'Watching the Watchdog'
Malaysian Media Coverage of GE13

Preliminary Results – Release 3: Gender Issues

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Watching the Watchdog Release 3[1]: Media Coverage of GE13 Heavily Gender-Biased

In scrutinising the GE13 coverage provided by the most popular and influential Malaysian media, the Watching the Watchdog media monitoring project[2] found that the coverage of politicians and other individuals present within election reporting (both when mentioned and when used as sources) is heavily gender-biased towards coverage of men.

Our key findings are as follows:

- The ratio of mentions of men : women is roughly 9 : 1.
    - This ratio barely fluctuates from medium to medium.
- The ratio of source use of men : women is roughly 9 : 1.
    - This ratio barely fluctuates from medium to medium.
- 'Women-centric' organisations make up only 3% of all organisation types monitored.
- Gender and sexuality-related issues make up less than 5% of all non-policy issues monitored.
- Overall, women are being repetitively disenfranchised by the media-political process.

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1 Release 3 is focused on gender. It is based on data collected over thirteen days (7/4/13 – 19/04/13) for 26 media/publications.
2 Watching the Watchdog project monitors coverage from 29 media – newspapers, television news broadcasts, online news sites as well as the national press agency, in four languages (English, Bahasa Malaysia, Mandarin, and Tamil); in Sabah and Sarawak as well as in Peninsular Malaysia, during the month spanning April 7th to May 7th 2013. It is a collaboration between the University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus and the Centre for Independent Journalism.

Section 1: Gendered Media Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures

1.1 Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Men vs. Women

Figure 1: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Men vs. Women
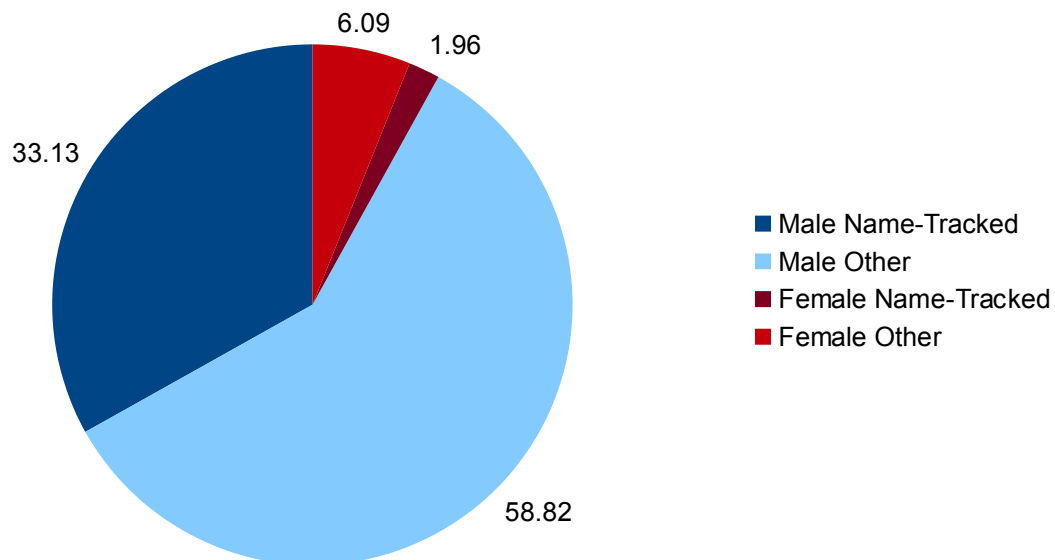
- Refer to Table 1 for figures.
- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute over 90% (91.95%) of all people mentioned in the overall media coverage of GE13.
- Specific women politicians and political figures get extremely small levels of coverage:
  - Nurul Izzah (PKR)   0.66%
  - Ng Yen Yen (MCA)   0.56%
  - Ambiga Sreenevasan (Bersih)   0.39%
  - Teresa Kok (DAP)   =0.17%
  - Elizabeth Wong (DAP)   =0.17%
  - Rosmah Mansur ('1st Lady')   0.15%
  - Siti Mariah Mahmud (PAS)   <0.01%

Figures 2-5: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Men vs. Women - Bernama vs. Newspapers vs. Television vs. Online News

Bernama

- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Female Name-Tracked
- Female Other
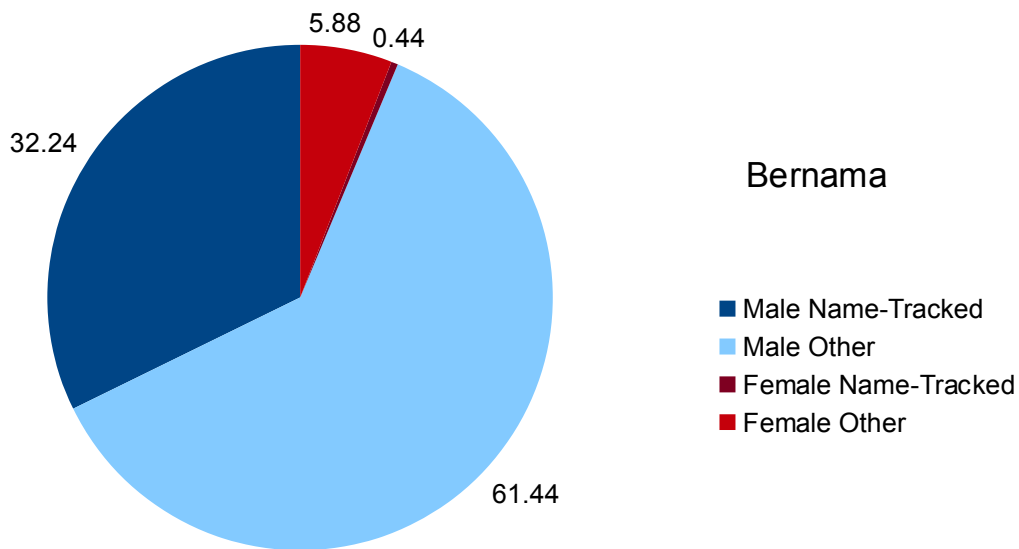
- Refer to Table 2 for figures.
- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute over 90% (93.68%) of all people mentioned in the overall media coverage of GE13 by Bernama.

