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The Framing of Anti-Fake News Law in Malaysian Newspapers

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Abstract

The government of Malaysia enacted an Anti-Fake News law right before the 14th general election. In more ways than one, this law relates to Malaysia's practice of development journalism, which is a tool for the government to foster economic growth and nation-building. The main aim of this study is to explore the differences between Malaysian serious newspapers and tabloids in terms of frames employed in the Anti-Fake News Law reports. This study applied the generic frames of the framing theory in quantitative content analysis. The serious newspapers chosen in this study were *Bernama* and *The New Straits Times*, while the selected tabloids were *The Sun* and *The Malay Mail*. Results from the analysis of the 212 news reports retrieved showed that serious newspapers favored the use of the attribution of responsibility frame, while tabloids favored the use of the human interest frame. Additionally, the findings showed that the attribution of responsibility frame was more susceptible to a positive tone and the conflict frame was more susceptible to a negative tone in reports. In conclusion, this study gained insights into journalistic role performance under the practice of development journalism in Malaysia, particularly pertaining to the Anti-Fake News Law.

Keywords: Development Journalism, Generic Frames, Journalistic Role Performance, Malaysia, Tone

Introduction

Malaysia's 14th general election (GE) was extraordinary in the country's history, in which the newly formed opposition party Pakatan Harapan (PH) defeated the former ruling party Barisan Nasional (BN) for the first time in over six decades (Funston, 2018). The rivalry between PH and BN in the 14th GE was rather brutal, especially since a new Anti-Fake News Law was introduced to combat fake news right before the 14th GE (Lourdes, 2018). It was proposed to the members of the parliament on the 4th of February 2018, imposed on the 11th of April 2018, and became a high-profile issue since then. This law gives the authorities the power to prosecute anyone who spread fake news, with a jail sentence of up to six years and

a maximum fine of RM 500,000 without any distinction between Malaysians and foreigners in the country ("Malaysia finally scraps," 2019).

Public and media practitioners did not accept this new law well because it restrict their limited rights to free speech, and the freedom to practice their professional roles. However, PH as the new ruling party kept its promise made during the 14th GE, in which the Anti-Fake News law will be repealed under its leadership. The law was finally scrapped in December 2019 ("Anti-fake news," 2019). The abolishment of this law brings optimism to citizens and journalists regarding the practice of free speaking and reporting, but it is hard to neglect that those rights are still restricted by the authorities through overlapping regulations. The laws such as the Printing Press and Publications Act (PPPA), the Sedition Act, and the Official Secret Act (OSA) (Mustafa, 2014), were enforced to monitor and prevent any objectionable actions from occurring.

For instance, the Official Secret Act (OSA) specifies that journalists were mandated to justify the source of information, and a minimum of one-year jail sentence will apply to those who disclose any official secrets of the country (Anuar, 2012). Under such a circumstance, journalists are afraid to investigate the potential information for news publishing. The legal rights for reporters to construct news and the public to speak freely on politics were not protected by the authorities but restricted.

Apart from the overlapping regulations, the government controls or owns most media organizations in the country (Kasim & Sani, 2016). Malaysia has a long history of practicing development journalism, which functions as a tool for nation-building and economic growth (Waheed & Hellmueller, 2021). As a result, Malaysia ranked 145 among 180 countries on the World Press Freedom Index in the year 2018. The implementation of the Anti-Fake News Law aggravates the status quo of journalists' freedom to deliver news to citizens and provide information to them. The information to the public is important for them to make rational decisions such as voting in the general election.

To understand journalists' practice under such circumstances, this study focuses on the frames that journalists applied in the news reports related to the Anti-Fake news law. News frames are the means used by journalists when constructing news reports, and scholars such as Iyengar (1987); Price et al (1997); Kahneman and Tversky (1982) found that news frames are the mechanisms that affect citizens' opinions, attitudes, and behavior on political issues. Neuman et al (1992) suggested that news frames are essential tools to help the public and journalists to disseminate, describe and evaluate the obtained information to make further judgments. De Vreese (2005) stated that framing is a process that requires presenting the source and illustrating a certain issue.

