

VISIBILITY OF PM NAJIB'S 100 DAYS IN OFFICE: A FRAMING APPROACH OF HIS POLITICAL BRANDING IDENTITY

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Abstract

Political branding is gaining its popularity as it is competitive in terms of voters' market. With the involvement of consumer or voters' choices, the branding principles have been practically functional. This paper examined four main newspapers identifying the visibility of political branding attributes of Malaysian 6th Prime Minister (PM), Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak during his 100 days in office. This study investigated framing and branding attributes of PM's political strategies, visibility and images in the media. Five framing attributes adopted and modified from Semetko & Valkenburg, (2000) namely responsibility, economic consequences, morality, conflict and human interest were used. While branding attributes consists of reassurance, value-based, credible, aspirational and simple/unique. Cramer's V, Phi value and analysis of variance (anova) statistical analysis were used to confirm the hypotheses.

Keywords: *political branding, framing, political messages, political communication, news*

VISIBILITI PM NAJIB DALAM TEMPOH 100 HARI PENTADBIRAN: KAJIAN PEMBINGKAIAN TERHADAP IDENTITINYA DALAM PENJENAMAAN POLITIK

Abstrak

Penjenamaan politik telah menjadi semakin popular dan dianggap penting untuk pengundi. Dengan pembabitan konsumer atau pemilihan pengundi, prinsip penjenamaan telah menjadi suatu yang praktikal. Makalah ini adalah berdasarkan kajian analisis kandungan ke atas empat akhbar yang meliputi atribut penjenamaan politik ke atas Perdana Menteri Malaysia keenam, Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak dalam tempoh 100 hari pentadbirannya. Kajian ini melihat proses pembingkai dan atribut penjenamaan perdana menteri yang menyentuh mengenai strategi politik, kebolehlihatan (visibiliti) dan imej dalam media. Lima atribut pembingkai Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) telah digunakan iaitu dimensi tanggungjawab, konsekuen ekonomi, moraliti, konflik dan minat insan. Manakala atribut penjenamaan merangkumi penyokongan, asas nilai, kredibel, aspirasi dan unik. Cramer's V, nilai Phi dan analisis varians digunakan untuk menguji hipotesis.

Kata kunci: *penjenamaan politik, pembingkai, mesej politik, komunikasi politik, berita*

Introduction

Media plays an important role in promoting a leader's name and portraying his or her image. The image of a political figure can be set by the media and also make them more salient than others. Therefore, the media has great influence on how people perceive political figures. The connection of political entities with the public begins with the management of visibility and how they are able to influence the public opinion as well as to maintain the electoral seat and at the same time the public will also use the media to give their feedback on certain issues or policies to their leader. Framing is known as a tool characterized in news report which have an influence on how it is understood by the public.

Of late, political branding is gaining popularity as it is competitive in terms of voters' market. Not only during the election, but throughout the reign of any leaders in any country, political branding will be able to gain trust of the public and also for those who did not vote during the previous election. With

the involvement of consumer or voters' choices, the branding principles have become practically functional with the branding principles (Keller, in Smith & French, 2009). Political branding is similar to product branding which involves attributes such as physical goods, services, people, organizations, places or ideas that could be related with the political parties known as an organizations where politicians (people) look for exchanging of ideas and promises for electoral support.

Background of Study

Malaysia is blessed with six Prime Ministers who are the main actors of political communicators for every elections held. These Prime Ministers (PM) have different media agenda strategies as their tools to create attention and to persuade the voters to vote for them as the Prime Minister (Zahid Hamidi, 2008). Malaysian 6th Prime Minister, YAB Dato' Sri Mohd Najib Tun Hj Abdul Razak, son of the second Prime Minister of Malaysia, YAB Tun Abdul Razak, walked into office on April 3rd, 2009 after sworn in before Yang di-Pertuan Agong Tuanku Mizan Zainal Abidin at Istana Negara. Najib takes over from Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, who stepped down after leading Malaysia since October 31, 2003. On March 26, 2009, Najib won the UMNO presidency unopposed. On his inaugural presidency speech, he urged the people to judge him by his actions and not to prejudge him based on perceptions and lies (The Star, 29 March, 2009).