Newspapers

- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Female Name-Tracked
- Female Other

- Refer to Table 3 for figures.
- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute over 90% (91.56%) of all people mentioned in the overall media coverage of GE13 by newspapers.

Television

- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Female Name-Tracked
- Female Other

4.69 2.36
38.01
54.94
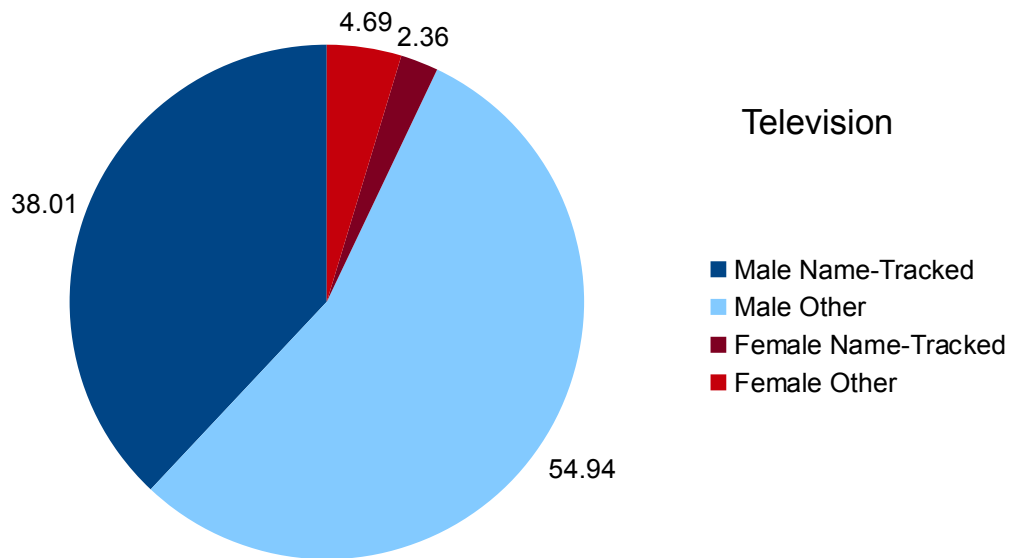
- Refer to Table 4 for figures.
- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute over 90% (92.95%) of all people mentioned in the overall media coverage of GE13 by television news.

Online

- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Female Name-Tracked
- Female Other

5.13 1.83
33.52
59.52

- Refer to Table 5 for figures.
- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute over 90% (93.04%) of all people mentioned in the overall media coverage of GE13 by online media.
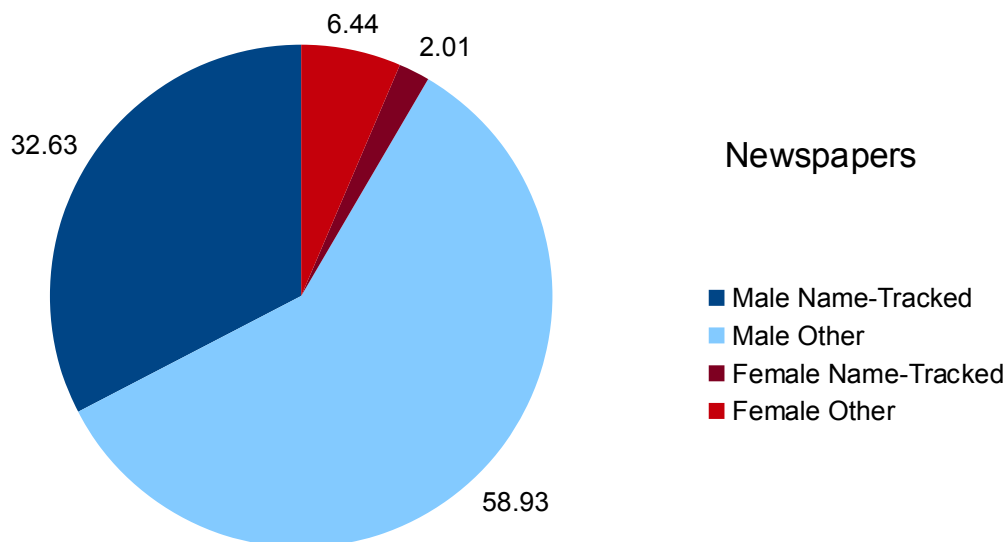
1.2 Volume of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures as Sources: Men vs. Women

Figure 6: Volume of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures as Sources: Men. vs. Women vs Unknown
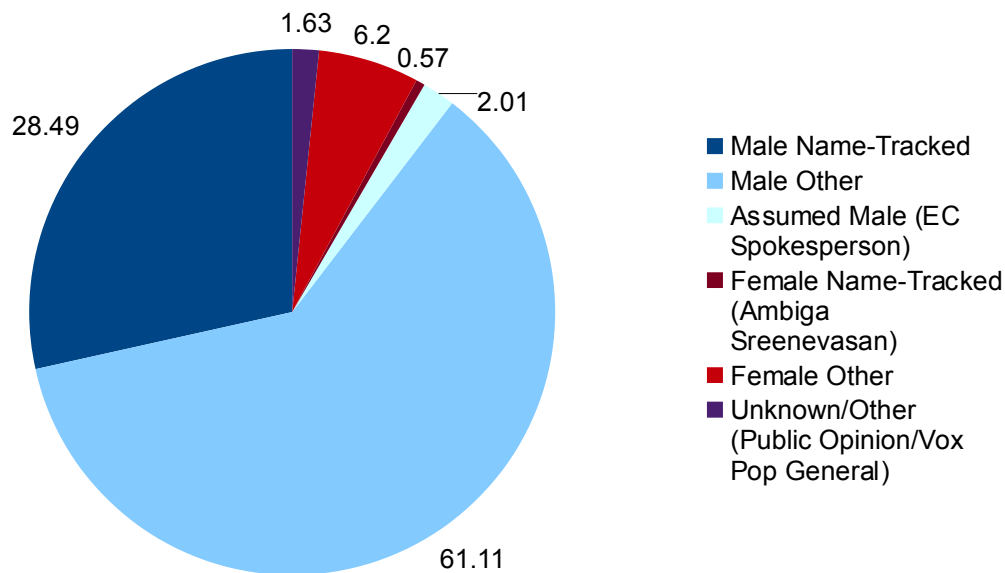
- Refer to Table 6 for figures.

- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute almost 90% (89.6%) of all people used as sources in the overall media coverage of GE13.

- If we assume that all Election Commission spokespeople cited by the media have been male (which we believe them to have been), this figure rises to 91.61%.
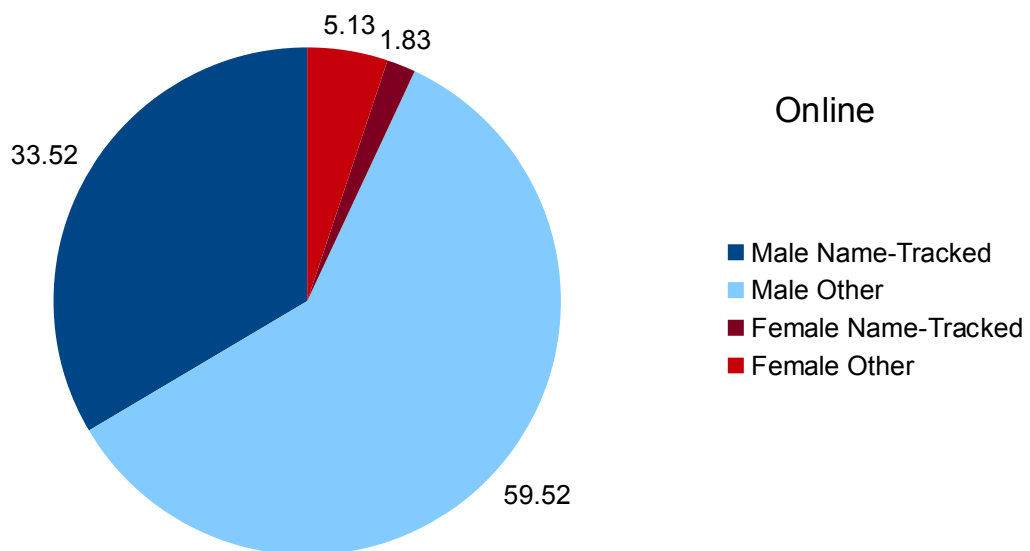
Figures 7-10: Volume of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures as Sources: Men vs. Women vs. Unknown - Bernama vs. Newspapers vs. Television vs. Online News

Bernama

- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Assumed Male (EC Spokesperson)
- Female Name-Tracked (Ambiga Sreenevasan) (0%)
- Female Other
- Unknown/Other (Public Opinion/Vox Pop General)
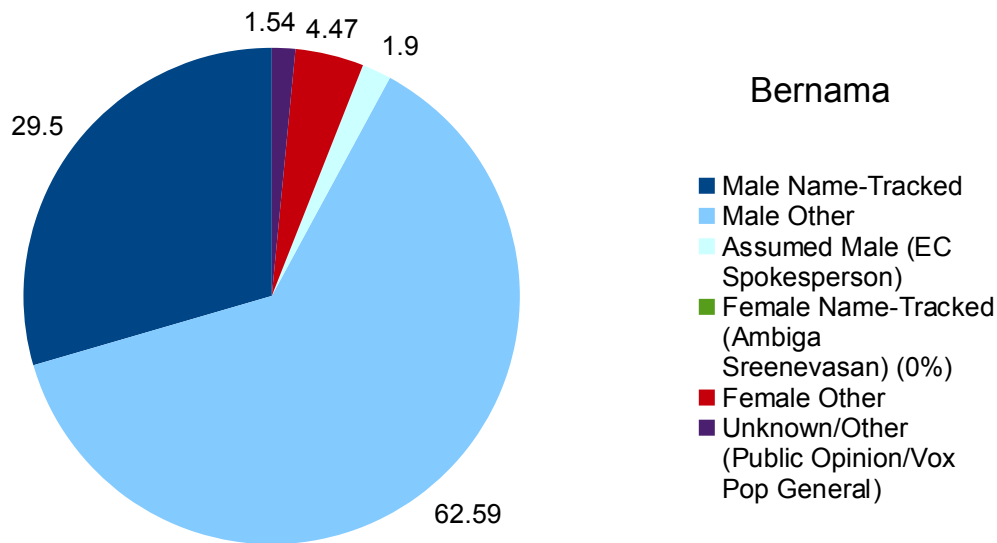
- Refer to Table 7 for figures.

- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute 92.09% of all people used as sources in Bernama (93.99% with EC).

Newspapers

- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Assumed Male (EC Spokesperson)
- Female Name-Tracked (Ambiga Sreenevasan)
- Female Other
- Unknown/Other (Public Opinion/Vox Pop General)

- Refer to Table 8 for figures.

- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute 90.49% of all people used as sources in newspapers (92.12% with EC).

