

# Changes in Framing of Pornography in a Malaysian Newspaper from 2017 to 2024

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**Abstract:** *This study investigates changes in framing of pornography in a Malaysian newspaper from 2017 to 2024. The specific aspects examined are (1) the prevalence of episodic and thematic frames, and (2) changes in frames on pornography over time. A search using the words “porn” and “pornography” was conducted in the online portal of New Straits Time, and 24 articles were identified. Content analysis was conducted based on Goffman’s (1974) Framing Theory. The results show that most news articles on pornography were reported using the episodic frames throughout the eight-year period. However, there has been an increase in the use of thematic frames to situate incidents in the broader societal trends. This reflects a shift toward viewing pornography as a systemic issue. As for frame dimensions, the morality frame remains dominant. However, news articles on pornography in recent years show a concern for public health and safety, and technological challenges and responsibility. The findings indicate that Malaysian news media could be taking on a more active role in educating the public about the harms of pornography and the need for coordinated efforts to monitor activities and protect the vulnerable populations.*

**Keywords:** Framing, Pornography, Malaysian News, Episodic, Thematic, Responsibility Frame

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## 1. Introduction

Involvement in cyberporn has several negative consequences. In Malaysia, pornography exposure is correlated with undesirable sexual behaviours such as early sexual initiation, premarital sex, and multiple sexual partners (Awaluddin et al., 2015). Other than the moral issue, involvement in cyberporn is associated with psychological issues such as depression and poorer well-being among adolescent girls (Kohut & Stulhofer, 2018) but this study was in Croatia. The concern in Australia is more with children becoming prey to cyberporn-related crimes (Flood & Hamilton, 2003; McKee, 2010). In India, cyberporn has been linked to mental health issues (Gopalan, 2019). Pornography has been considered a healthy source of sex education by some people (Goldstein, 2020). This aspect may seem shocking but a Malaysian study involving 325 Malaysians aged 17–45 found that the participants considered it as sexual education and a genre of movies (Fathin et al., 2018).

Thus far, little is understood about media portrayal of pornography in Malaysia due to the lack of studies on the taboo subject. Some researchers have studied pornography from the angles of sexual gratification for gay men (Goh, 2017) and awareness of laws governing cyberporn (Ahmad, et al., 2006). Based on a limited sample, Ali et al. (2021) concluded that the college

students who watched cyberporn did not engage in sexual activities. It is important to research coverage of pornography because newspapers influence public views and attitudes on pornography through the news reports, and voices of influential figures such as lawmakers, academics, and activists. It is widely believed that news reports not only provide information but also influence behaviour (Alsem et al., 2008) by selectively choosing what to report (George & Waldfoegel, 2006).

Most studies on media portrayal of pornography focus on European contexts. For example, Kronja (2006) found that the misogynistic portrayal of women in three Serbian tabloids, particularly through pornographic elements, often paired with political news carrying nationalist or undemocratic undertones. These portrayals reinforced traditional, hierarchical gender relations where men were seen as dominant and women as submissive, reducing women's value to their sexualization. Similarly, Gosse and Burkell (2020), in their study of deepfake coverage in major English-language publications from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, demonstrated that news media prioritised political harms over misogynistic harms. This neglect not only overlooked the impact on women but also risked perpetuating their victimisation. By side-lining the misogynistic violence embedded in deepfakes, the media diminished the urgency of addressing these harms. In another context, Taylor and Gavey (2019) examined how the public viewed pornography addiction by analysing six newspaper articles and the Facebook comments in response. Their study suggested a shift from community standards to personal responsibility, resulting in a neglect of the broader ethical and political issues surrounding the widespread acceptance of pornography. The naturally occurring data are a valuable source of information that reveals the attitudes and perceptions held by members of the public regarding pornography.

However, there has been limited research on how pornography is portrayed in Malaysian news reports despite cultural and societal differences between Malaysia and European contexts (Yusuf et al., 2021). Since media portrayals of pornography are shaped by cultural factors, it is essential to understand how Malaysian media frame this topic as the narratives may be different from Western contexts. Moreover, these portrayals are not static; they evolve over time as societal awareness, norms, and values shift (Lampe et al., 2019). There is a gap in research on media portrayal of pornography in Malaysia.

The present study investigated changes in the framing of pornography in a Malaysian newspaper from 2017 to 2024. Specifically, it examined (1) the prevalence of episodic and thematic frames, and (2) the changes in frames on pornography over time.

