The court received 7% of citations, while the citizen received 5%. Academicians comprised 3%, and the Media and the Ministry comprised 3%. 3% of the sources were from the public sector, 3% were from NGOs, and 2% were from legal practitioners. There were 1% from the royals, 1% from the private sector, 1% from activists, and 1% each of the Speaker of the Dewan Rakyat and International sources.

Table 2: News Sources

Sources	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Government Officials	421	51
Politician (PRO)	61	7
Politician (OPPOSITION)	71	9
Royals	11	1
Speaker of Dewan Rakyat	6	1
Court	59	7
Legal Practitioner	13	2
Academician	28	3
Activist	7	1
Media	24	3
Citizen	45	5
Ministry	24	3
Public Sector/Agency	23	3
Private Sector/Agency	10	1
NGO	17	3
International News	6	1
Total	826	100%

Political News Sources

Astro Awani’s coverage focused primarily on political news, accounting for 37% of its reporting, more than any other category. Most of Awani’s

sources for political news came from the “Government official” category. Awani also included voices from both pro-government and opposition politicians. As indicated in Table 3, Awani featured additional perspectives from other sources, including royals, legal professionals, academics, activists, the media, citizens, public and private sector agencies, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), allowing them to express their views on policies and issues affecting the nation.

Table 3: Political News Sources

Sources	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Government Officials	130	43
Politician (PRO)	49	16
Politician (OPPOSITION)	46	15
Royals	5	2
Speaker of Dewan Rakyat	5	2
Court	19	6
Legal Practitioner	10	3
Academician	11	4
Activist	2	1
Media	5	2
Citizen	6	2
Ministry	3	1
Public Sector/Agency	0	0
Private Sector/Agency	2	1
NGO	5	2
International	1	0
Total	299	100

Of the political sources cited by Astro Awani, 130, or 43%, were government officials, making them the most frequently cited group. Pro-government politicians received 49 citations (16%), slightly more than opposition politicians, who garnered 46 citations (15%). Academics were cited 11 times (4%), while the judiciary was mentioned in 19 instances (6%). Legal practitioners accounted for 10 citations (3%),

with royals, the Speaker of the Dewan Rakyat, the media, and non-governmental organisations cited 5 times (2%). Citizens contributed 6 citations (2%), followed by representatives from ministries with 3 citations (1%), and activists and the private sector with 2 citations each (1%). Notably, there were no citations from public sector agencies. In line with political reporting, government officials remained the dominant source in constructing politically slanted news. Interestingly, the data also suggests that Awani balanced their coverage by including perspectives from politicians across both the pro-government and opposition parties, indicating a degree of impartiality in their reporting.

News Tone

For over two months, Awani has consistently highlighted several key themes, including politics, social issues, economics, crimes, environment, and law. Among these themes, political news receives the highest coverage ranking, with a frequency of 318 news (Table 4). The tone of political news coverage can be categorised as ‘Negative’ when it opposes the government, ‘Positive’ when it supports the government, and ‘Neutral’ when it does not lean in favour of or against the government. The analysis found that a positive tone predominates with a percentage of 41%, followed by a negative tone (36%), while a neutral tone is 23%.

Table 4: Political News Tone

Tone	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Positive	131	41
Negative	113	36
Neutral	74	23
Total	318	100

Positive Tone

In presenting the coverage of a positive tone in political news, Awani has provided the government with a platform to communicate its slogan of ‘Keluarga Malaysia’ and policies to the public. Awani also addresses the issues brought up by the opposition parties by providing coverage of political news with a favourable tone. Awani has shown support from leaders of political parties and alliances, including PAS and Perikatan,

towards the Prime Minister's leadership. 131 political issues were identified as positive. 'Keluarga Malaysia', Inflation & Subsidy, Prime Minister leadership, & RUU Anti-Hopping Law are the most frequently highlighted issues within two months. To help the reader understand the tone of the news, a sample of news coverage that illustrates a favourable news direction toward the government is presented below:

Keluarga Malaysia:

"Taking into account the 'Keluarga Malaysia' approach, this concept can be perfected by Islamic scholars and scientists by giving a unified approach to the Islamic-based family concept".

(Awani 7:45, 11 June 2022)

"This is the first time the unemployment rate has decreased by 4 per cent since the Covid-19 pandemic. This year, the government targets job opportunities of up to 600 thousand with allocations through the "Keluarga Malaysia" job guarantee initiative".

(Awani 7:45, 25 June 2022)

Prime Minister leadership:

"The PM has proven to steer the national administration well successfully. In one year, what mistakes did the PM make, what mistakes? Nothing. Why are all kinds of accusations made?