8

Television

Pie chart values: 2.01, 9.58, 0.4, 7.33, 50.8, 29.87

Legend:
- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Assumed Male (EC Spokesperson)
- Female Name-Tracked (Ambiga Sreenevasan)
- Female Other
- Unknown/Other (Public Opinion/Vox Pop General)
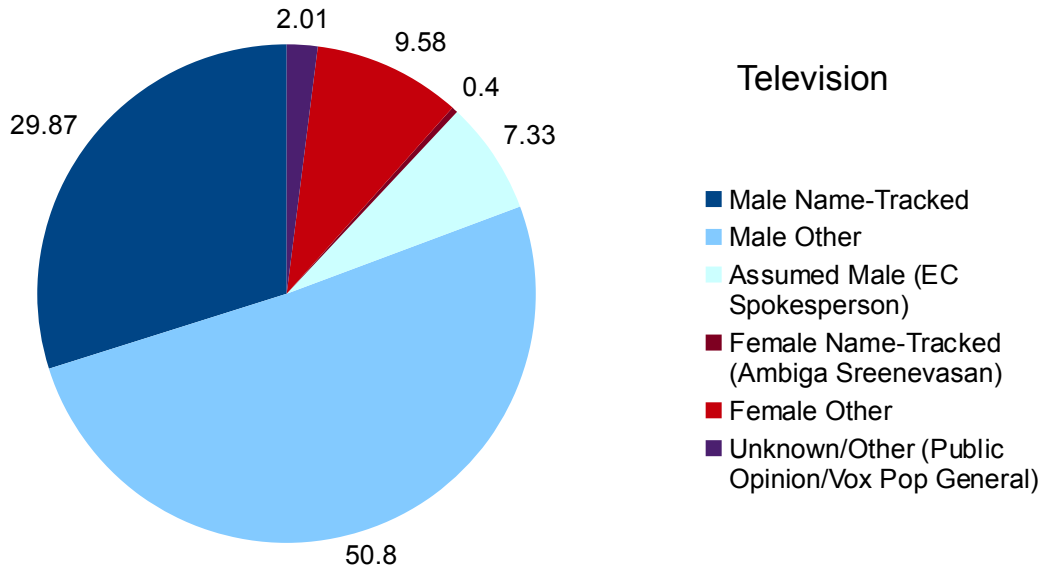
- Refer to Table 9 for figures.

- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute 80.67% of all people used as sources in television news (88% with EC).

Online

Pie chart values: 2.55, 6.98, 1.22, 2.67, 57.71, 28.88

Legend:
- Male Name-Tracked
- Male Other
- Assumed Male (EC Spokesperson)
- Female Name-Tracked (Ambiga Sreenevasan)
- Female Other
- Unknown/Other (Public Opinion/Vox Pop General)
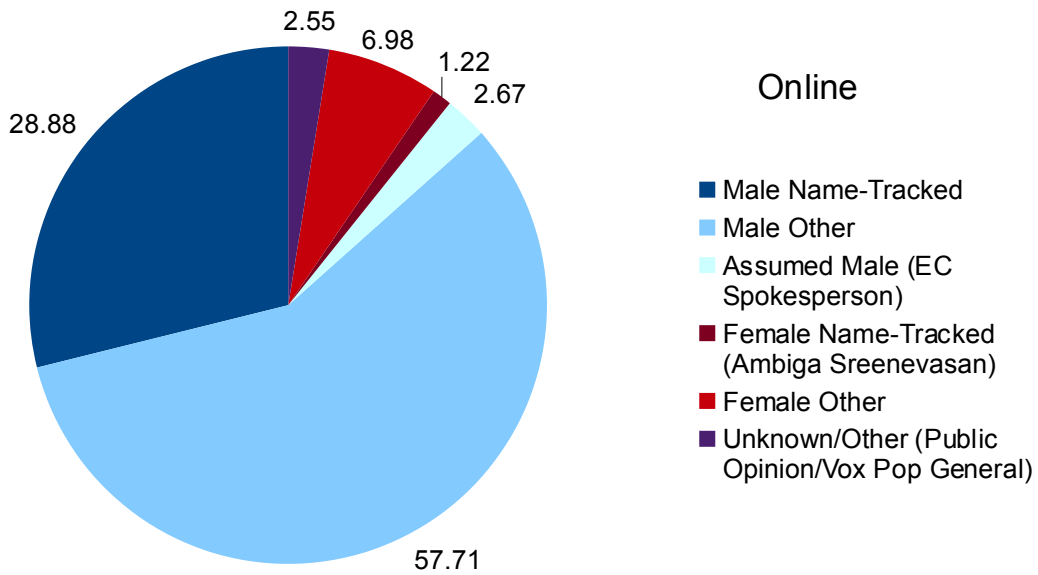
- Refer to Table 10 for figures.

- Males, both 'name-tracked' and 'other', constitute 86.59% of all people used as sources in the online media (89.26% with EC).

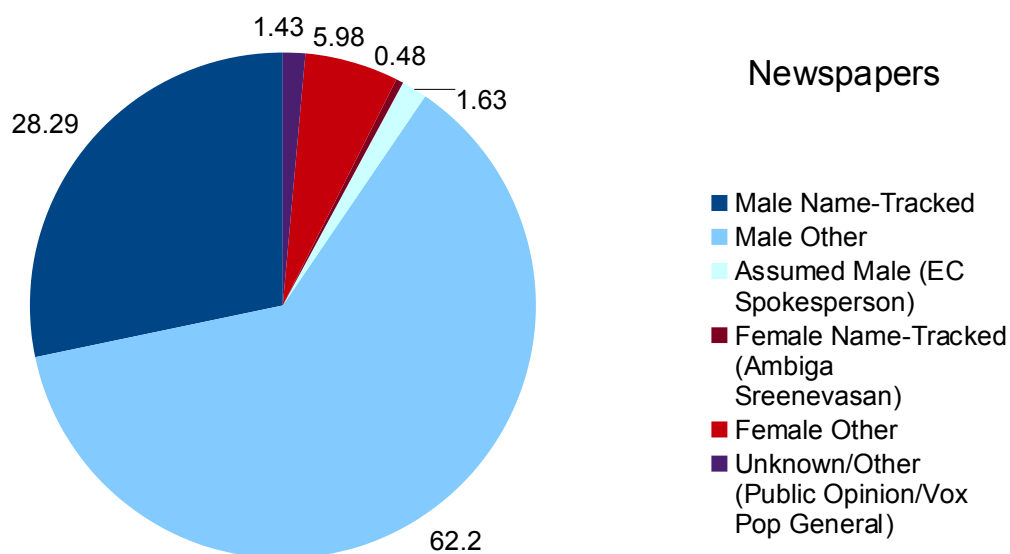# Section 2: Coverage of Organisations and Non-Policy Issues: Gender & Sexuality