## **2. Method**

The descriptive study involved framing analysis of news articles published between January 2017 and August 2024 in *New Straits Times*, a mainstream newspaper in Malaysia. The search terms used were “porn” or “pornography”. To ensure uniformity in selection of articles, only those with these search terms in the headlines were selected for analysis. Altogether only 24 articles on pornography were published in *New Straits Time* in the eight-year period. The articles were copied and pasted into a Word document.

The unit of analysis was the whole news article. For the first analysis on episodic and thematic frames, reference was made to Iyengar’s (1991) framework. Iyengar (1991) distinguishes between thematic (frames that place an issue in the broad context) and episodic frames (frames that focus on specific events or individual cases).

Next, the frame analysis was based on Goffman’s (1974) Framing Theory, which examines how individuals use frames (mental structures or lenses) to interpret and organise their experiences. The news articles were analysed to identify the presence of three main frames (morality, public health and safety, and technological challenges and responsibilities). To determine the dominant frame in each article, the method developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was employed (Table 1). The method involved assessing the content by answering a set of guiding questions. The analysis also took account of the corresponding subframes and the recurrence of themes, as this reveals the salience of the theme.

**Table 1: Main Frames, Subframes, and Guiding Questions for Frame Identification**

Frame	Description	Subframe(s)	Questions asked to determine the (sub)frame
Morality	Focuses on associating pornography with immoral or unethical behaviours	Legal enforcement against wrongdoing or immoral activities	Does the article discuss legal actions taken against immoral or unethical behaviours?
		Ethics and adherence to societal norms	Does the article discuss ethical issues or moral judgements?
Public health and safety	Emphasises public health and safety via law enforcement and other measures, especially concerning vulnerable populations		Does the article focus on impacts on public safety and health?  Does the article include legal actions and other measures to protect public safety and health?
Technological challenges and responsibilities	Focuses on the technological challenges and responsibilities in restricting access to online pornography and its consumption, or in preventing individuals from becoming victims of online pornography	Availability and accessibility of pornography	Is the article about the distribution and access to pornography via technology?
		Measures to block online pornography access or prevent victimisation	Does the article focus on interventions to prevent access to online pornography or on measures to protect individuals from becoming victims of it online?
		Technological challenges in combating pornography accessibility and consumption	Is the article about challenges related to technology in combating pornography accessibility and consumption?

### 3. Findings

#### 3.1 Prevalence of Episodic and Thematic Frames in News Articles on Pornography

The results from the analysis of 24 New Straits Times articles (2017-2024) shows a shift in how the issue of pornography is framed, which is from an event-centred perspective (episodic frame) to one that addresses broader societal implications (thematic frame).

News articles between 2017 and 2020 primarily focused on specific incidents. For example, a 2018 article headlined “Malaysian with 900+ kiddie porn pics, videos in laptop arrested and charged in Australia” provides extensive details about the crime: age and nationality of the offender (“27-year-old Malaysian”), place and date of offence (“Melbourne International Airport ... March 22”), description of the crime (“More than 900 images and videos depicting child exploitation material were allegedly located on the man’s laptop computer and mobile phone”), and the criminal charge (“...charged with importing Tier 2 goods, namely Child Exploitation Material, contrary to Section 233BAB(5) of the Customs Act 1901...”) (Table 2).

**Table 2: Crime Details in an Episodic Article on Pornography**

Crime Details Reported	Excerpt
Age and nationality	“...27-year-old Malaysian...”
Place and date of offense	“...Melbourne International Airport from Kuala Lumpur on March 22...”
Crime description	“More than 900 images and videos depicting child exploitation material were allegedly located on the man’s laptop computer and mobile phone”
Criminal charge	“...charged with importing Tier 2 goods, namely Child Exploitation Material, contrary to Section 233BAB(5) of the Customs Act 1901...”