(Awani 7:45, 25 June 2022)

Negative Tone

Awani's political news coverage has featured criticism from opposition parties, citizens, academics, NGOs, and activists against government policies. One hundred thirteen issues were identified as negative, including subsidies, living costs, political turmoil, the Sulu conflict, and floods in Baling, Kedah. To help the reader understand the tone of the news, a sample of news coverage that illustrates a favourable news direction toward the government is listed below. Awani has reported criticism from the leader of the opposition party at that time, Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim from Pakatan Harapan, Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad of Pejuang, and Chairman of Pakatan Harapan Kedah, Mahfuz Omar, who voiced criticism of the government's approach to providing subsidies to the people. Examples of news coverage are as follows:

Anwar Ibrahim:

"The government is seen to be slow in finding a solution to the people's problems, especially regarding the cost of living. Decisions made, if any, are focused on mega projects".

(Awani 7:45, 30 July 2022)

Mahfuz Omar:

"What happened in GE14? Political parties use the money to bribe people and call it a subsidy. That's not a subsidy. That's a crime. You need to distinguish between subsidies for the neediest cases. But, if you want to be popular and give money to people, that's corruption and a crime".

(Awani 7:45, 28 June 2022)

Awani has also displayed the royal institution's criticism of the government. For instance, Sultan Ibrahim Ismail of Johor who questions the government's ability to fulfil the promises made towards the facility of Johor, Sultan Sharafuddin Idris Shah of Selangor criticises the political turmoil and division among leaders of Malay political party and Malays, and Sultan Nazrin Shah of Perak, who urges the government to take significant preventative steps regarding the issue of food shortage in the nation. The examples of the news coverage are as follows:

Sultan Ibrahim Ismail of Johor:

"...See for yourself the condition of the damaged and potholed federal roads, for example, Johor Bahru and Mersing, that could potentially harm the road users. I feel as though the state of Johor is being ignored, even though Johor is one of the main contributors to the national economy. Don't let the people of Johor insist on getting out of Malaysia. Maybe Johor will be more advanced if it stands independently".

(Awani 7:45, 15 June 2022)

Sultan Nazrin Shah of Perak:

"Just because someone has money doesn't mean they automatically have food in their possession. We need to comprehend the philosophy underlying the concept of rice farmers in Malay society because if an individual doesn't want to sell, we will starve since the era of inexpensive food is ending. A food emergency is soon to follow".

(Awani 7:45, 30 July 2022)

Awani also has reported criticism from the opposition party in Sabah towards the Parliament's inability to approve and present a significant motion to the country's sovereignty. The examples of the news coverage are as follows:

Opposition:

"We want the issue to be addressed and debated in the parliament because, in the Philippines, their parliament publicly claimed Sabah as part of their territory, as if they don't even respect our nation's sovereignty".

(Awani 7:45, 28 June 2022)

Opposition:

"Despite the government's assertion that it does not recognise Sulu, the issue still exists, and payments have been made through 2013 as if we had rented Sabah from them (Sulu). What action has the government taken since it stopped making payments?"

(Awani 7:45, 30 July 2022)

Awani has also displayed criticism from academicians, activists, and citizens regarding the policy, general election, and measures taken by the government to curb the environmental issues that resulted in a flood in Baling, Kedah. The examples of the news coverage are as follows:

Activists:

"In 2018, we did try to protest the project on that hill. After almost years, there was no response from the protest, and this is the result: the flood took lives".

(Awani 7:45, 28 June 2022)

Citizens:

"Complaints after complaints are reported by the residents but are not taken seriously; where are all the parties involved? As usual, every party is irresponsible".

(Awani 7:45, 28 June 2022)

Moreover, Awani has showcased critique directed at both the pro-government and opposition parties. The examples of the news coverage are as follows:

Faizal Azumu:

"He (Anwar Ibrahim) doesn't care, and not only does he want to fight with me alone, but he also wants to fight with

everyone because he thinks he is the greatest person in the world”.

(Awani 7:45, 4 June 2022)

Syed Saddiq:

“The attitude of Kelantan PAS, which permits the holding of celebrations throughout the state, is hypocritical,”

(Awani 7:45, 9 June 2022)

Discussion

Framing provides insights into how news content and narratives should be interpreted. Over two months, Awani consistently highlighted key themes like politics, social issues, economics, crimes, environment, and law, with political news receiving the most coverage. Nearly half of the analysed news items focused on Malaysian politics, emphasising issues the government deems essential.

Astro Awani uses framing techniques to present political news as a central organising idea, shaping audience understanding through selection, emphasis, exclusion, and content elaboration. This approach directs attention to specific political debates, influencing audience perceptions and opinions on societal issues.

Awani has effectively conveyed a positive tone in its political news coverage, providing a platform for the government to communicate its ‘Keluarga Malaysia’ slogan and policies to the public. Additionally, Awani has addressed concerns raised by opposition parties by presenting political news favourably. The channel has also highlighted support from political party leaders, including PAS and Perikatan, for the leadership of the Prime Minister.