2.1 Organisations: Women's Rights

Figure 11: Coverage of Organisations
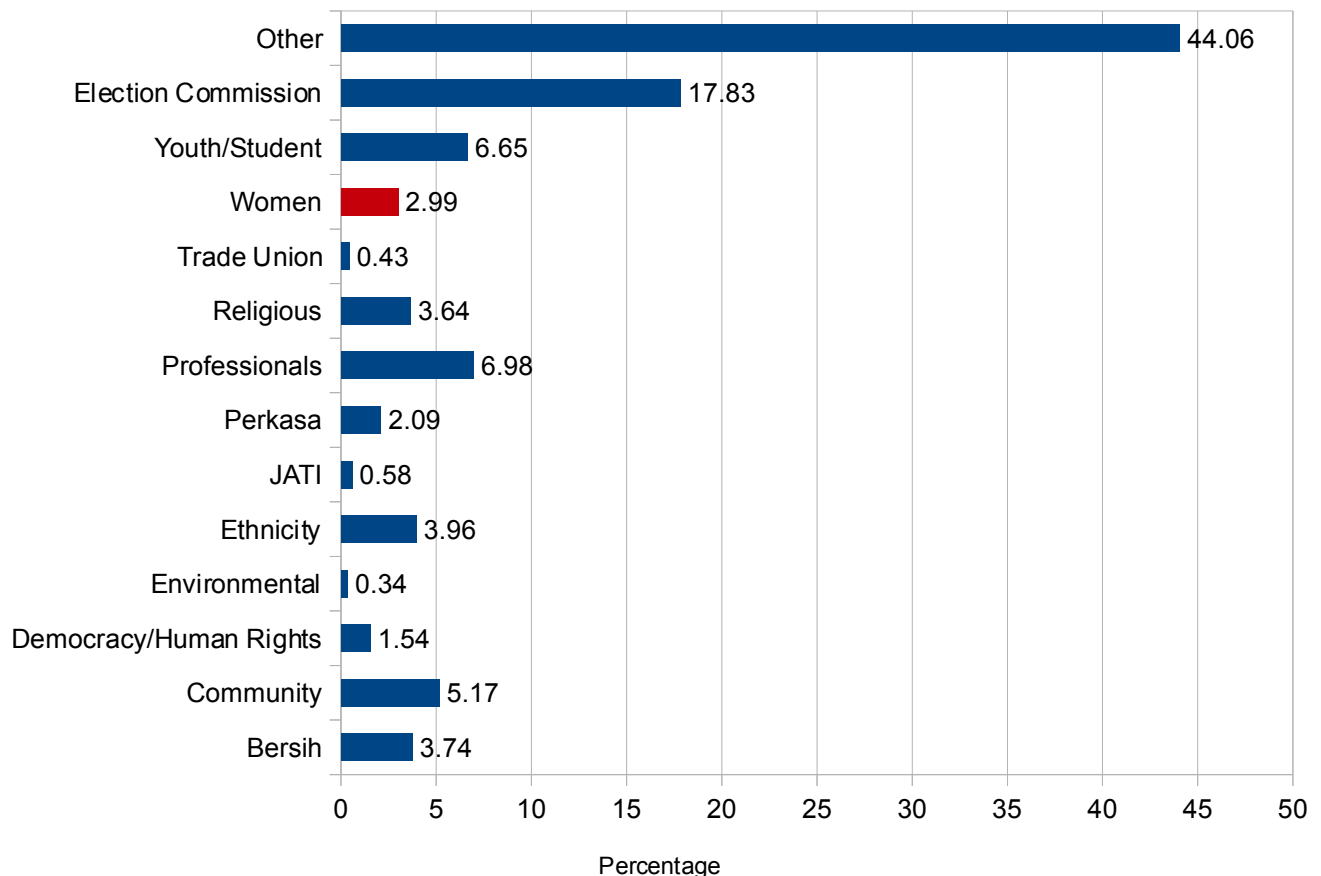
- Refer to Table 11 for figures.
- Of all organisations mentioned or covered in the GE13 coverage, less than 3% (2.99%) of them have been 'women's rights' or 'women's issues' -oriented organisations.
- Given the 9 : 1 / male : female ratio we see in the media coverage of politicians and political figures, and the low number of women candidates fielded by all parties, this reinforces our overall finding that women are being disenfranchised in the media-political process.

2.2 Non-Policy Issues: Gender & Sexuality

Figure 12: Coverage of Non-Policy Issues
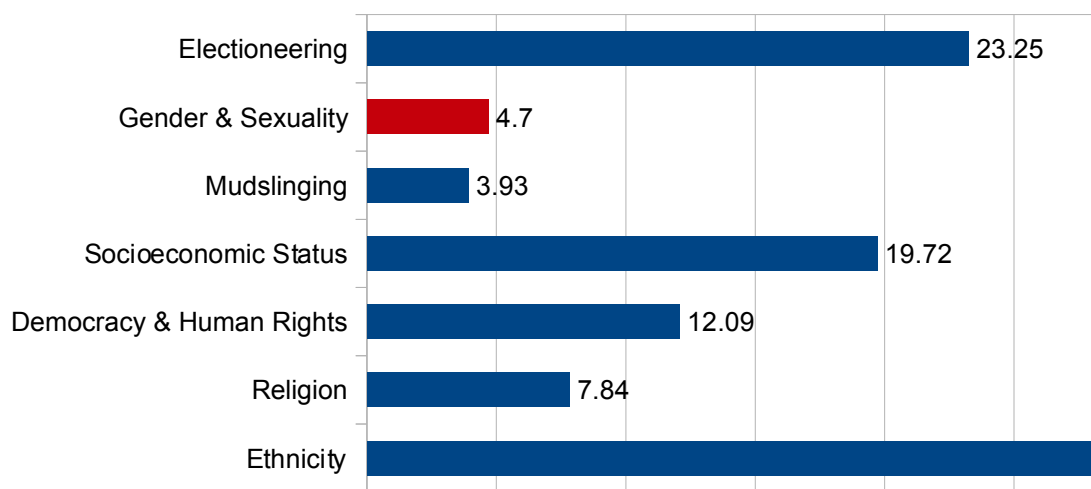
- Refer to Table 12 for figures.