Despite the importance of framing theory, it was advanced in Western countries (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Lecheler et al., 2015; De Vreese, 2017), with less development in Asian countries such as Malaysia (Khang et al. 2012; Zawawi et al., 2014). It is therefore relevant to apply the framing theory to the Malaysian context. This will fill in the knowledge gap between Malaysia and the Western world. Previous studies tended to identify the news frames applied in news reports (De Vreese et al., 2010; De Vreese, 2005), but they were less focused on the relationship between news frames and tone (Schunk & De Vreese, 2015).

Mcleod and Detenber (1999) posit that the tone attached to the frames affects the viewer's attitude on different issues. Inquiring into the relationship between news frames and tone contributes to insights into news frames and furnishes evidence for future research. However, the implementation of news frames was mostly decided by journalists. Mellado and Van Dalen (2014) state that journalism plays a crucial role in the process of delivering news information to the public with incisive effects on the public and political events. Understanding journalistic role performance is to gain insights into how journalists perceive their role in daily practice.

Journalistic Role Performance

Journalistic role performance is newsroom decisions and means as an accumulated result of news reporting (Mellado et al., 2017). In other words, Burke and Reitzes (1981) suggested that role performance manages social behaviors and presents them to related groups. The study of professional roles offers decisive details of professional practice and provides the opportunity to examine the effect of journalism on political issues (Weaver & Willnat, 2012). Scholars such as Hanitzsch (2007); Donsbach (2012) suggested that journalistic role performance can be evaluated from three perspectives: the present level of journalistic voice in news, the way journalists reach the audience and the relationship that journalism has with authorities.

In addition, Mellado (2015) proposed six dimensions to assess journalistic role performance: intervention, watchdog, loyal facilitator, service, infotainment, and civic. The intervention dimension is to evaluate through the presence of journalistic voices, the high percentage of journalistic voices that appeared, and the more intervention role employed in the news. This indicates the journalists were including their opinions or favoritism to a certain group. Service, infotainment, and civic are the way journalists perceive the audience: service journalism considers the audience as consumers to offer the information or service as requested; the infotainment dimension recognizes the audience as the viewer and aims to entertain people; the civic dimension identifies the audience as citizens and encourages people to attend social events such as voting (Mellado et al., 2017).

The watchdog and loyal facilitator dimensions are the portrayals of the relationship journalism has with those in power. Journalists' role in watchdog journalism is to oversee and criticize the authorities and expose the misconduct and hidden facts to the public (Hellmueller & Mellado, 2015; Waheed & Hellmueller, 2021) whereas the journalists' role in the loyal facilitator dimension is either becoming supporters or building partnerships with government (Romano & Bromely, 2005).

Scholars such as Tamam and Abdullah (2015) found that Malaysian journalists are less supportive of the watchdog role in the perceptions of the role of media. It is not because journalists are not interested in this role, but different media-related laws limited journalists' freedom to practice this role. Additionally, the concept of the loyal facilitator is in accordance with the idea of the development journalism in some Asian countries such as Malaysia, where the role of journalism is to fit and serve the government's agenda rather than deliver news to the public (Ramaprasad & Kelly, 2003; Xu, 2009).

Development Journalism and Journalistic Practice in Malaysia

Development journalism was first introduced in the Philippines in the 1960s and started to become popular in Asian developing countries in the 1970s (Skjerdal, 2011). The main concept of development journalism is to boost economic growth and sever the purpose of nation-building (Baharin et al., 2017). Countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore decided to practice development journalism because they needed nation-building initiatives after gaining independence from the colonists. Hachten (1996) believed that a more liberal approach should supplant the development journalism after accomplishing the rapid development of the economy.

Nevertheless, Malaysia still practices development journalism after the country assured economic growth in the 1970s (Wong, 2004). The implementation of development journalism was strengthened under Mahathir's leadership. Starting in 1984, the government passed overlapping laws to impose restrictions on journalists' rights to free reporting and forced mass media to collaborate with the agenda of nation-building (Anuar, 2005). The mass media is the communication medium between citizens and authorities and plays an imperative role in providing a credible platform where the public can access news and useful information (Azlan et al., 2012). However, the mainstream media in Malaysia became the government's propagandists under the application of development journalism, and laws such as Printing Press and Publications Act (PPPA) were not only enforced to supervise the media's activities but to structure the ownership of media under authorities' control (Anuar, 2012).