The media is widely used in order to persuade the public and gain their support for the leadership of Najib. The media is believed to assist political communication between the public and policymakers. Louw (2010) described the importance of media as a cultural resource during the twentieth century, simply because it is known as the central site for managing an impression and exploring social position and status ('publicity has become a resource politicians must win over). Louw also believed that the media can also act as an agent for positioning people especially through speech, communication etc.

The Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak (Najib) and his media officers often made an effort to ensure the media coverage more positively visible to win the heart of reporters, shaping the flow of news from the executive branch to underline good coverage and organizing work agenda to get more chances for favorable media exposure.

A national political brand consists of the perceptions of a country's political actions and ideals, and is most often communicated and enacted by the leaders of the country. Brands focus can improve understanding of political decision making, and, in particular, repeat purchasing at election. Successful parties develop brand attributes in their leaders to maintain relationship with supporters beyond the initial transaction, although in doing so, they create problems for leadership succession. As for intangible characteristics in political branding, the leader's brand will usually be focusing on image and also reputation (Needham, C, 2006).

Political Branding and Framing

Political brand is a blend of political communication and political marketing which is a notion of theories, methods, techniques and social practices inspired by commercial marketing and assigned to promote images among individuals, groups, institutions projects and political ideas, towards election process and the increase of social influence and politics, in general (Barbero,2006). While Smith (2005) believed that the political brand is referred as an associative system of interconnected political information and attitudes, and the consumer will keep it in their memory and emerge when the memory of a voter or consumer exists.

As for political brand, the priority is taken by description, explanation and instrumental innovation of political communication to screen, host and transmit, in this instance, the identity of political brand. This elements of portraying image and reputation will influence how publics make sense of politics (framing), how publics decide what is important in politics (agenda setting), and how citizens evaluate the policies and authorities that politics place before them (priming), Kinder, 2006. Candidate personality is also plays a major role in voter behaviour. In politics, an image is created through the use of visual impressions that are communicated by the leaders' physical presence, media appearances, and experiences and record as a political leader as that information incorporated in the minds of the public.

Basically, Najib has been portrayed as a brand extension based from his father who is Malaysia's second prime minister. With his walkabout act less than 24 hours after walking into office, he has captured the heart of the public and he seems to be trying very hard to gain the trust from the voters after BN lost five states in Election 2008. Shama (1973), Newman and Sheth (1985) and O'Cass (2002), have suggested that the principles of well-known consumer-behaviour theory can be applied to voter behaviour and vice-versa. Brand research conducted by Keller (1993, 1998) and Aaker (1982, 1991), stated that branding strategies can be applied to all products and services without exception. One of the main reasons that political parties would use branding as part of their strategy would be in positioning of their brand against the competitors.

The core of any brand is that the brand has a sustainable competitive, advantage or unique selling proposition that gives consumers a compelling reason for buying that particular brand (Keller 1993, Aaker 1982, Ries and Trout 1979). These differences can be communicated clearly by making direct comparisons with competitors or many be highlighted without stating a competitive point of reference (Keller 1993), which makes the application of this strategy ideal in the political market place. A brand can also be positioned as being exemplar in its category, and can use its specific attributes and benefits, such as name, with consumers or the voters or the public to position itself as the leading choice of consumers.

The frame package suggests a definition, an explanation, a problematization, and an evaluation of the event and ultimately results in a number of logical

conclusions, for example, with regard to who is responsible for the perceived problems (Van Gorp, 2006). Entman, (1993), said that the importance of framing has greater implications towards political communication.

The media images could also bring forward the values of the political communicators. As Najib is the prominence value of the news, with the help of media images it can embrace the summary manners, such as credibility or trustworthy, responsibility, confidence etc, (Fredin et al. 1996). Fredin et al. also noted that media images identify a set of schemata that refers to the news media and the coverage of political news. These media images are significantly associated with the political news which can act as mediation between media use and outcomes of the news such as attitude change, evaluations, and knowledge of issues (McLeod et al.1986; Graber in Fredin et al. 1996).

Framing Attributes

The Prime Minister has the authority to generate media reporting through certain strategies such as news releases, briefings, and news conferences with various kind of media channel such as newspapers, television or radio, backgrounds, or even giving speech through television broadcasting. Therefore, the journalistic frames are influenced by him, as political elites, “and that the news stories become a discussion for framing challenges in which these actors compete in disseminating their political issues” (Luther, C.A, Miller, M.M, 2005). These frames aspects in media content will be seen through framing tools such as word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images (Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Pan & Kosicki in Baldwin Van Gorp, 2007).