- Of all Non-Policy Issues covered, Gender and Sexuality related issues comprise only 4.7%.

- Again, given the 9 : 1 / male : female ratio we see in the media coverage of politicians and political figures, and the low number of women candidates fielded by all parties, this reinforces our overall finding that women are being disenfranchised in the media-political process.

Figure 13: Coverage of Gender & Sexuality
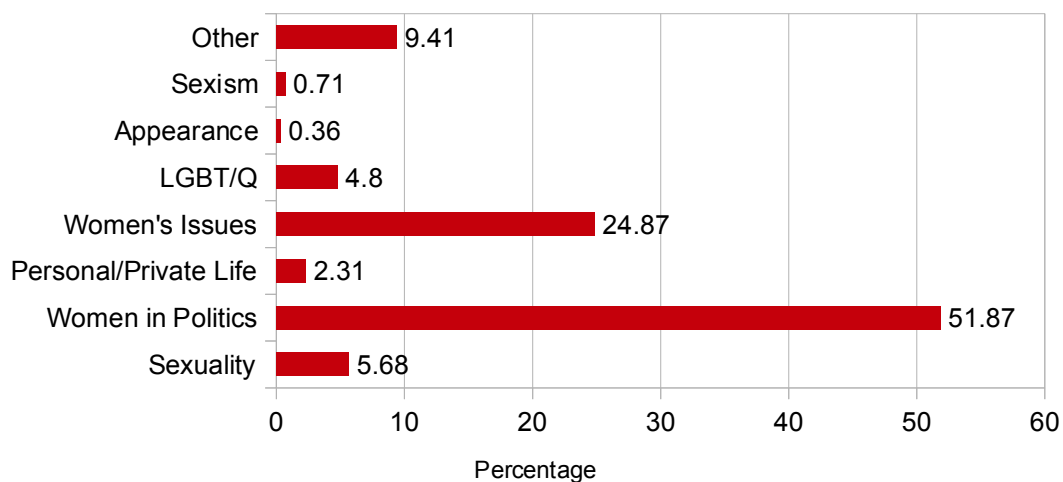
- Refer to Table 13 for figures.

- The breakdown of this 4.7% overall coverage is shown above. As we can see, the bulk of the coverage is given to discussing and focusing on women in politics (i.e. women political candidates), with very little discussion devoted to the underlying structural issues and problems facing women in society generally.

Section 2: A Brief Methodology

Media/Publications Analysed (n = 29 – 3* = 26):

Media Types/ Languages	Newspapers	Television Broadcasts	Online Media	News Wire/Agency
English	New Straits Times	TV2 English News	Malaysiakini English	Bernama English
	The Star (7/4 – 13/4 only)			
	The Sun			
	Daily Express (Sabah)	NTV7 Edition 7	Malaysian Insider English	
	Borneo Post (Sarawak)			
Bahasa Malaysia	Utusan	TV1 Berita Nasional	Malaysiakini Bahasa Malaysia	Bernama Bahasa Malaysia
	Sinar Harian			
	Harian Metro			
	Utusan Borneo (Sabah)	TV3 Buletin Utama	Malaysia Insider Bahasa Malaysia	
	Utusan Borneo (Sarawak)			
Mandarin	Sin Chew Jit Poh	TV2 Berita Mandarin	**Data for these publications is not included within this report due to resourcing issues, but will be included in later iterations.*	
	Oriental Daily (sans 16/04 & 18/04)			
	China Press (sans 19/4)			
	See Hua Daily (Sabah)*	8TV Mandarin News		
	See Hua Daily (Sarawak)*			
Tamil	Makkal Osai			
	Malaysian Nanban*			

Number of data points/references identified and analysed: n = 153035

Number of articles identified and analysed: n = 18821

Data Collection

Our data collection is done by 70 monitors who were trained using the methodology below under the supervision of 8 team leaders. The coders – many of whom are university students – are based in Klang Valley, Penang, Kota Kinabalu, and Kuching. The team leaders are made up of academics, researchers and students.

The data was collected or 'coded' using sentence-level content analysis.

Stories 'coded' were selected according to the following criteria:
- They were within the Malaysian news section/s of the newspapers including the front page, or were the paper's editorial (if they run one).
- They were from pre-defined 'Malaysian News' areas of the news websites monitored, with 'snapshots' taken at 8pm daily.
- They were from within the TV news broadcasts.
- They were more than 1/3 about the election, and were news stories as opposed to columns, opinions pieces, letters, etc (with the exception of the paper's own editorial, if present).

Within each story, category/operator references were identified and coded at the sentence level (from period to period). The 21 categories identified and their sub-categories or 'operators' are outlined in Appendix 2. These 21 categories form the 'unit of analysis' for this study.

Tone (positive, negative, neutral, attacking, or attacked) was determined based on matching each reference to a media frame or frames, supportable via emotive/descriptive/subjective language/vocabulary utilised by the either the news personnel or the source being quoted/paraphrased. As such, tone is not based upon coder opinion but on linguistic data. Coders were instructed to 'code as neutral' whenever there was a lack of linguistic data to support a positive/negative/attacking/attacked frame, or whenever they were unsure/conflicted.

Data Analysis

The data was analysed using the open source software package GNU Octave (a multi-disciplinary mathematical data analysis programme capable of SPSS/NVIVO-level statistical analysis, as well as much higher-level mathematical analysis). Scripts were composed to count occurrences of key data-codes, as specified by the project's finite code-listing set (see Appendix 2), for every row of coded data (i.e. every reference). Where appropriate, code-count occurrences have been normalised to provide the percentage of these key-code occurrences.