To this end, the positive coverage primarily aimed to depict the inspiring and optimistic aspects of the PN government under the leadership of Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri. It was meant to highlight the government’s achievements, policies, and initiatives perceived as beneficial to the public. On the other hand, Awani’s coverage of political news with a negative tone includes criticism from various sources, such as the opposition party, citizens, academics, non-governmental organisations, and activists, who expressed their concerns and dissatisfaction with the government’s policies. The news is constructed in a way that highlights

the problems and shortcomings of the government, which could raise concern and dissatisfaction among the public.

The source plays a crucial role in the construction of news, as it indicates the origin and credibility of the information. In the context of Astro Awani, the analysis demonstrates that government officials, especially those in high-ranking positions, are consistently chosen as the primary source for news coverage. These officials are relied upon to provide insights and information for constructing news items. Astro Awani seems to place high credibility on government officials, considering them reliable and authoritative sources on the various issues they have covered.

Interestingly, the data indicates that sources from politicians from the opposition party outnumbered those from the ruling party. While news coverage often focuses on political developments, such as elections, party activities, policy debates, and government decision-making, government officials remain the primary source utilised in constructing news items with a political bias. However, it is noteworthy that Astro Awani has tried to achieve source balance by including politicians from both parties. This demonstrates Awani's attempt to ensure fairness by incorporating multiple perspectives in their reporting.

Conclusion

The study indicates that Astro Awani, within this specific context, effectively served as a platform for communicating government policies, initiatives, and actions to the public. This highlights the crucial role played by Astro Awani in keeping the public well-informed about the government's decisions and their potential impact on various aspects of society. The media's presentation of news items consistently emphasised key issues prioritised by the government for public awareness. Importantly, Astro Awani tried to provide balanced reporting by incorporating positive and negative aspects of the government's performance. While government officials played a central role as the primary source in shaping the news narrative, the inclusion of diverse viewpoints demonstrated a commitment to presenting multiple perspectives in achieving a more comprehensive portrayal of political issues in the Malaysian context. Although previous findings may have acknowledged Awani's relative neutrality, this research delves into how the station has framed political issues during a specific time frame and

explores whether this neutrality has persisted under different political climates. This study found that Astro Awani continues to strive for balanced coverage, incorporating both positive and negative narratives regarding the government's performance. These findings align with earlier perceptions of Awani's neutrality yet also highlight the station's nuanced approach to political reporting in a more fluid and evolving media landscape.

This study highlights Astro Awani's significant role in shaping public discourse and opinion in the Malaysian context. Drawing on Gramsci's idea of ideology and hegemony, it underscores how the media reinforces dominant ideologies while also offering alternative perspectives. Through strategic framing, Astro Awani influences how political and social issues are perceived, guiding public consent, and shaping societal narratives. By emphasising certain aspects while downplaying others, the media controls the lens through which issues are viewed, thereby impacting public understanding. Ultimately, this study emphasises the media's powerful impact on shaping narratives and facilitating the flow of information. By framing issues in specific ways, the media plays a crucial role in guiding public understanding and shaping the broader discourse within society.

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Book

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Al-Faruqi & al-Faruqi (1986)

Reference:

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Chapter in a Book

In-text:

Alias (2009)

Reference:

Alias, A. (2009). Human nature. In N. M. Noor (Ed.), *Human nature from an Islamic perspective: A guide to teaching and learning* (pp.79-117). Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press.

Journal Article

In-text:

Chapra (2002)

Reference:

Chapra, M. U. (2002). Islam and the international debt problem. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 10, 214-232.

The Qur'ān

In-text:

(i) direct quotation, write as 30:36

(ii) indirect quotation, write as Qur'ān, 30:36

Reference:

The glorious Qur'ān. Translation and commentary by A. Yusuf Ali (1977). US: American Trust Publications.

Ḥadīth

In-text:

(i) Al-Bukhārī, 88:204 (where 88 is the book number, 204 is the ḥadīth number)

(ii) Ibn Hanbal, vol. 1, p. 1

Reference:

(i) Al-Bukhārī, M. (1981). *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.

(ii) Ibn Ḥanbal, A. (1982). *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*. Istanbul: Cagri Yayinlari.

The Bible

In-text:

Matthew 12:31-32

Reference:

The new Oxford annotated Bible. (2007). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Transliteration of Arabic words should follow the style indicated in ROTAS Transliteration Kit as detailed on its website (http://rotas.iium.edu.my/?Table_of_Transliteration), which is a slight modification of ALA-LC (Library of Congress and the American Library Association) transliteration scheme. Transliteration of Persian, Urdu, Turkish and other scripts should follow ALA-LC scheme.

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