*\*Note: Excerpts from Teoh, P. Y. (2018, March 26). Malaysian with 900+ kiddie porn pics, videos in laptop arrested and charged in Australia. New Straits Time. <https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2018/03/349646/malaysian-900-kiddie-porn-pics-videos-laptop-arrested-and-charged>*

However, from 2021 onwards, thematic framing of pornography in New Straits Time increased. Table 3 highlights some issues reported in an article published on July 26, 2024 entitled “Access to porn at a critical level”. This article discusses the challenges of regulating digital content (e.g. “Cybersecurity expert C.F. Fong said social media was a breeding ground for criminal activities such as scams, child sexual exploitation and cyberbullying”), the impact on children (e.g. “children and adolescents exposed to pornography can experience feelings of guilt, shame or anxiety ...”), and youth protection (e.g. “... this can protect our children from being exposed to unhealthy elements ...”). The article also highlights the necessity of coordinated efforts among child protection agencies, Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission (MCMC), the Attorney-General’s Chambers, the police, and NGOs like Rawsec-Malaysia CyberSecurity Community. The multi-lateral collaboration is necessary for detection and prevention mechanisms, and better education of users about the risks associated with pornography.

**Table 3: Issues Reported in a Thematic Article on Pornography**

Issue	Excerpt
Challenges of regulating digital content	“Experts have called for enhanced efforts to tackle...” “Cybersecurity expert C.F. Fong said social media was a breeding ground for criminal activities such as scams, child sexual exploitation and cyberbullying”
Impact on children	“..., children and adolescents exposed to pornography can experience feelings of guilt, shame or anxiety ...” “...negatively impact their academic performance...”
Youth protection	“... this can protect our children from being exposed to unhealthy elements”

*\*Note: Excerpts taken from Iskandar, I. M., & Hakim, L. (2024, July 26). 'Access to porn at a critical level'. New Straits Times. <https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2024/07/1081743/access-porn-critical-level>*

This shift from episodic to thematic framing over the years indicates that there is a growing recognition of the need to address pornography as a societal issue rather than treat them as one-off events.

### 3.2 Changes in Media Frames on Pornography Over Time

Table 4 shows the frequency of frames in the New Straits Time articles on pornography in 2017-2020 and 2021-2024. The morality frame was the most prevalent (10 out of 24 news articles), followed by the public health and safety frame (8 articles). The technological challenges and responsibilities frame was the least common frame (6 articles).

**Table 4: Frequency of Frames in New Straits Time articles on Pornography**

Frame	Examples of articles	2017-2020 Frequency	2021-2024 Frequency	Total
Morality	“Court of Appeal upholds sentence of man convicted of soliciting child porn”  “American pleads guilty to possessing child pornography material, porn video”  “#Showbiz Shukri Yahya apologises for 'soft porn' scene, says he was 'overexcited'”	4	6	10
Public health and safety	“Access to porn at a critical level”  “Elderly man charged with sexual abuse, attempting to create porn material of 8-year-old girl”	2	6	8
Technological challenges and responsibilities	“The dark side: Just RM35 for 'made in Malaysia' adult videos”  “Dark Web unveiled: Child ring suspected in kidnapping investigation”	0	6	6
<b>Total</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>

Changes in media frames across time can be seen. The morality frame is the most salient during the 2017-2020 period (4 articles) and the 2021-2024 period (6 articles). However, there has been a recent increase in the focus on public health and safety, rising from two articles in the earlier years to six in the latter years. As for the technological challenges and responsibilities frame, there were no news articles with this frame in 2017-2020 but in 2021-2024, there were six articles. These findings indicate increasing concerns for public health and safety, and technological challenges and responsibilities. Viewing pornography has been linked to an increase in sexual risk-taking behaviours, such as reduced condom use and more casual sexual encounters. The promotion of sexually risky practices has adverse effects on the health and social wellbeing of adolescents, and “pseudo child porn” increases the risk of child exploitation (Taylor, 2018).

### 3.2.1 Morality frame

The morality frame, which dominates the news of pornography all through the eight years from 2017 to 2024, reflects Malaysia's strong conservative values. For instance, the morality frame can be seen in the article titled “American pleads guilty to possessing child pornography material, porn video” (Table 5). The immorality of the act is made clear by the details the news emphasises: the victim's age (“11-year-old girl”) and the unexpected nature of the crime as both the offender and the victim are neighbours (“who is his neighbour”). Moreover, the crime occurred without the girl's consent, catching her completely unaware in what should have been the safety of her own home (“filmed the girl ... bathing in her home”). As such, by highlighting such details of the crime, it shows that the act has violated the sacred space of home in an invasive manner which dishonours a child, whose dignity and innocence should have been protected.