Section 3: Appendix 1 – Tables

TABLE 1			
Politician/Political Figure	**Percentage**	**Gender Grouping**	**Percentage**
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0.034287		
Alfred Jabu	0.13143		
Anwar Ibrahim	3.9801		
Azmin Ali	0.40001		
Baru Bian	0.091431		
Bernard Dompok	0.065716		
Chong Chieng Jen	0.18001		
Chua Soi Lek	2.0601		
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0.048573		
G. Palanivel	0.28001		
Hadi Awang	0.81145		
Hassan Ali	0.085717		
Hishamuddin Hussein	0.13429		
Ibrahim Ali	0.55144		
James Masing	0.065716		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.16		
Karpal Singh	0.45716		
Khalid Ibrahim	0.85145		
Khalid Samad	0.22858	**Male Name-Tracked**	33.129428
Lim Guan Eng	1.7629		
Lim Kit Siang	3.6801		
Liow Tiong Lai	0.39715		
Mahathir Mohamad	2.0229		
Maximus Ongkili	0.022858		
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.21715		
Muhyiddin Yassin	1.1972		
Musa Aman	0.27429		
Najib Razak	9.8831		
Nik Aziz	1.2457		
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.10857		
Rafizi Ramli	0.29429		
Taib Mahmud	0.43144		
Tian Chua	0.50001		
Tony Pua	0.08286		
William Mawan	0.10857		
Wong Ho Leng	0.071431		
Wong Soon Koh	0.011429		
Yong Teck Lee	0.20001		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0.3943		
Elizabeth Wong	0.017143		
Ng Yen Yen	0.56002		
Nurul Izzah	0.65716	**Female Name-Tracked**	1.9600574
Rosmah Mansur	0.15429		
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0.0057144		
Teresa Kok	0.17143		
Other male	58.822	**Male Other**	58.822
Other female	6.0887	**Female Other**	6.0887

TABLE 2 – BERNAMA			
Politician/Political Figure	**Percentage**	**Gender Grouping**	**Percentage**
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0.10893		
Alfred Jabu	0.21786		
Anwar Ibrahim	3.5948		
Azmin Ali	1.1983		
Baru Bian	0.10893		
Bernard Dompok	0.21786		
Chong Chieng Jen	0		
Chua Soi Lek	0.10893		
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0.21786		
G. Palanivel	0.3268		
Hadi Awang	0.10893		
Hassan Ali	0		
Hishamuddin Hussein	0		
Ibrahim Ali	0.3268		
James Masing	0.21786		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.43573		
Karpal Singh	0.21786		
Khalid Ibrahim	2.3965		
Khalid Samad	0	**Male Name-Tracked**	32.24402
Lim Guan Eng	0.3268		
Lim Kit Siang	4.6841		
Liow Tiong Lai	0.21786		
Mahathir Mohamad	0.65359		
Maximus Ongkili	0.10893		
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.21786		
Muhyiddin Yassin	1.0893		
Musa Aman	0.76253		
Najib Razak	9.9129		
Nik Aziz	2.3965		
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.21786		
Rafizi Ramli	0.21786		
Taib Mahmud	0.87146		
Tian Chua	0.65359		
Tony Pua	0.10893		
William Mawan	0		
Wong Ho Leng	0		
Wong Soon Koh	0		
Yong Teck Lee	0		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0		
Elizabeth Wong	0		
Ng Yen Yen	0		
Nurul Izzah	0.10893	**Female Name-Tracked**	0.43573
Rosmah Mansur	0.3268		
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0		
Teresa Kok	0		
Other male	61.438	**Male Other**	61.438
Other female	5.8824	**Female Other**	5.8824

TABLE 3 – NEWSPAPERS			
Politician/Political Figure	Percentage	Gender Grouping	Percentage
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0.034643	Male Name-Tracked	32.630246
Alfred Jabu	0.14627		
Anwar Ibrahim	4.2804		
Azmin Ali	0.41957		
Baru Bian	0.11163		
Bernard Dompok	0.076985		
Chong Chieng Jen	0.23865		
Chua Soi Lek	2.0517		
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0.011548		
G. Palanivel	0.31949		
Hadi Awang	0.91997		
Hassan Ali	0.05389		
Hishamuddin Hussein	0.13857		
Ibrahim Ali	0.30794		
James Masing	0.073136		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.18476		
Karpal Singh	0.5466		
Khalid Ibrahim	0.61588		
Khalid Samad	0.10778		
Lim Guan Eng	2.0016		
Lim Kit Siang	3.7569		
Liow Tiong Lai	0.33874		
Mahathir Mohamad	1.813		
Maximus Ongkili	0.015397		
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.21556		
Muhyiddin Yassin	1.0124		
Musa Aman	0.2733		
Najib Razak	9.2305		
Nik Aziz	1.4242		
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.10778		
Rafizi Ramli	0.23481		
Taib Mahmud	0.46961		
Tian Chua	0.53505		
Tony Pua	0.080835		
William Mawan	0.14627		
Wong Ho Leng	0.080835		
Wong Soon Koh	0.015397		
Yong Teck Lee	0.23865		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0.45036	Female Name-Tracked	2.0054653
Elizabeth Wong	0.019246		
Ng Yen Yen	0.56969		
Nurul Izzah	0.63128		
Rosmah Mansur	0.16937		
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0.0038493		
Teresa Kok	0.16167		
Other male	58.928	Male Other	58.928
Other female	6.436	Female Other	6.436

TABLE 4 – TELEVISION			
Politician/Political Figure	Percentage	Gender Grouping	Percentage
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0.04223		
Alfred Jabu	0		
Anwar Ibrahim	1.9848		
Azmin Ali	0.16892		
Baru Bian	0		
Bernard Dompok	0		
Chong Chieng Jen	0.04223		
Chua Soi Lek	3.5051		
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0		
G. Palanivel	0.12669		
Hadi Awang	0.4223		
Hassan Ali	0.38007		
Hishamuddin Hussein	0.21115		
Ibrahim Ali	0.084459		
James Masing	0		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0		
Karpal Singh	0.4223		
Khalid Ibrahim	1.0557		
Khalid Samad	0.12669		
Lim Guan Eng	1.5625	Male Name-Tracked	38.006997
Lim Kit Siang	1.7736		
Liow Tiong Lai	1.6047		
Mahathir Mohamad	1.5203		
Maximus Ongkili	0		
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.16892		
Muhyiddin Yassin	3.9696		
Musa Aman	0.084459		
Najib Razak	17.23		
Nik Aziz	0.63345		
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.04223		
Rafizi Ramli	0.04223		
Taib Mahmud	0.084459		
Tian Chua	0.63345		
Tony Pua	0.04223		
William Mawan	0		
Wong Ho Leng	0		
Wong Soon Koh	0		
Yong Teck Lee	0.04223		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0.21115		
Elizabeth Wong	0.04223		
Ng Yen Yen	1.2247		
Nurul Izzah	0.4223	Female Name-Tracked	2.36491
Rosmah Mansur	0.21115		
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0		
Teresa Kok	0.25338		
Other male	54.941	Male Other	54.941
Other female	4.6875	Female Other	4.6875

