

# COMPARISON OF IDENTITIES FRAMED BY NEWS SOURCES AND MEDIA IN SELECTED CHINESE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE ON AN EDUCATION ISSUE IN MALAYSIA

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## 1. Introduction

The Chinese community in Malaysia is recognised as having a strong identity for its well preserved mother-tongue education. The development of Chinese education has experienced hardship for almost two centuries. The usage of Mandarin language as the medium of instruction for Chinese education since the early 20th century has no doubt been a unifying factor among the Malaysian Chinese community. In constructing the ethnic identity, Chinese education together with the Chinese newspapers and Chinese guilds are considered to be the three treasures ( 三宝 ) till today. The development of Chinese education has never been smooth sailing and the case of the policy change in the teaching and learning of mathematics and science subjects in English implemented in 2003 was a clear manifestation. The local Chinese newspapers had widely covered this issue when it was first announced in May 2002. This empirical research paper therefore attempts to compare some significant identities being framed in selected Chinese newspapers on this contemporary issue.

## 2. The Root of Chinese Education in Malaysia

Wu Fu Si Shu ( 五福私塾 ) or Wu fu Private School was founded in Penang in 1819 and it was well received as the pioneer Chinese school in Malaya (Dong Zong, 1992, 2001; Kua, 1999; Wang, 1970; Yap, 1992). The media of instruction were mainly local dialects. The curriculum of the early Chinese schools was based on the rote learning of the classics. The four classical books ( 四书 ) of Confucianism, namely: Great Learning ( daxue 大学 ), Doctrine of the Mean ( zhongyong 中庸 ), Confucian Analects ( lunyu 论语 ), and Mencius ( mengzi 孟子 ) were the main textbooks. Almost a century later, the social and political movement in the Mainland China had also brought a marked reformation to the Chinese education in Malaya. In 1904, the government of Qing Dynasty ( 清朝 ) introduced educational reforms by adopting Western academic syllabi while maintaining Mandarin as the medium of instruction. This development had greatly affected the Chinese schools in Malaya. The old modes of Chinese schools stressing the rote learning of classics were eventually replaced by the modern school system during the 1920s. On top of preserving the traditional classics, the modern Chinese schools also taught science, arithmetic, geography, history, and other core subjects until today.

In line with the educational reforms with modern school system in Mainland China, the first modern Chinese school, Chung Hwa Confucian School ( 孔圣会中华学校 ), was founded in Penang in 1904 (Wang, 1970, Dong Zong, 2001). Subsequent to the XinHai Revolution ( 辛亥革命 ) in Mainland China in 1911, modern Chinese schools were mushrooming especially in the region of Southeast Asian countries. Throughout the 1930s, the British colonial government endeavoured to weaken the Chinese education in Malaya by imposing a strict education policy. It had also attempted to set up more English primary schools in its effort to attract Chinese pupils but failed. From then on, Mandarin was recognised by the government as the medium of instruction in the Chinese schools. The status of Chinese education had later been elevated to upper secondary level before the Second World War. During the Japanese Occupation from 1941 to 1945, Chinese education was prohibited in the then Malaya. After the war, all Chinese schools were re-registered. It was recorded that there was a total of 1,105 Chinese schools with a student population of 172,101 in 1946 (Dong Zong, 2001).

## 2.1 Development while Approaching Independence

When the British colonial government regained its power to administer this country after the said World War, the situation in the country became rather unstable. The cry for independence was repeatedly heard. Apart from facing the pressure of sovereignty from the local folks, the colonial government had to handle other issues related to the fight for independence. These issues were those of citizenship as well as language and education of various ethnic groups living in Malaya. In 1951, the British colonial government tabled a controversial educational report, the Barnes Report, which called for the abolishment of non-English or non-Malay schools. Due to the strong objection from the Chinese community, another committee was formed. This committee was headed by William Purviance Fenn and Wu Teh-yao (吴德耀). They were appointed by the federation government of British colony in the same year to study the problem of Chinese education in the then Malaya. In contrast, Fenn-Wu Report supported the Chinese school system and stressed that it was consistent with Malayan nation building. In the effort to oppose the Barnes Report, Chinese schools teachers began to form a pressure group among them and this was supported by the Chinese community. The United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaya (later Malaysia) (UCSTAM) or Jiao Zong (教总) was finally formed on 25 December 1951.