Malaysia was ruled by the same political party Barisan National (BN) over sixty years, and most of the mainstream media is either owned or connected with BN (Kasim & Sani, 2016). For instance, *Utusan Malaysia* is a mainstream newspaper published in the Malay Language, owned by a UMNO member in 1961 (Sani, 2014). *Radio and Television of Malaysia* (RTM) is the mouthpiece of BN under the Ministry of Communication and Multimedia (MCMC). Independent media such as *Malaysiakini* is in an arduous situation to deliver impartial news to the public. The long-term of practicing one-party ruling and development journalism leads to the authoritarianism of government, and media practitioners hardly have the freedom to write news reports based on journalistic values.

Mellado (2015) suggested that journalistic role performance includes watchdog and loyal facilitator dimensions to disclose the relationship journalists are having with the government. Malaysia was found to perform a high level of loyal facilitator journalism than watchdog journalism in the comparison with other democratic countries (Mellado et al., 2017). The journalists' practice was only limited to obeying orders from the government rather than providing fair and authentic news reports to the citizens. This was apparent when BN received massive positive converge from the mainstream media whereas the opposition barely received neutral coverage and the space for its publicity during the election period (Anuar, 2000; Ahmad & Othman, 2014).

In 2018, BN passed the Anti-Fake News Law when the 14th general election was held one month later. The authorities claimed that this law focused on eliminating the spreading of fake news in Malaysia. However, the laws such as the Printing Press and Publications Act (PPPA), the Sedition Act, and the Official Secret Act (OSA) are the existing laws against media organizations and citizens for violations such as propagating official information that is not

verified by the government (Kenyon & Marjoribanks, 2007). Journalists were forced to cite sources from the government over credible independent sources under these laws, which were constantly condemned by scholars (Mustafa, 2014; Tamam & Abdullah, 2015).

Mass media plays an undeniable role in providing useful information and stressing important issues to the public, informing citizens of the country's status quo (Balaraman et al., 2015; Chang et al., 2017). However, the application of this new Anti-Fake News Law brings more restrictions to journalists' practice and was controlled by the authorities in the name of development journalism. Under such a circumstance, journalists are unable to deliver fair news to citizens. It is a known fact that the news frames applied by journalists in the news reports affect citizens' attitudes toward political issues. To frame the news is not only a process for journalists to practice their professional roles but rather a way to present the real world to citizens.

News Framing

It is a common understanding that the original concept of framing is related to sociology and psychology. Erving Goffman's (1974) work was the starter in sociology, which suggested that frames are mechanisms used by people to identify and resolve different issues in real-life situations (Pan & Kosicki, 2010). The Prospect Theory developed by Kahneman and Tversky (1984) was the beginning of framing in psychology, the theory advised that the processing of information differed by the utilization of gain or loss frames (De Vreese & Lecheler, 2016). Entman (1993) stated that framing involves "selection" and "salience", to frame is to select a certain part of perceived reality and highlight it in the context, and to "promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and /or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993).

De Vreese (2005) suggested that framing is a dynamic process in the concept of communication, which includes frame building and frame setting. Frame building indicates the internal and external factors that affect the frames applied in the news, and external factors such as political figures (Scheufele, 1999) are equally important to the internal factors such as news values (De Vreese, 2005). On the other hand, frame setting refers to the effect caused by the interactions between news frames and personal knowledge.

Framing has three effects: information processing effects, attitudinal effects, and behavioral effects, the influence of framing can act on both individuals and society (De Vreese, 2005). Previous studies found that news frames have effects on the perception of an issue, information processing, interpretations, and opinion formation (Nelson & Kinder, 1996; Schuck & De Vreese, 2006). In other words, the news frames affect the public's opinions, attitudes, and behavior through different political issues and events (Price et al., 1997; Kahneman & Tversky, 1982).

To gain a deeper understanding of framing effects, it is important to classify the types of news frames. De Vreese (2017) identified news frames as issue-specific frames and generic frames: Issues-specific frames refer to the frame only applicable to specific issues or situations such as debate whereas generic frames imply the frames that can be employed in a multitude of topics without constraints of time, theme, and culture (Bruggemann, 2014). Matthes (2009)

argued that the generic frames were advocated for hypothesis testing compared to issue-specific frames.