Druckman (2001) and Scheufele (1999), explained that frame can be articulated in two ways: a frame in communication or media frame refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker or politician (Najib) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience. After his presidency speech, the media has widely exposed or framed Najib as a leader with power to persuade and influence the people through his political message, pictures of him visiting places like Petaling Street and Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman and taking the public transportation by surprise. And the newspapers also posted very good comments and opinion from the public about Najib who has been branded as people friendly and down to earth (The Star, NST, UM & BH, 2009).

The perception of framing presumes that no remark or appearance of observation via text can be value-free. Tuchman (1978), Gitlin (1980) and Gamson (1998) verified that the news media content has a social reality which is actively constructed and can be reflected in analyses of the role that mass media frames play in shaping political discourse and in reproducing the dominant political culture.

Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) indicated that frames have five values which are frequently used such as:

- **Conflict frames** – the conflict frames emerge when there's a conflict

exist among the individuals, groups and institutions. This frame is usually used during election campaign. By framing this news, problems of social complex and political problems could be decreased to soft conflicts. Previous research done by Neuman et al., in 1992 has proved that US media has reported a variety of issues and conflict which have been considered as a news frame. Patterson (in Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) found that the conflict frame also covers discussion in the news between political elites often reduces complex substantive political debate to overly simplistic conflict. In this study, within one year in office, Najib has faced a few bi-elections and news has reported so many kinds of issues and solutions were given by newspapers in order to win the votes of the people in each constituency.

- **Human Interest Frame** – focusing on the personal, emotional side of an event, issues or problem. And since this paper is about framing of Najib, obviously it has this category whereby all of the four newspapers especially during the first week of his appointment as PM, have reported about Najib’s personal information, his life history, his passion towards the nation, pictures of him during and after the sworn in, he went down to see his citizen and sat with them; and drinking tea with the customers in the restaurant during his walkabouts etc. The personalizing of an issue adds the storyline character of news. By using this value it can create closer ties of the person to the readers, more personalize; creating more dramatize and emotionalize news. This human interest frame will definitely able to capture and hold the public’s attention. With much personalize and emotional frames of Najib, this way will enable the readers to brand him as good or bad leader.
- **Economic Consequences Frame** – with this frames, news will expose the economic consequences an event, problem or issue will be reported for an individual, group, institution, region or country. All of four newspapers have made huge report on New Economic Model, Economic Transformational Plan, Budget 2010 and Budget 2011 which are launched in order to ease the burden of the people - as Najib always said, People First Performance Now. This frame is often used to make potential economic impact and consequences clearly towards the public. The economic impact of an event has an important news value and it is often suggested that news producers used this frame to report on issues relevant to the public.
- **The Morality Frame** – this news frames is more on matters for religious or moral charge to event, problems or even subject. Because the professional journalistic norm advocates objectivity, journalists often refer indirectly to this morality frame. Journalists have someone ask question, but, through the use of a quote the story which can contain a moral message or specific code of behavior. As reported by The Star on 8th September 2009, whereby

the headline said “Respect other religions and races, Muslim urged” as Najib said Islam was brought to the world as a universal religion and to him it was important for Muslims to closely look into the teachings as these observed the religious requirements during Ramadan.

- **The Responsibility Frame** – presents an issue or a problem in such a way that the responsibility for causing or even to solve a problem lies with the government, individual or a group. If we look at individual level, Najib has expressed his first policy for the nation, hours after sworn in, which is 1M, as a continuation of the country’s nation building, despite of racial and cultural differences, the people should share a passion for a better future by aiming for an opportunity, respect and extended friendship. Najib using 1M has pledged the Malaysians to join him in his journey to break racial barriers in the country in order to build the nation (Paridah Samad 2009). As for government responsibility, news frame could be found as new policy has been made under the leadership of Najib. And UMNO who is also under the power of Najib, as a group would have contributed its corporate social responsibility to those in need especially during the flood has been widely reported by all of the four selected newspapers. For example Program UMNO Juara Rakyat on January 2010.