In the following year, the Education Ordinance was enacted. However, it was found mainly to have adopted the recommendations from the Barnes Report. According to Yang (1998), the unfavourable recommendations of Barnes Report on mother-tongue language were incorporated almost wholesale into the Ordinance. It was specified that only English and Malay schools were accepted as national schools, while Chinese and Tamil schools were not recognised as part of the national education system. Consequently, three Chinese organisations assembled together and met for the first time on 9 November 1952. These three organisations were MCA, Jiao Zong, and Chinese School Committees from all the states in Malaya. They were united in opposing the Education Ordinance and proclaimed themselves as Three Great Organisations (三大机构). On 22 August 1954, members of the Chinese School Committee from all the states decided to form a national body called the United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaya (later Malaysia) (UCSCAM) or Dong Zong (董总). The joint committee of this organisation with Jiao Zong is widely accepted by the Chinese community as the guardian to protect the interest of Chinese education and it is fondly known as Dong Jiao Zong (董教总).

However, the situation was softened down when the country was preparing for its very first general election in 1955. The then president of MCA, Tan Cheng Lock (陈祯禄) assured Dong Jiao Zong that he would help amend the unfavourable education policies if the Alliance Party that made up of UMNO, MCA, and MIC was to govern the country. In its manifesto for 1955 General Election, the Alliance Party assured the electorates the freedom of mother-tongue education for all ethnic groups. The Alliance party finally won the election, with Abdul Razak Hussain being appointed as the Education Minister when the Cabinet was formed. An educational committee headed by Razak was appointed by the government of Federation of Malaya with the aim to establish a national system of education. This was with the aim of satisfying the needs of all ethnic groups with reference to the issues of language and culture. However, the Razak Report which was released on 6 May 1956 was not able to satisfy the Chinese community due to its so-called "ultimate objective" that might abolish the Chinese education system in Malaysia. The Chinese ethnic group was uneasy with clause 12 which states that:

"We believe further that the ultimate objective of educational policy in this country must be to bring together the children of all races under a national educational system in which the national language is the main medium of instruction, though we recognise that progress towards this goal cannot be rushed and must be gradual" (Report of the Education Committee, 1956).

Due to such fear, the Three Great Organisations met with Razak and an assurance was given that this clause would not be included in the yet-to-enact Education Ordinance. The Education Ordinance 1957 came into force on 15 June, two-and-a-half months before the Independence.

Clause 12 of the said report had been excluded from the newly enacted ordinance. Under this ordinance, Chinese and Tamil primary schools began to be categorised as standardised primary schools and were entitled to grants-in-aid. Hence, the mother-tongue education at the primary school level was integrated into the national education system. The educational policy had been fine-tuned to assure the continuation of the mother-tongue education as specified in section 3:

“The educational policy of the Federation is to establish a national system of education acceptable to the people as a whole which will satisfy their needs and promote their cultural, social, economic and political development as a nation, with the intention of making the Malay language the national language of the country whilst preserving and sustaining the growth of the language and culture of people other than Malays living in the country” (Education Ordinance, 1957).

### **3. Framing the Contemporary Education Issue**

Although the mother-tongue education was assured by laws, many issues have affected its development in the country. The policy of teaching and learning of mathematics and science in English was another significant issue during the new millennium. This issue drew the attention of the public when a resolution on the importance of English language was passed by the UMNO Kubang Pasu branch in May 2002 (Jiao Zong, 2003). It took less than two weeks for the government to announce this new education policy. All primary schools in Malaysia were supposed to teach mathematics and science purely in English from 2003 onwards. Due to strong objection from the Chinese community, the Malaysian government eventually accepted the proposal of the Chinese-based component parties in BN to have these two subjects be taught in two languages for SJK(C). This exception from the national education policy resulted in the implementation of 2-4-3 Formula in 2003 and 4-2-2 Formula in 2006.

However, these two formulae were not welcome by most Chinese NGOs, especially Dong Jiao Zong. They considered this compromise as being a political decision and it was not decided based on educational principles. Ever since the announcement of the 2-4-3 Formula in November 2002, the national Chinese newspapers have given wide coverage on the requests of Chinese NGOs for the return of teaching of these two academic subjects in mother-tongue language. They had given much attention to the reporting of this issue as it could eventually affect the operation of their businesses. In an earlier research on the same issue, Chang & Musa (2008) ascertained the preferences given to the education activists by the Chinese dailies, vis-à-vis their counterparts of other languages. Besides the normal media framing, source framing was also explored from the same study.