**Table 5: Reported Details in a Morally-Framed News Article**

Reported Details	Excerpts
Victim's age	"...sexual harassment against an 11-year-old girl"
Perpetrator-victim relationship	" ...who is his neighbour..."
Circumstances of the crime	"Frahm had allegedly filmed the girl...when she was bathing in her home"

*\*Note: Excerpts taken from: Osman, H. (2024, May 6). American pleads guilty to possessing child pornography material, porn video. New Straits Time. <https://www.nst.com.my/news/crime-courts/2024/05/1046919/american-pleads-guilty-possessing-child-pornography-material-porn>*

Another instance of news written with the morality frame is “#Showbiz: Shukri Yahya apologises for ‘soft porn’ scene, says he was ‘overexcited’”. The scene in the TV drama “*Layang-Layang Perkahwinan*,” for which Shukri Yahya apologised, was not explicit pornography. It simply depicted him shirtless while taking a shower before his co-star joined him and he pulled her hand (Excerpt 1). Although the scene was far from explicit, it was still viewed as a breach of societal norms. Consequently, the actor had to publicly apologise and admit his mistake, which is highlighted at various places throughout the rather short 237-word article (Excerpts 2-4). This suggests that even a shirtless shower scene is morally unacceptable, sparking widespread criticism and going “**viral**” (Excerpt 1) with claims that it “**bordered on ‘soft porn’**” (Excerpt 2). This highlights Malaysian conservative values.

#### **Excerpt 1**

A video of the scene had previously gone **viral**, in which Shukri is shown taking a shower before his co-star, actress Alya Iman, also joins him. Shukri, who is shirtless, then pulls Alya's hand before she offers a smile.

#### **Excerpt 2**

"Actor Shukri Yahaya has **apologised** for his scene, which **many had claimed bordered on 'soft porn'**, in his new drama 'Layang-Layang Perkahwinan'"

#### **Excerpt 3**

"Shukri, whose full name is Mohd Shukri Yahaya, **admitted his mistake** in not taking into account public sensitivity before doing the scene."

#### **Excerpt 4**

"**"I apologise. It was entirely my mistake.** The scene was actually done on the first day of shooting.

"I can't deny that I was overexcited about the scene. **It won't happen again**"

*(\*Note: Excerpts taken from: Talita, Z. (2024, Jan 22). #Showbiz: Shukri Yahya apologises for 'soft porn' scene, says he was 'overexcited'. New Straits Time. <https://www.nst.com.my/lifestyle/groove/2024/01/1004335/showbiz-shukri-yahya-apologises-soft-porn-scene-says-he-was>)*

### **3.2.2 Public health and safety frame**

The second most dominant frame is the public health and safety frame. It addresses issues related to public health and safety, especially concerning vulnerable population. An example is the article “Elderly man charged with sexual abuse, attempting to create porn material of 8-year-old girl”. The article reports that a school van assistant – a role typically associated with trust – was the perpetrator of two offences against a young girl (Excerpt 5). The gravity of the offence is amplified by the fact that the victim was only eight years old during the first incident

(Excerpt 5). Even more troubling is the offender's potential for reoffending; he sexually assaulted the same girl three years later (Excerpt 6) and continued working in the same role (Excerpt 7). The offender thus poses a danger to all children if he is given continued access to vulnerable children given his propensity for repeating the offence.

### **Excerpt 5**

In the first charge, Goh, who worked as a **school van assistant**, was accused of **preparing to make pornographic material** involving a **girl, who was eight** at the time.

### **Excerpt 6**

For the **second offence**, Goh was charged with **sexually assaulting the same girl** by fondling her in the van, also in the same district between May to June 2019.

### **Excerpt 7**

Danial had urged the court not to grant bail for the accused as **he still works as a school van assistant which plies the same route the victim takes to go to school**.

(\*Note: Excerpts taken from: Dass, M. V. (2022, Dec 20). Elderly man charged with sexual abuse, attempting to create porn material of 8-year-old girl. *New Straits Time*. <https://www.nst.com.my/news/crime-courts/2022/12/862710/elderly-man-charged-sexual-abuse-attempting-create-porn-material-8>)

Pornography is a public health and safety issue. In the United States, 17 states have introduced nonbinding resolutions declaring pornography a public health crisis since 2016, and a range of concerns ranging from addictiveness to infidelity to sex trafficking were cited (Samuels, 2020). There are scientific evidence for the harmful impact of pornography. Koletić (2017) found that pornography can have negative effects on an individual's mental health and self-esteem, aggravate loneliness, and cause an unhealthy cycle of stress (cited in Myung, 2022). Pornography also can also have negative impacts on sexual health, including erectile dysfunction and decreased sexual satisfaction (Oklahoma State University, & Foubert, 2017, as cited in Myung, 2022). Although some argue that pornography is not a public health and safety issue since it does not "directly or imminently" lead to death, disease, property destruction, or population displacement; and it does not overwhelm local health systems (Samuels, 2020), the impacts on mental and sexual health still make it a serious concern.