Any political parties will use various types of communication strategies in order to maintain their political entities, not only during political campaign, but throughout their leadership with the public and voters. McGhee-Hil and Bowles (cited in Pfau & Burgoon, 1989) claimed that the messages derived from political campaigns are encouraging, attack or negation. The encouraging messages focused on the positive characteristics of a candidate’s or a leader’s character or issue, while attack messages focused on attacking an opponent, and negation messages answer an opponent’s attack. McGhee-Hil and Bowles (2006), also indicated that attack messages can be effective which resulted in the voter criticism. Pfau & Burgoon (cited in McGhee-Hil and Bowles 2006) stated that during the early stages of a campaign, character messages may be influential; however, during the later stages, issue messages may have more of an impact.

Newman & Perloff (2004) believed that, framing approaches have stimulating possibilities for political marketing, with subtle influences that frames can apply on attitudes. With framing, it also can increase a notification paid to the role affects play in micro marketing effects, especially, how it can be interconnected with cognition, and strategies.

Political Branding Attributes

Since the intangible aspects of brands in politics are image and reputation, and the three influential factors of voters or public decision making in choosing their leader, which are personal identity, personal ethics, and personal benefit, framing will have to cover the informational representation of Najib according to the

value image, which consist of the decision maker's belief, values, ethics, and morals. Frames of news of Najib will also need to cover the trajectory image of Najib, which will ease the public or future voters to make decision through his behaviour. With framing also will enable to create strategic image, also known as plan, which the public intend to attain the desired goals.

In this study, the researchers adopted and modified Needham (2005) of branding attributes which could render Najib's branding characters. There are basically many advantages of brands in politics. Firstly, it will ease the consumers or voters or people to choose the leaders and party policies, it will help to build voter trust, brands are aspirational, holding out the promises of personal enhancement and successful brand of parties and leaders, must adopt their external presentational strategies to a set of core values, and able to create differences and seeking popularity and at the same time to flourish the relationship with the voters or public. And for this case Najib is known as brand extension as he is the son of Malaysian second Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak. In political marketplace, the big purchased every four to five years at general elections, internal stakeholders of UMNO which is party election, the second order of purchases which is by-elections for examples election at Bukit Gantang, Perak and regular choices about which party's version of events or policy options should be accepted and endorsed.

This study operationlised the concept of branding attributes as follows:

- **Reassurance:** Brand leader promising standardisation and replicability, generating trust between political entities with the voters/public.
- The branding attributes of responsibility or **value based** can also be found when he is actually did what he preached. The keywords used here are reiterated, would continue to measure the Value based attribute.
- **Credible:** Ability to win the heart of the voters/public despite of what have been offered by the opponents. The issues created and taken by the opposition and the ability to overcome these conflicts.
- **Aspirational:** inducing a particular vision of the good life or holding out the promise of personal enhancement. This is more of his personality and external images which captured his voters and public through his actions, his words or wisdom, promises for good life, his own history etc. And being a brand extension, Najib was a son of Malaysia's second Prime Minister, has given him an extra credit of his leadership.
- **Simple/ unique:** policies/ style of leadership/ motto which make the brand leader different from previous leaders. The concept of "One Malaysia: People First Performance Now" was announced hours after he was sworn in as Prime Minister which he urged the renewal of Malaysia to rise to the challenge of building One Malaysia.
- **None of above:** when the news story does not fit into any of the five categories above.

Methodology

Four mainstream newspapers were content analysed using the framing and political branding attributes. The medium of study are selected newspapers namely *Berita Harian*, *Utusan Malaysia*, *The Star* and *News Straits Times*. And type of information categories (Framing, sources and substantive characteristics of the newspaper articles and also its political branding attributes), which are also divided into sub-categories and sub-sub-categories serve as focus of the study. Therefore, content analysis is the most appropriate method to employ.

Media monitoring of Malaysian print news have been conducted from 3rd April 2009 until 11th July 2009. The framing of Najib news was monitored through Bahasa Malaysia print daily namely *Utusan Malaysia* and also *Berita Harian*, and two English-language newspapers, known as *The Star* and *New Straits Times*. The researchers used framing dimensions from Semetko and Valkenburg on their research about European politics in order to measure the framing characteristics of Najib news. While the measurement for content analysis of political branding attributes were taken and modified from Needham (2005).