#### **3.1 Framing Literature**

According to Goffman (1974), human frame is defined as the cognitive structure of an audience that guide both his/her perception and representation of reality. Subsequently, Tuchman (1978) examines framing in journalistic practices for the factors in influencing the construction of news. Media workers are seen as having been bound by their workplace cultures in reporting an issue. The appearance of a news item in media has been described by Reese (2007) as “by active forces of order that bracket out certain happening via routinised, legitimised and institutionalised structure that favour certain ways of seeing” (p. 149). Frames are also defined by Reese (2001) as “organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (p. 11). This definition articulates frames as being used to organise information into useful groupings by the media workers and that these groupings of information are also recognised as useful by readers in which the usefulness of these groupings is preserved for over a period of time. Besides that, frames are also considered as “symbolic forms of expression” (Reese, 2001, p. 12) by ways of using words or visuals to entail patterns or categorisations of pictures in their heads. Meanwhile, Pan & Kosicki (1993) regard framing as a strategic action in which participants manoeuvre strategically to achieve their political and communicative objectives. They see the contest as having been successfully judged by the media workers who choose to accept one set of terms over the other.

According to Entman (1993), to frame a news story is to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). The organisational skills involve a process of selection, emphasis, interpretation, and exclusion. This indeed denotes frame as both the psychological and sociological constructs as explained by Iyengar & Simon (1993). In framing this contemporary education issue, both media and news sources were expected to play their roles in painting their desired pictures on the readers’ minds. Hence, a frame-setting process was performed and their identities were built either consciously or unconsciously. Frame setting is deemed as framing effects on audiences for their cognitive, affective, and behavioural changes (Scheufele, 2000; de Vreese, 2005).

### **3.2 Framing Methodology**

This research applies the methodology of content analysis in scrutinising the identities framed by both the media and news sources. Three coders were engaged to carry out the coding of data from the selected newspapers. They were all familiar with the issue under study. None of them was affiliated to any of the sources-related organisations in this political discourse that appeared in the news coverage. Every news story appeared in the selected daily newspapers during the research period was identified for wordings made in the news title or the first paragraph of either a direct or indirect reference to the contemporary educational issue of teaching and learning of mathematics and science subjects in English. In looking for the sampled newspapers for various language categories, the researchers had decided to select only Chinese daily newspapers, i.e. China Press, Guang Ming Daily, Nanyang Siang Pau, and Sin Chew Jit Poh (now Sin Chew Daily). This research has chosen the three-week duration from the day after the official announcement of the examination format, i.e. from 11 to 31 May 2002. The instruction in choosing a unit of analysis had also been made clear to all coders. In this study, paragraphs contained in the relevant articles were taken as units of analysis for further measurements.

All coders were provided with a list of possible wordings and expressions to be used by the news sources and a coding book for their frequent references whenever there were queries. This coding book contained instructions on how to codify those elements. For coding the news sources, the coders are required to specify which category the individuals or groups fall under as outlined below:

- Government: Policymakers and executors, which include politicians holding governmental positions and civil servants (e.g. ministers, directors general, etc.).
- BN: Politicians from ruling political parties (e.g. UMNO, MCA, etc.) who are neither holding governmental positions nor speaking on behalf of government.
- Movement: Education movement (e.g. Dong Jiao Zong) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).
- Opposition: Opposing political parties.
- Editorial: Editorial write-ups and spot news.
- Reader: Letters to editors and comments or views from readers.

Many media studies have examined news frames from various standpoints. Some researchers interpret the frames from the issue-specific perspectives (e.g. Norris, 1995), while others measure the frames in the generic manners (e.g. Hallahan, 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This research study applies the generic-frame measurements that were developed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000, pp. 95-96) and they are further explained as follows:

- Responsibility frame: This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or a group.
- Conflict frame: This frame emphasises conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest.
- Morality frame: This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of moral prescriptions.

- Economic consequences frame: This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country.
- Human interest frame: This frame brings a human interest or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. The keywords are human impact, capture and retain audience interest, effort to personalise the news, dramatise or emotionalise the news.