Generic Frames

The well-recognized generic frames such as episodic and thematic frames (Iyengar, 1991), and strategy game frames (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) also identify human interest, conflict, morality, attribution of responsibility, and economic consequences frames as generic frames.

The human interest frame refers to a situation that brings either a human face or emotions to demonstrate certain problems; the conflict frame addresses the frictions between individuals, groups, or society as an approach to draw the audience's attention; the morality frame emphasizes the events or problems in the perspective of religion or morality; the attribution of responsibility frame presents a problem or issues by assigning the responsibility to either government, individuals or community as its causes or resolutions; the economic consequences frame highlights the economic consequence caused by a problem or issues which affect a person, group, or country.

The generic frames yield important findings in Malaysia. In the media coverage of the missing Malaysian airline MH370, Lim, Imediwa, and Wilson (2020) found that the mainstream newspaper more often used the human interest frame to offer limited views to readers, whereas the alternative newspapers were prone to use more attribution of responsibility frames to deliver critical news to the public. Hoong et al (2021) posit that the newspaper's name, news sources, and news slant are having more media effects on the human interest frame than other frames regarding the issue of Malaysia's Sales and Service Tax. Kee, Ibrahim, and Mustafa (2010) found that the four Malaysian mainstream newspapers more often use the responsibility frame than other frames to cover the H1N1 pandemic. This suggests that journalists tend to apply news frames that differ from news outlets.

Serious Newspaper VS Tabloids

Serious newspapers are also known as quality newspapers or broadsheet newspapers, which aimed to educate readers rather than entertain. Tabloids or popular newspapers often choose a human interest angle to report stories, their agendas tend to focus on scandal, entertainment, or sensation (Hanusch, 2013). Othman and Tiung (2009) found that quality newspapers from both Malaysia and Britain are inclined to report serious news such as politics, and economics, while popular newspapers tend to focus on sensational news stories. Therefore, news frames chosen by journalists when constructing news reports may differ from serious newspapers and tabloids.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in their study of framing European politics found that the utilization of frames differed from the types of news agencies, sensationalist newspapers tended to use more human interest frame whereas serious and sober newspapers favored using the attribution of responsibility frame and conflict frame. The application of the conflict frame depends on how serious the newspaper is, and more conflict frames were presented when a high level of seriousness in the newspaper. To explore the difference between serious newspapers and tabloids in terms of generic frames used in the news reports covering Anti-Fake News Law, the following hypotheses are posed:

H1: The human interest frame is significantly more present in tabloids compared to serious newspapers.

H2: The conflict frame is significantly more present in serious newspapers compared to tabloids.

Generic Frames and Tone

The tone in the news can be considered as the valence of the frame, valence indicates the good or bad, positive, or negative features present in the frames (Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003). Van Klengeren et al (2015) found that a positive tone in the portrayal of immigration issues reduces negative attitudes toward immigrants. This suggests the positive tone attached to the news frames can lead to a positive attitude toward citizens regarding immigrants.

The study conducted by Baharin et al (2020) revealed that a negative tone was attached to the morality frame whereas a positive tone was more often applied to the attribution of responsibility frame when covering political issues in a Malaysian newspaper named *Utusan Malaysia*. Other studies identified the attribution of responsibility frame and conflict frame as presented with a negative tone (Evers, 2016; Guenduez et al., 2016). Therefore, to test the relationship between generic frames and tone, the following hypotheses are posed:

H3: The attribution of responsibility frame is more susceptible to a positive tone compared to the other frames.

H4: The conflict frame is more susceptible to a negative tone compared to the other frames.

To gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between generic frames and tone, therefore, the following research question was proposed:

RQ1: Which generic frame is the strongest predictor of tone?

Method

The main objective of this study is to investigate the difference between serious newspapers and tabloids in terms of frames employed in the news reports covering Anti-Fake News Law. To answer the objective of this study, a content analysis of news reports related to the Anti-Fake News Law was conducted.