ANOVA is used in order to compare the branding attributes and five types of news framing towards single factor analysis of variance which is the newspaper since newspaper is the independent variable with nominal levels. Cross-Tabulation and Phi (or Cramer's V) were used in order to provide a test of statistical significance and also provide information about the strength of the association between political branding attributes with news framing.

Research questions and hypotheses

RQ How does news framing contribute towards political branding?

Hypothesis 1: News Framing Characteristics

H01 Responsibility Frames could be found throughout all newspapers

H02 Economic Consequences Frames could be found throughout all newspapers

H03 Human Interest Frames could be found throughout all newspapers

H04 Conflict Frames could be found throughout all newspapers

H05 Morality Frames could be found throughout all newspapers

Hypothesis 2: Political Branding Attributes

H01 Reassurance attributes of branding can be found throughout five types of news framing

H02 Value-based attributes of branding can be found throughout five types of news framing

H03 Credible attributes of branding can be found throughout five types of news framing

H04 Simple/Unique attributes of branding can be found throughout five types of news framing

H05 Aspirational attributes of branding can be found throughout five types of news framing

The hypothesis 1 assumed the significant differences of five news frames were found throughout four daily newspapers. While the later hypothesis has assumed that there is association between political branding attributes within the news framing.

As for finding the news framing elements, the researcher adopted on the five generic frames by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), and also modified it on certain of its attributes in order to relate it with the scenario of Malaysian political communication context, which originally, they have used it through their study on European politics.

In order to measure on what level of the framing characteristics in Najib as a political actor, the researcher would adopt and modified on certain series of 20 questions based on the five generic frames values. Each explanation was equivalent to measure one of five generic frames, namely, human interest, conflict, morality, attribution or responsibility, and economic consequences. For example, the explanations of the framing attributes would question whether “the story has suggested that Najib or his government would be able to alleviate the problem or issues arises (Responsibility), “the story able to emphasize on how individual or group affected by the issue or problems (Human Interest), “the story mirrored the disagreement between parties/ individual/ groups/countries” (Conflict), “the story contain moral message” (Morality), or even “the story explain the reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action” (Economic).

As for finding the political branding attributes, the researcher adopted on the Needham (2005), which originally based from her research on Tony Blair and Bill Clinton’s the communication activities of his government and after they walked to office as a Prime Minister and President respectively, and the researcher also modified it according to certain attributes in order to relate it with the scenario of Malaysian political communication context.

Measurement of Media Frames

The measurement of coding system for the media frames, as the researcher had mentioned earlier, was adopted and modified from the technique used by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) on finding the framing values on their EU political news.

Measurement for Political Branding Attributes

As mentioned above, the measurement would adopt the research done by Needham regarding the Brands Loyalty in 2005. The researcher would reemphasize again

that the six attributes of Needham is used and modified. The six attributes are Reassurance, Value-based, Aspirational, Credible, Simple/Unique and None of above, should the news contains no elements of five attributes mentioned before.

Result

The result has confirmed the significance of association between news framing with political branding attributes. The high visibility of PM Najib's branding attributes were found from news reported in four mainstream newspapers and the news framing elements managed to enhance the visibility of his images , personality, policies and also as a party leader.

Research Question

How does news framing contribute towards political branding? Is there a significant difference between the two?

H1 There is no significant difference between news framing (responsibility, human interest frame, conflict, morality and economics) in all newspapers

H2 There is no significant difference between news framing (responsibility, human interest frame, conflict, morality and economics) with political branding (reassurance, value-based, credible, simple/unique and aspirational).

Table 1: Total News of Prime Minister Najib within 100 Days

		Newspaper				
		Berita Harian	NST	The Star	Utusan Malaysia	Total
Months	April	31 (3.9%)	81 (10.1%)	33 (4.1%)	105 (13.1%)	250 (31.2%)
	May	19 (2.4%)	21 (2.6%)	19 (2.4%)	30 (3.7%)	89 (11.1%)
	June	79 (9.9%)	48 (6.0%)	55 (6.9%)	98 (12.2%)	280 (34.9%)
	July	27 (3.4%)	47 (5.9%)	47 (5.9%)	62 (7.7%)	183 (22.8%)
Total		156 (19.5%)	197 (24.6%)	154 (19.2%)	295 (36.8%)	802 (100.0%)

The table above portrayed the total news about Prime Minister Najib found within 100 days from all newspapers. 802 counts of news were identified which

spread across 4 different newspapers, that are, in descending order, Utusan Malaysia (36.8%), New Straits Times (NST) (24.6%), Berita Harian (19.5%) and The Star (19.2%). Majority of the news were in June (34.9%), followed by April (31.2%), July (22.8%) and May (11.1%).