The scheme for coding the frames applies the format of taking the marks by ticking “yes” or “no” for the attribute statements correspond with the unit of analysis. The construction of scale to measure the frames adopts the same procedure as in the researches of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), and Valkenburg, Semetko, & de Vreese (1999). For an answer of “yes” in corresponding to the statement, the coders are to record “1” score, while “0” score for answering “no.” Scale constructed for each of the five frames is by averaging the scores on the statements. The values ranging from “0” indicating a particular frame is not in existence to a perfect “1” indicating the frame is fully present. To ensure high reliability in this study, various rounds of inter-coder reliability tests were conducted prior to the data collection process. The coders’ decisions had been checked against each other and Holsti’s (1969) percent agreement index was applied in this statistical procedure. The results had yielded an agreement of more than .7, i.e. the acceptable level by convention.

#### 4. Measurement of Frames

A total of 157 news reports with 1,218 units of analysis were identified from the three-week publication during the study period. The peak with the most number of news articles and units of analysis was published on the second day after the then Prime Minister’s announcement. Sin Chew Jit Poh contributed the most units with 43.4 percent of total, followed by Nanyang Siang Pau (29.8 percent), China Press (16.4 percent), and Guang Ming Daily (10.4 percent). As for news sources, the sequence of ranking began with Government (33.5 percent), followed by Editorial (23.1 percent), Movement (22.1 percent), Reader (13.0 percent), Barisan Nasional (4.6 percent), and lastly Opposition (3.7 percent).

##### 4.1 Identities Framed by Newspapers

In measuring the portrayal of five predetermined generic frames in this study, Table 1 demonstrates the overall observed mean scores of the visibility of frames according to daily newspapers. Overall, Responsibility gains the most attention and became the most outstanding frame with  $M = .2787$  ( $s.d. = .263$ ). Human Interest and Conflict are the second and third most prominent frames with  $M = .2223$  ( $s.d. = .211$ ) and  $M = .1910$  ( $s.d. = .229$ ) respectively. Meanwhile, Morality and Economic Consequences frames capture the least attention corresponds to a mere visibility of frame of  $M = .0391$  ( $s.d. = .110$ ) and  $M = .0175$  ( $s.d. = .095$ ).

Table 1: Mean Scores of Visibility of Frames by Daily Newspapers

Daily	Responsibility	Human	Conflict	Morality	Economic	N
Sin Chew Jit Poh	.2774 (.251)	.2524 (.218)	.1947 (.236)	.0422 (.115)	.0120 (.074)	529
Nanyang Siang Pau	.2796 (.269)	.1777 (.193)	.1974 (.213)	.0340 (.104)	.0294 (.123)	363
China Press	.2412 (.269)	.2487 (.206)	.1809 (.234)	.0452 (.114)	.0184 (.107)	199
Guang Ming Daily	.3406 (.281)	.1831 (.212)	.1732 (.233)	.0315 (.098)	.0052 (.042)	127
Overall	.2787 (.263)	.2223 (.211)	.1910 (.229)	.0391 (.110)	.0175 (.095)	1218

Note: Values in parentheses represent standard deviations.

One-Way ANOVA test was applied in verifying significant differences of frames portrayed by daily newspapers. Three frames, i.e. Responsibility, Human Interest and Economic Consequences, were found to have significant differences in portrayal. The test results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: ANOVA Table for Establishing Differences in Daily Newspapers

Frame		SS	df	MS	F	P
Responsibility*	Between Groups	.767	3	.256	3.706	.011
	Within Groups	83.727	1214	.069		

	Total	84.494	1217			
Human**	Between Groups	1.535	3	.512	11.785	.000
	Within Groups	52.717	1214	.043		
	Total	54.252	1217			
Conflict	Between Groups	.083	3	.028	.527	.664
	Within Groups	63.473	1214	.052		
	Total	63.555	1217			
Morality	Between Groups	.029	3	.010	.814	.486
	Within Groups	14.661	1214	.012		
	Total	14.690	1217			
Economic*	Between Groups	.087	3	.029	3.226	.022
	Within Groups	10.873	1214	.009		
	Total	10.960	1217			

Note: \* denotes significant at 95% confident level; \*\* denotes significant at 99% confident level.