### **3.2.3 Technological challenges and responsibilities frame**

The technological challenges and responsibilities frame, while initially absent in earlier years, is becoming more prominent in news coverage on pornography. News in this frame focuses on the difficulties of restricting access to online pornography and preventing individuals from falling prey to it. An example of news with the technological challenges and responsibilities frame is the article "Dark Web unveiled: Child ring suspected in kidnapping investigation". It highlights the connection between pornography and the Dark Web (Excerpt 8 & Excerpt 9). The article further explains how the Dark Web, being inaccessible through typical browsers (Excerpt 9), is too challenging for the police to solve by themselves. They need forensics experts (Excerpt 10). Forensic experts aid police in tracking sex offenders on the Dark Web by analysing digital devices, monitoring illegal forums, and identifying trends in user activity. These difficulties are further emphasised by the Police Chief Commissioner's remarks that the case felt unsettling, and despite apprehending suspects, they felt compelled to dig deeper into the investigation (Excerpt 11).

### **Excerpt 8**

The suspect is believed to be involved in a **child pornography ring on the Dark Web**.

### Excerpt 9

The **Dark Web** is the part of the Internet that is **not accessible by typical web browsers**. It is often used to traffic in drugs and weapons, the **sharing of child pornography** and the trading of stolen data and counterfeit goods, among others.

### Excerpt 10

It is understood that police have roped in **forensics experts to help in their probe**.

### Excerpt 11

““From day one, this case **did not sit right** with me. We **kept digging deeper** (after the suspects were arrested),” he told the New Straits Times”.

(\*Note: Excerpts taken from: Shadiqe, J. (2024, Aug 5). Dark Web unveiled: Child porn ring suspected in kidnapping investigation. New Straits Time. <https://www.nst.com.my/news/crime-courts/2024/08/1086763/dark-web-unveiled-child-porn-ring-suspected-kidnapping>)

It is possible that in the future, they may be more news articles that highlights technological challenges and responsibilities associated with cyberpornography. The Dark Web and pornography which comes under the guise of seemingly innocent activities may become more common, and pose detection and monitoring challenges to authorities. What starts as cyberpornography often moves into the physical realm, and brings not only psychological trauma but also physical harm. Because of this, the technological challenges and responsibilities frame, and the public health and safety frame on pornography may become more salient in future, but the morality frame will remain stable.

## 4. Discussion

The shift in Malaysian news media from focusing on individual cases to viewing pornography as a systemic issue has significant implications. This change indicates that the media is possibly moving beyond sensationalism and taking on a more responsible role in educating the public about the root causes and broader impacts of pornography. Such a shift is necessary, especially in conservative societies like Malaysia, where discussions on pornography are often taboo (Goh, 2017), although it is an issue that urgently needs to be addressed. Irrespective of Malaysia's traditional beliefs, there has been a sharp rise in pornography consumption, with IP addresses accessing child pornography jumping from 9,017 in 2018 to 49,621 in 2022 (Yuen & Zolkepli, 2023). Hence, it is important to break that silence to tackle the issue. By shifting the media's focus to a more systemic analysis, it creates more public dialogue as people become more informed about the complexities of the pornography issue, including its psychological effects, influence on relationships, role in exploitation, challenges in regulating online content, as well as its impacts on society. Readers will eventually recognise that the issue of pornography is more than just moral censures concerning a few perpetrators or delinquents. This informed public discourse, driven by the evolving media portrayal, will help mobilise societal action in combating pornography in Malaysia.