Table 2: Visibility of Framing Values of Najib’s in Different Newspapers

		Newspaper				Total
		Berita Harian	NST	The Star	Utusan Malaysia	
Framing Values	Responsibility	52 16.0%	102 31.5%	68 21.0%	102 31.5%	324 100.0%
	Human Interest Frame	38 18.7%	40 19.7%	46 22.7%	79 38.9%	203 100.0%
	Conflict	16 16.5%	19 19.6%	14 14.4%	48 49.5%	97 100.0%
	Morality	18 28.6%	12 19.0%	5 7.9%	28 44.4%	63 100.0%
	Economics	32 28.1%	24 21.1%	20 17.5%	38 33.3%	114 100.0%
Total	156 19.5%	197 24.6%	153 19.1%	295 36.8%	801 100.0%	

Note: Cross-Tabulation between Framing Values and Different Newspapers

Based on the above table, a cross tabulation analysis was conducted between framing values and different newspapers. Considering only the most frequent appearance in newspapers, the analysis found that Utusan Malaysia holds the most apparent counts of framing values, namely responsibility (31.5%), human interest (38.9%), conflict (49.5%), morality (44.4%) and economics (33.3%). Only NST holds the similar majority number of responsibility with Utusan Malaysia at 31.5%.

Table 3: Strength of Association between Framing Values and Different Newspapers

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.211	.000
	Cramer's V	.122	.000
N of Valid Cases		801	

The cross tabulation conducted proved that there is a significant relationship between framing values and different newspapers ($p = .000$). The strength of association recorded has an effect size of low to medium (Cohen, 1988) where the value of Cramer's $V(21) = .122, p < .001$.

Table 4: Association between Framing Values and Framing Items

Framing Values	Framing Items	Frequency	Percentage
Responsibility	Najib / Government to alleviate the problem	158	48.6
	Government responsible for the issue	70	21.5
	Story suggest solution	12	3.7
	Individual / group / people responsibility for the problem	75	23.1
	News to require urgent action	10	3.1
	Total		325
Human Interest Frame	Human example / face on issue	61	30
	Story generates feelings of outrage	34	16.7
	How individual / groups affected	56	27.6
	Private / personal lives	47	23.2
	Contain visual info	5	2.5
	Total		203
Conflict	Disagreement between parties / group / countries / individual	70	72.2
	Reproach another	5	5.2
	2 or more than 2 sides with issues	16	16.5
	Winners / losers	6	6.2
	Total		97
Morality	Moral Message	23	36.5
	Morality / God / religious tenets	19	30.2
	Social prescription to behave	21	33.3
	Total		63
Economics	Losses / gains new / future	12	10.5
	Cost / degree of expense	33	28.9
	Economic consequence to proceed or not action	69	60.5
	Total		114

Note: The Visibility of News Framing Attributes of PM Najib and its statement (adopted and modified from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000))

Table 4 showed the frequency of framing items for each of the framing values.

From the table, it is clear that under the responsibility value, item of ‘Najib / Government to alleviate the problem’ has the most frequent occurrences (48.6%). For the human interest frame, ‘human example / face on issue’ (30%) has the majority number while for conflict, ‘disagreement between parties / group / countries / individual’ (72.2%) occurred the most. Meanwhile, for morality, ‘moral message’ (36.5%) appeared as majority and lastly, for economics, ‘economic consequence to proceed or not action’ (60.5%) has the most amount.