In testing the Responsibility frame, significant differences were confirmed to have been in existence among the daily newspapers with the test statistics of  $F(3, 1214) = 3.706$ ,  $p = .011$ ,  $\eta^2 = .009$  in which the effect size was small. Two groups were separated and Guang Ming Daily ( $M = .3406$ ) was noticed as having projected more Responsibility frame than China Press ( $M = .2412$ ). Nanyang Siang Pau ( $M = .2796$ ) and Sin Chew Jit Poh ( $M = .2774$ ) were neither greater than China Press nor smaller than Guang Ming Daily in portraying this frame.

The test on Human Interest frame observed a greater effect than Responsibility frame though it still fell under the level of small effect size. The test results of  $F(3, 1214) = 11.785$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .028$  distinguished such variation. The Post Hoc test shows the division of four dailies into two groups. Sin Chew Jit Poh ( $M = .2524$ ) portrayed more Human Interest frame together with China Press ( $M = .2487$ ). Guang Ming Daily ( $M = .1831$ ) and Nanyang Siang Pau ( $M = .1777$ ) were discovered as having portrayed lesser Human Interest frame.

This study also encountered a significant difference of visibility of Economic Consequences frame though the effect size is very small. Its test results being  $F(3, 1214) = 3.226$ ,  $p = .022$ ,  $\eta^2 = .008$ . From the Post Hoc test, it was obvious that Nanyang Siang Pau ( $M = .0294$ ) portrayed more Economic Consequences frame than Guang Ming Daily ( $M = .0052$ ). However, it was not significantly different from China Press ( $M = .0184$ ) and Sin Chew Jit Poh ( $M = .0120$ ). China Press and Sin Chew Jit Poh fell under the moderate range as they were not significantly greater than Guang Ming Daily in portraying Economic Consequences frame.

## 4.2 Identities Framed by News Sources

In the analyses on news sources for their portrayal of frames, Table 3 below displays the mean scores of visibility of five generic frames. Generally, all news sources emphasised on Responsibility frame, except for Reader and Editorial who promoted more on Human Interest and Conflict frames.

Table 3: Mean Scores of Visibility of Frames by News Sources

Main Source	Responsibility	Human	Conflict	Morality	Economic	N
Government	.3989 (.302)	.1324 (.168)	.1225 (.183)	.0286 (.093)	.0172 (.077)	408
Editorial	.1708 (.181)	.2927 (.217)	.2550 (.231)	.0498 (.129)	.0190 (.115)	281
Movement	.2620 (.234)	.2111 (.186)	.1827 (.233)	.0284 (.093)	.0222 (.105)	270
Reader	.1551 (.184)	.3465 (.218)	.2722 (.260)	.0527 (.122)	.0127 (.091)	158
BN	.3482 (.260)	.2277 (.235)	.1131 (.194)	.0298 (.096)	.0179 (.099)	56
Opposition	.3111 (.233)	.2222 (.240)	.2741 (.259)	.0963 (.153)	.0000 (.000)	45
Overall	.2787 (.263)	.2223 (.211)	.1910 (.229)	.0391 (.110)	.0175 (.095)	1218

Note: Values in parentheses represent standard deviations.

For the  $F$  tests of significant differences in the visibility of the frames for news sources, the test results in Table 4 show that four out of the five frames had encountered significant differences. The Responsibility frame [ $F(5, 1212) = 40.019$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .142$ ], Human Interest frame [ $F(5, 1212) = 36.898$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .132$ ], Conflict frame [ $F(5, 1212) = 19.685$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .075$ ], and Morality frame [ $F(5, 1212) = 4.878$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .020$ ] have been ascertained for their significant differences in the visibility of frame.

Table 4: ANOVA Table for Establishing Differences by News Sources

Frame		SS	df	MS	F	p
Responsibility**	Between Groups	11.973	5	2.395	40.019	.000
	Within Groups	72.521	1212	.060		
	Total	84.494	1217			
Human**	Between Groups	7.167	5	1.433	36.898	.000
	Within Groups	47.085	1212	.039		
	Total	54.262	1217			
Conflict**	Between Groups	4.774	5	.955	19.685	.000
	Within Groups	58.782	1212	.048		
	Total	63.555	1217			
Morality**	Between Groups	.290	5	.058	4.878	.000
	Within Groups	14.400	1212	.012		
	Total	14.690	1217			
Economic	Between Groups	.024	5	.005	.536	.749
	Within Groups	10.936	1212	.009		
	Total	10.960	1217			

Note: \*\* denotes significant at 99% confident level.