Another significant shift in the framing of pornography in Malaysian news media is the increasing focus on public health, safety, and the challenges of regulating technology. This change reflects a growing awareness that as society becomes more digitally connected, it becomes more imperative to regulate online content and protect vulnerable groups, especially children. However, this issue is further complicated by the easy access to pornographic materials, driven by what Cooper (1998) calls the "Triple A engine" - accessibility (through



widespread internet access and smartphones), affordability (via free streaming sites), and anonymity (through private online consumption). Furthermore, the pervasive use of social media poses another significant challenge, as children can be easily lured into dangerous situations through these platforms (Islam et al., 2020). Consequently, in spite of the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission's efforts to block 6,997 obscene or pornographic websites between 2018 and August 2023 (Ova, 2023), these efforts have been undermined by users' ability to bypass restrictions through methods like VPNs. As a result, Malaysia has gained a notorious reputation as a hub for internet child pornography, ranking third in Southeast Asia for the possession and distribution of such content (Shukor et al., 2017). Therefore, by emphasising public health, safety, and the challenges of regulating technology in the framing of pornography within Malaysian news media, this approach underscores the complexities involved in tackling the issue and the diverse risks associated with online pornography. More importantly, this framing influences readers to be more actively engaged and vigilant in protecting vulnerable groups, particularly children, from the dangers linked to online pornography.

This shift in media framing also acknowledges that pornography is not an isolated issue but is intertwined with broader societal harms, particularly its connections to more serious crimes such as human trafficking, sex trafficking, and exploitation (Rothman, 2021). This shows that the problem goes beyond pornography alone, encompassing criminal activities that transcend national borders. This evolving narrative suggests that the traditional policing methods and existing law enforcement resources might not be sufficient to address the scope and complexity of the problem effectively. To address these challenges, a comprehensive approach is necessary – one that includes stricter online monitoring to restrict access to harmful content, more robust legal regulations to ensure offenders are held accountable, more targeted measures to protect vulnerable populations, and stronger international collaboration. As Zubaidi (2021) pointed out, law enforcement resources are overwhelmed by the sheer volume of online pornography, made more complex by factors such as the dark web, media streaming services, and encrypted communication platforms. Furthermore, the increasing use of mobile devices and advanced encryption technologies complicates the detection of illicit content and the identification of offenders (Zubaidi, 2021). The public, therefore, needs to be informed via news reports about the scale of the issue, the challenges facing law enforcement, and the critical role that they can play in supporting these efforts.

Nevertheless, despite evolving portrayals of pornography, the moral perspective remains significant. This reflects the strong influence of cultural and religious values in Malaysian media and that the moral framing still resonates with the public. However, the focus within the moral frame has evolved, from sensationalising individual offenders to underlining collective societal responsibility. This new approach emphasises shared accountability in upholding moral values and safeguarding the established societal norms and expectations.

## **5. Conclusion**

The study on changes in the framing of pornography in a Malaysian newspaper from 2017 to 2024 revealed a significant shift from an individual-focused (episodic) frame to a broader societal (thematic) perspective. Initially framed as an individual moral failing, pornography is now increasingly recognised as a systemic issue with widespread social implications. The study has also found that while the moral framing remained influential, there was an increasing portrayal of pornography as a public health and safety concern, as well as a technological challenge requiring expert knowledge and skills.

The findings underline the transformation in how the pornography issue is portrayed in the Malaysian news media – from a simplistic, moralistic view to one that considers it a complex societal issue. This shift is crucial as it presents pornography as a critical challenge affecting public health, safety, and the welfare of vulnerable populations, especially children. By associating pornography with other serious social issues such as sex trafficking and human exploitation, the media point to its multifaceted nature, highlighting the need for urgent and coordinated action.

Furthermore, the study also shows that cultural and religious values continue to strongly influence the media narrative in Malaysia. However, moral framing of the pornography issue was also found to move away from solely state-driven regulation towards societal-level accountability, particularly in managing exposure and protecting children from pornography.

A limitation of this study is the relatively small sample size of news articles, which may limit the generalisability of the findings. Nonetheless, the research provides valuable insights into the evolving nature of media framing in Malaysia, demonstrating how cultural, religious, and societal values continue to shape the discourse on pornography, even in this digital era. This study contributes to the understanding of media framing in conservative societies, highlighting how evolving narratives can shift public discourse from individual moral judgements to broader societal concerns. By emphasising the systemic nature of pornography and its connections to public health, safety, and technological challenges, this research provides a new perspective that encourages a comprehensive, multi-stakeholder approach.

Future research could explore how various segments of the public (e.g., parents, educators, policy-makers) respond to the changing narratives of pornography portrayals in Malaysian news. In addition, it would be beneficial to assess how these frames influence public behaviour, awareness, and support for policy initiatives aimed at tackling the pornography issue.

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