Table 5 : Visibility of Najib’s Branding Attributes in Different Newspapers

		Newspaper				Total
		Berita Harian	NST	The Star	Utusan Malaysia	
Branding Attribute	Reassurance	6	28	25	37	96
		6.3%	29.2%	26.0%	38.5%	100.0%
	Value-Based	58	62	32	64	216
		26.9%	28.7%	14.8%	29.6%	100.0%
	Credible	18	9	13	18	58
		31.0%	15.5%	22.4%	31.0%	100.0%
	Aspirational	28	21	33	42	124
		22.6%	16.9%	26.6%	33.9%	100.0%
	Simple / Unique	19	29	28	35	111
		17.1%	26.1%	25.2%	31.5%	100.0%
	None of the Above	27	48	23	99	197
		13.7%	24.4%	11.7%	50.3%	100.0%
Total		156	197	154	295	802
		19.5%	24.6%	19.2%	36.8%	100.0%

Note: Cross-Tabulation between Najib’s Branding Attributes Different Newspapers

Table 5 above showed a cross tabulation conducted between branding and different newspapers. based on the analysis, it was found that in majority, branding attributes were apparent in Utusan Malaysia with reassurance (38.5%), value-based (29.6%), credible (31%), aspirational (100%) and simple / unique (100%). Berita Harian shared the similar number of credible with Utusan Malaysia at 31% counts.

Table 6: Strength of Association between Branding Attributes and Different Newspapers

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.276	.000
	Cramer's V	.159	.000
N of Valid Cases		802	

A significant positive association between branding and different newspapers was indicated ($p = .000$) thus rejecting the null hypothesis. Also, the strength of the association has an effect size of low to medium (Cohen, 1988) where the value of Cramer's V (28) = .159, $p < .001$.

Table 7: Association between Branding and News Framing

		Framing Values					
		Responsibility	Human Interest Frame	Conflict	Morality	Economics	Total
Branding Attribute	Reassurance	55	24	4	3	10	96
		57.3%	25.0%	4.2%	3.1%	10.4%	100.0%
	Value-Based	110	21	9	13	63	216
		50.9%	9.7%	4.2%	6.0%	29.2%	100.0%
	Credible	8	1	44	2	3	58
		13.8%	1.7%	75.9%	3.4%	5.2%	100.0%
	Aspirational	28	80	1	10	5	124
		22.6%	64.5%	.8%	8.1%	4.0%	100.0%
	Simple / Unique	39	31	6	32	3	111
		35.1%	27.9%	5.4%	28.8%	2.7%	100.0%
	None of the Above	84	46	33	3	30	196
		42.9%	23.5%	16.8%	1.5%	15.3%	100.0%
Total		324	203	97	63	114	801
		40.4%	25.3%	12.1%	7.9%	14.2%	100.0%

Note: Cross-Tabulation between Najib's Branding Attributes and News Framing

A cross tabulation analysis between branding and news framing as the above table revealed that most of the branding attributes were found in the framing values of responsibility – reassurance (57.3%), value-based (50.9%), and simple / unique (35.1). Whereas, the branding attribute of credible were mostly found in

conflict (75.9%) while aspirational in human interest frame (64.5%).

Table 8: Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.798	.000
	Cramer's V	.399	.000
N of Valid Cases		801	

To investigate the relationship between branding and news framing attributes, Cramer's V was used. A significant positive association between branding and news framing was indicated ($p = .000$) thus rejecting the null hypothesis. Also, the strength of the association has an effect size of medium to large (Cohen, 1988) where the value of Cramer's V (80) = .399, $p < .001$.

Table 9a: Differences between Newspapers with Branding and News Framing

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Framing Values	Berita Harian	156	2.62	1.54
	NST	197	2.07	1.40
	The Star	153	2.10	1.36
	Utusan Malaysia	295	2.39	1.38
	Total	801	2.30	1.43
Branding Attribute	Berita Harian	156	3.49	1.59
	NST	197	3.53	1.87
	The Star	154	3.49	1.71
	Utusan Malaysia	295	3.92	1.88
	Total	802	3.66	1.80

Table 9b: One-Way ANOVA for Branding and News Framing in relation to Different Newspapers

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Branding Attribute	Between Groups	31.501	3	10.500	3.27	.021
	Within Groups	2560.570	798	3.209		
	Total	2592.071	801			
Framing Values	Between Groups	34.711	3	11.570	5.79	.001
	Within Groups	1591.778	797	1.997		
	Total	1626.489	800			

One way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to find out whether there is any significant difference between newspapers with branding and news framing. From the analysis, it was indicated that both branding and news framing have a significant difference with newspapers, with the former at $F(3, 798) = 3.27$ and the latter with $F(3, 797) = 5.79$. For news branding, the means obtained for different newspapers were, in descending manner: Utusan Malaysia (3.92), NST (3.53), Berita Harian (3.49) and The Star (3.49). Whereas for news framing, the mean values were Berita Harian (2.62), Utusan Malaysia (2.39), The Star (2.10) and NST (2.07).