From the Post Hoc test, four groups were segregated and to facilitate the discussion, Group 1 is classified as high, Group 2 as middle-upper, Group 3 as middle-lower, and Group 4 as low in their levels of visibility of Responsibility frame. Government ( $M = .3989$ ) was found to have stationed at the highest end while Reader ( $M = .1551$ ) kept itself at the other extreme of lowest end. Both BN ( $M = .3482$ ) and Opposition ( $M = .3111$ ) were positioned at high and middle-upper levels as Editorial ( $M = .1708$ ) was close to Reader which stayed at both the low and middle-lower levels. Movement ( $M = .2620$ ) was in the middle level of promoting the Responsibility frame.

The Post Hoc test on Human Interest frame also produces four groups. Reader was earlier recognised as having portrayed the least visibility on Responsibility frame and it ( $M = .3465$ ) was then identified to have promoted more Human Interest than other news sources, except for Editorial ( $M = .2927$ ). Government ( $M = .1324$ ) had certainly made itself known for ignoring this frame as this source solely placed itself at the low level. Editorial was positioned at the high and middle-upper levels, followed by BN ( $M = .2277$ ) and Opposition ( $M = .2222$ ) at the middle level, and Movement ( $M = .2111$ ) at the middle-lower level in displaying the visibility of Human Interest frame.

Opposition ( $M = .2741$ ) and Reader ( $M = .2722$ ) upheld their disagreement from the Government ( $M = .1225$ ) voice in promoting the Conflict frame. The two former sources were at the high level of visibility, and on the contrary, Government and BN ( $M = .1131$ ) were at the low level. Besides that, Movement ( $M = .1827$ ) found itself positioned at low and middle levels while Editorial ( $M = .2550$ ) at high and middle levels.

In the analysis of Morality frame, all news sources obtained mean scores of lesser than .1 and Opposition ( $M = .0963$ ) was found to be the only news source that alienated from the other counterparts. The Post Hoc test demonstrated that the other five sources, i.e. Reader ( $M = .0527$ ), Editorial ( $M = .0498$ ), BN ( $M = .0298$ ), Government ( $M = .0286$ ), and Movement ( $M = .0284$ ), were significantly put under the much lower level of visibility of Morality frame.

## 5. Conclusion

From the above comparison of frame portrayals, this research study has made the understanding of the occurrence of the communication within communication possible, i.e. how news sources and media workers play their roles in crafting the news stories. Comparing the values of Eta Squared ( $\eta^2$ ) for the effect sizes, the news sources are noticeably to be having greater impact on Responsibility, Human Interest, Conflict, and Morality frames. This study has also met the general objective of ascertaining the frame building performed by the news sources in promoting their preferred frames. The prevalent frames which were promoted by the respective news sources as quoted in the daily newspapers have also been recognised. Government and BN have prominently promoted the Responsibility frame. Meanwhile, both Reader and Editorial are found to have significantly promoted the Human Interest frame. As for the Conflict frame, Reader joins hand with Opposition in objecting this rather disputable issue.

Except for Government and BN, Movement and Editorial also portray this Conflict frame moderately. Movement's stand is not clear in this study as it has promoted Responsibility and Human Interest frames moderately too. Besides prominently highlighting Responsibility frame, BN has portrayed a moderate Human Interest frame. Other than the above, Editorial has promoted Responsibility frame moderately and Opposition has spread its focus to promote Morality frame subtly as well.

All players in the issue have obviously established predominant frames in which to promote certain angle of the story. Their strategic actions in gaining public support through media are in line with the function of framing as defined by Pan & Kosicki (1993) in achieving political and communicative objectives. The news sources are to either align or contest with each other in winning this opinion game. These frame sponsors as described by Gamson (1992) have clearly and certainly slanted the stories towards their preferences. In other words, they framed the news stories in a way that is consistent with their preferred framing as expounded by Hallahan (1999) in his public relations research. Due to the different stand and representation of various news sources, the respective identities are framed by means of the favourable frame prominently portrayed by them, who also act as the frame sponsors in building the news stories. Meanwhile, media do exhibit their identities through the framing process too.

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