Sampling

The sample for this study is articles retrieved from the LexisNexis search engine. "Anti-Fake News Law" was the term applied in the search, and a total of 212 news reports were collected. The news reports were from *Bernama online*, *The Malay Mail*, *The New Straits Times*, and *The Sun*. These news online portals were chosen because they have high circulation and are popular among English readers. *The Bernama online* is the official news portal under the government; *The New Straits Times* also known as *The NST* was the oldest English newspaper. *The Malay Mail* is the evening newspaper whereas *The Sun* is the daily newspaper. *The Bernama online* and *The New Straits Times* were identified as serious newspapers whereas *The Malay Mail* and *The Sun* were categorized as tabloids. The descriptive information for the samples of this study is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Sample of the news reports

News outlets	Frequency(<i>n</i>)	Percentage (%)
Bernamea	71	33.5%
Malay Mail	80	37.7%
New Strait Times	48	22.6%
The Sun	13	6.2%
Total	212	100%

Note. Total number of news reports $N = 212$

The time frame for sampling the news reports was from February 2018, when the Anti-Fake News law was in discussion, to December 2019, the law was finally scraped after the rejection from Dewan Negara. A total of 212 news reports were obtained from LexisNexis during this period.

Research Instrument

Considering the sample of the news reports are in the English language, therefore the codebook was also written in English to ensure no language barriers occur to the coder. The codebook included 3 sections. The first section was designed to obtain general information from the news reports, including the number, name, and date of the news reports. The second section was designed to obtain general information from the headlines of the news reports, such as "What is the headline of the news reports?". The coder needs to write down the headline on the coding sheet.

The third section was designed to obtain general information to analyze generic frames and tones applied in the news reports. To identify the generic frames employed in the news reports, 18 items developed by Semetko & Valkburg (2000) were adopted to determine the extent to which generic frames exist in the news reports.

There were items such as "Does the news report provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?" (Human interest frame), "Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?" (Conflict frame), "Does the news report make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?" (Morality frame), "Does the news report suggest that some level of government can alleviate the problem?" (Attribution of responsibility frame), and "Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?" (Economic consequence frame). The coder needs to answer 0 or 1 per paragraph, 0 denotes the frame was not presented whereas 1 denotes the frame was presented in the news reports.

The coder needs to identify the target object and analyze the tone based on the predicate (perspective of the target object) to identify the tone applied in each analyzing unit. The tone can be indicated as -1, 0, and 1, in which -1 means negative, 1 means positive, and 0 means neutral. The descriptive results for the content analysis are presented in Table 2 and Table 3

Table 2

The Presence of Generic Frames

Generic frame	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Human Interest	.01	.04
Conflict	.05	.13
Morality	.01	.07
Attribution of responsibility	.02	.07
Economic Consequences	.02	.07

Note. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard Deviation.

Table 3

The Presence of Tone

Tone	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percentage (%)
Negative	807	56.9%
Neutral	46	3.2%
Positive	566	39.9%
Total	1419	100%

Intercoder Reliability

To assure a mutual understanding of the codebook, prior training was conducted between two coders to measure the level of agreement. The intercoder reliability was tested after five training sessions and reached an acceptable agreement between the two coders. The intercoder reliability was calculated by Krippendorff's α , and the average score for generic frames was 0.90; for the human interest frame was .87; the conflict frame was .82; the morality frame was .95; the attribution of responsibility frame was .92, and economic consequences frame was .93. The average score of Krippendorff's α for the tone was 0.95.

Results**The Presence of Generic Frames in Tabloids and Serious Newspapers**

H1 predicted that the human interest frame is significantly more present in tabloids compared to serious newspapers. Results from an Independent-Sample *t*-test showed that tabloids ($M = .01$, $SD = .05$), more often used human interest frame compared to serious newspapers ($M = .00$, $SD = .02$), $t(1417) = -3.93$, $p < .001$. Therefore, *H1* was supported.

H2 predicted that the conflict frame is significantly more present in serious newspapers compared to tabloids. Results from an Independent-Sample *t*-test showed that serious newspapers ($M = .04$, $SD = .12$), tended to use conflict frame less compared to tabloids ($M = .06$, $SD = .01$), $t(1417) = -3.29$, $p < .001$. Based on the results, *H2* was not supported.