Discussion and Conclusion

With the help of mainstream newspapers which the major shareholder is highly related with the government, the framing mechanisms used by the journalists, thus, the usage of political branding can be considered as the basis for long term relationship whereby PM Najib and his political entities can keep their winning coalitions together in order to maintain repeat sales or win the election. Semetko et al. (1991) believed that newspapers may have more flexibility influence in other election coverage, especially through the analyses and also editorial material and the repetition news enable to enhance the visibility of PM Najib as a new Prime Minister.

Based on the results, it has proven that with major repetitions of PM Najib in the news, it has able to shape the public opinion towards him, not only as a Prime Minister but also his policies and leadership. Utusan Malaysia has the most number of framing values which made him as a Responsibility leader. As for the visibility of his political branding attributes, Utusan Malaysia also holds the most numbers of amounts of him. Within that 100 days of his reign, the repetitions of news framing about Najib and his political messages, it has proven that the newspapers have helped to promote his personal brands through an aspirational of his good self, portraying the elements of morality and simple or unique policies which make him different from the previous prime ministers

and his opponents.

There are three elements of political brand which helps to brand Najib a PM and the key criteria are, a combination of three factors such as the party as a brand, UMNO and BN, whereby, Najib as the President of UMNO and Chairman of BN has said that he wanted to rebrand the party in order to win the heart of the Malays and other Malaysians people. The politician as its tangible characteristic and is widely exposed and reported in the four mainstream newspapers. Other than that, Schneider (2004) believed as a leader is considered to have the strongest, clearest and most impactful associative meaning, as his image, personality is more knowledgeable and communicated through verbal and visual imagery. And all these elements of political messages of Najib are communicated to the readers or consumers through newspapers or television. Finally, the policy exposed by Najib, such as 1M, New Economic Model and others has helped to put Najib as a brand of his own. The explanation of significant association of news framing and political branding can be demonstrated through the model below:

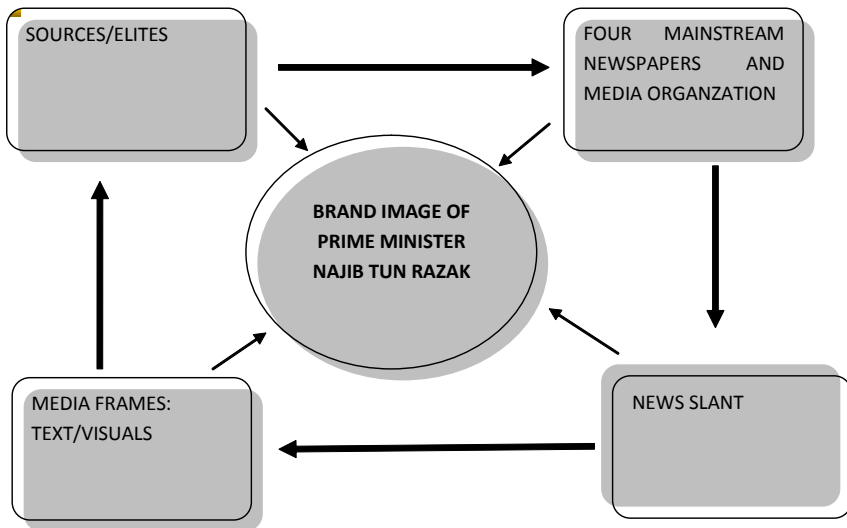


Table 5: the association of political branding for political leader could be found through Sources/Elites, News Framing and News Slants from four newspapers

The leader of any country can help to create a significant of country branding which no business or brand can ever compete. With the help of news media, the existence of these leaders is noticeable through what the leaders says or perform. And the news media frame will enhance the visibility of credible and responsible leader. Their actions affect people and countries around the world in many ways, where export brands and tourism normally would be less influence. This is because, the media is widely known could form public opinion through framing as events and issues in such a way through communicating the source and explaining an issue towards the public.

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