The Relationship Between Generic Frames and Tone

H3 predicted that the attribution of responsibility frame is more susceptible to a positive tone compared to the other frames. Results from Pearson's correlation coefficient showed that human interest frame ($r(1417) = -.13$, $p < .01$), conflict frame ($r(1417) = -.27$, $p < .01$), and economic consequence frame ($r(1417) = -.16$, $p < .01$) were having significant relationship with tone. The correlation between morality frame ($r(1417) = -.04$, $p < .01$) and tone was found not to be significant. Compared with these frames, there was a weak, but significant

positive relationship between the attribution of responsibility frame ($r(1417) = .21, p < .01$) and tone. Therefore, *H3* was supported.

H4 predicted that the conflict frame is more susceptible to a negative tone compared to the other frames. Results from Pearson's correlation coefficient showed that the attribution of responsibility frame ($r(1417) = .21, p < .01$), human interest frame ($r(1417) = -.13, p < .01$), and economic consequence frame ($r(1417) = -.16, p < .01$) were having a significant relationship with tone. However, there was no significant correlation between the morality frame ($r(1417) = -.04, p < .01$) and tone. Compared with these frames, a significant but weak negative relationship was found between the conflict frame ($r(1417) = -.27, p < .01$) and tone. Based on the results, *H4* was supported.

Linear regression was conducted to answer the proposed question of which frame is the strongest predictor of tone. The results explained that 16% of the variance in the tone was explained by the model, and the model was a significant predictor of tone, $F(5, 1413) = 52.65, p < .000$. Results also indicated that the conflict frame ($\beta = -.27, p < .001$) was found to be the most significant predictor of the tone compared to the other frames. Nevertheless, the human interest frame ($\beta = -.14, p < .001$), the attribution of responsibility frame ($\beta = .18, p < .001$), the morality frame ($\beta = -.05, p < .05$), and the economic consequence frame ($\beta = -.17, p < .001$) were also found to be the significant predictors of the tone.

The results from the Independent-Sample *t*-test, Pearson's correlation coefficient, and linear regression were shown accordingly in Table 4, Table 5, and Table 6.

Table 4

The Presence of Generic Frames in Serious Newspapers and Tabloids

Generic Frame	Serious		Tabloids		<i>t</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Human Interest	.00	.02	.01	.05	-3.93***
Conflict	.04	.12	.06	.01	-3.29***
Morality	.01	.06	.02	.07	-1.30
Attribution of Responsibility	.02	.07	.01	.06	2.78**
Economic Consequences	.01	.06	.02	.08	-1.19

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard Deviation

Table 5

Correlation between Generic Frames and Tone

Generic Frame	Tone
	<i>r</i>
Human Interest	-.13**
Conflict	-.27**
Morality	-.04
Attribution of responsibility	.21**
Economic Consequences	-.16**

** $p < .01$

Table 6
Coefficients between Generic Frames and Tone

Generic Frames	Tone		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Human Interest	-3.50	.62	-.14***
Conflict	-.2.02	.19	-.27***
Morality	-.73	.36	-.05*
Attribution of responsibility	2.55	.36	.18***
Economic Consequences	-.2.25	.32	-.17***

$R^2=.16$, * $p<.05$, *** $p<.001$

Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the difference between serious newspapers and tabloids in terms of generic frames used in the news reports covering Anti-Fake News Law. Results show that the human interest frame was found to be significantly more present in tabloids compared to serious newspapers, the finding supports the previous studies of Evers (2016); Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), that popular or sensationalists newspapers more frequently used human interest frames compared to quality or serious newspapers. The conflict frame was found to be more often used in

tabloids compared to serious newspapers, but the result did not correspond to Semetko and Valkenburg's study, in which the conflict frame was found to be more often used in sober and serious newspapers compared to sensationalists.

The possible explanation for this could be that the editorial policies and news values in the newsroom affect the choice of news frames employed in the news reports (De Vreese, 2005). The Anti-Fake News Law was a high-profile issue in Malaysia because it was enforced one month before the 14th general election. The implementation of development journalism and the enforcement of overlapping media-related laws changed the structure of the media organizations, in which most of the media were controlled by the government (Anuar, 2012). The editorial policies and news values practiced by journalists were set to fit the government's agenda. Another reason could be that serious newspapers are rigorous to deliver impartial opinions or facts to the public, while tabloids tended to magnify the problems or issues from an emotional angle to capture the audience's attention. It is reasonable that tabloids used more conflict frames to cover the Anti-Fake News Law news than serious newspapers, which are more cautious about the effect of the news reports on readers.

While exploring the difference between serious newspapers and tabloids in terms of the implementation of generic frames, this study also investigates the relationship between generic frames and tone. The attribution of responsibility frame was found to be more susceptible to a positive tone compared to the other frames, the finding did not support the work of previous scholars, in which the attribution of responsibility was found to be correlated with a negative tone (Guenduez et al., 2016; Evers, 2016). The probable reason for the reversed finding could be the journalists were using direct quotations from government officials, which stated that the government will take responsibility to combat fake news without power abuse. Those words delivered a more positive image of the government to citizens, and lead to a positive tone of the attribution of responsibility frame.

The conflict frame was found more susceptible to a negative tone compared to the other frames. The finding supports the previous studies that the conflict frame was related to a negative tone. This means the application of conflict frames presents a negative angle in the news reports covering the Anti-Fake News Law. Journalists against this law by using conflict frames when constructing news reports lead in a negative direction. Besides testing the relationship between tone and generic frames, this study is able to identify that the conflict frame was the most significant predictor of tone compared to the other frames; this means the conflict frame is the frame that can represent the tone the most compared to other frames.

In essence, the findings of this study provide more empirical evidence on the application of framing theory in the Malaysian context and fill in the knowledge gap between Western countries and Malaysia. The usage of generic frames between serious newspapers and tabloids in Malaysia differs from other countries indicating that the generalization of framing theory needs to enhance by focusing on the process of framing building. Internal factors such as editorial policies and news values are influencing the process of framing in the newsrooms (De Vreese, 2005). Investigating these factors will provide more insights into the understanding of framing theory and expand the practice of framing theory in different cultural contexts such as Malaysia.

This study also revealed that the journalistic practice in Malaysia is different from other democratic countries. Waheed and Hellmueller (2021) found that journalists tended to perform a more loyal facilitator model compared to the United States, which is identical to the context of development journalism. This is evident in the relationship between tone and the attribution of responsibility frame, where the attribution of responsibility frame is associated with a positive tone in the reports covering Anti-Fake News Law. This new law was not favored by the public and journalists because of the restrictions on the rights of free speech, but the image of the government was still perceived as positive. This raises the question that whether the Malaysian government needs to replace development journalism with a more liberal approach to regulating mass media. Journalists are playing a crucial role in overseeing the government's behavior and giving more freedom to journalists and media organizations will boost the development of Malaysia.

Like any other research, this study was not free from limitations. First, the sampling of this study only targeted English-language newspapers. No Malay language newspaper was selected in this study, and the editorial policies, news values, and journalism culture may differ by language. Second, in light of contributing to a different view of this research, qualitative methods and interviews with journalists can offer more insights into the application of the generic frames and external factors that affect news reporting. Third, besides the newspaper chosen in this study, there are other newspapers with high circulations number that were not included in the study, for instance, the independent newspaper Malaysiakini could be selected because of its popularity among the public. Last, in terms of contributing to the application of different news frames, investigating thematic & episodic frames or other news frames attached with tone provides more detailed information on the valance of the frame.

With the existence of these challenges, this study is able to indicate that the journalistic role performance was confined by the government under the practice of development journalism,

which results in journalists being inclined to choose a negative narrative to construct news reports, especially the coverage of political issues such as the enforcement of the Anti-Fake News Law.

Additionally, the journalism practice was facing restrictions from authorities in Malaysia and challenges from the audience. The high-speed development of social media makes everything go public, and viewers are not limited to obtaining information from news reports. It would be interesting to investigate the changes in journalistic role performance in Malaysia, its effect on the public's perceptions of political issues, and the formation of opinion. To better understand the concept of journalistic practice, future research could also consider ownership of media organizations as one of the factors that influence journalism in Malaysia. In addition, future studies should also focus on the role of tone in the news in terms of the effect on the public, this will provide more explanations on the valence of the frame and evidence for frame setting.

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