TABLE 5 – ONLINE			
Politician/Political Figure	**Percentage**	**Gender Grouping**	**Percentage**
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0.01744		
Alfred Jabu	0.10464		
Anwar Ibrahim	3.5054		
Azmin Ali	0.27904		
Baru Bian	0.03488		
Bernard Dompok	0.01744		
Chong Chieng Jen	0		
Chua Soi Lek	1.8137		
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0.20928		
G. Palanivel	0.15696		
Hadi Awang	0.59295		
Hassan Ali	0.12208		
Hishamuddin Hussein	0.10464		
Ibrahim Ali	1.8835		
James Masing	0.03488		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.069759		
Karpal Singh	0.10464		
Khalid Ibrahim	1.587		
Khalid Samad	0.85455		
Lim Guan Eng	0.99407	**Male Name-Tracked**	33.519307
Lim Kit Siang	3.9588		
Liow Tiong Lai	0.19184		
Mahathir Mohamad	3.4008		
Maximus Ongkili	0.052319		
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.24416		
Muhyiddin Yassin	0.90687		
Musa Aman	0.27904		
Najib Razak	9.8012		
Nik Aziz	0.50576		
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.12208		
Rafizi Ramli	0.68015		
Taib Mahmud	0.33136		
Tian Chua	0.2616		
Tony Pua	0.10464		
William Mawan	0		
Wong Ho Leng	0.069759		
Wong Soon Koh	0		
Yong Teck Lee	0.12208		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0.27904		
Elizabeth Wong	0		
Ng Yen Yen	0.33136		
Nurul Izzah	0.95919	**Female Name-Tracked**	1.83119
Rosmah Mansur	0.03488		
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0.01744		
Teresa Kok	0.20928		
Other male	59.522	**Male Other**	59.522
Other female	5.1273	**Female Other**	5.1273

TABLE 6			
Source	Percentage	Gender Grouping	Percentage
Anwar Ibrahim	1.8452	Male Name-Tracked	28.48593
Baru Bian	0.18422		
Chua Soi Lek	2.0383		
Hadi Awang	0.86466		
Hassan Ali	0.15154		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.10697		
Khalid Ibrahim	0.62101		
Lim Guan Eng	1.5183		
Lim Kit Siang	2.3592		
Mahathir Mohamad	3.8716		
Muhyiddin Yassin	4.5045		
Musa Aman	0.39816		
Najib Razak	8.7862		
Nazri Aziz	0.19314		
Nik Aziz	0.52295		
Taib Mahmud	0.51998		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0.56752	Female Name-Tracked	0.56752
Vox Pop Male	2.9238	Other male	61.1058
Other male	58.182		
Vox Pop Female	1.0073	Other female	6.2012
Other female	5.1939		
Election Commission Spokesperson	2.0116	Assumed Male	2.0116
Public Opinion/Vox Pop General	1.6283	Unknown/Other	1.6283

TABLE 7 – Bernama			
Source	Percentage	Gender Grouping	Percentage
Anwar Ibrahim	0.21962	Male Name-Tracked	29.502352
Baru Bian	0.073206		
Chua Soi Lek	2.4158		
Hadi Awang	0.51245		
Hassan Ali	0		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.14641		
Khalid Ibrahim	0.29283		
Lim Guan Eng	0		
Lim Kit Siang	1.0249		
Mahathir Mohamad	0.87848		
Muhyiddin Yassin	11.054		
Musa Aman	0.29283		
Najib Razak	12.299		
Nazri Aziz	0.073206		
Nik Aziz	0		
Taib Mahmud	0.21962		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0	Female Name-Tracked	0
Vox Pop Male	10.176	Other male	62.592
Other male	52.416		
Vox Pop Female	0.73206	Other female	4.46556
Other female	3.7335		
Election Commission Spokesperson	1.9034	Assumed Male	1.9034
Public Opinion/Vox Pop General	1.5373	Unknown/Other	1.5373

TABLE 8 – Newspapers			
Source	Percentage	Gender Grouping	Percentage
Anwar Ibrahim	1.9248	**Male Name-Tracked**	28.28824
Baru Bian	0.20098		
Chua Soi Lek	1.9209		
Hadi Awang	0.8619		
Hassan Ali	0.17393		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.10822		
Khalid Ibrahim	0.49859		
Lim Guan Eng	1.376		
Lim Kit Siang	2.1258		
Mahathir Mohamad	4.5298		
Muhyiddin Yassin	4.4332		
Musa Aman	0.45994		
Najib Razak	8.5224		
Nazri Aziz	0.14301		
Nik Aziz	0.44061		
Taib Mahmud	0.56816		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0.4754	**Female Name-Tracked**	0.4754
Vox Pop Male	2.2185	**Other male**	62.1995
Other male	59.981		
Vox Pop Female	0.73049	**Other female**	5.97529
Other female	5.2448		
Election Commission Spokesperson	1.631	**Assumed Male**	1.631
Public Opinion/Vox Pop General	1.4301	**Unknown/Other**	1.4301

TABLE 9 – Television			
Source	Percentage	Gender Grouping	Percentage
Anwar Ibrahim	0.64412	**Male Name-Tracked**	29.87086
Baru Bian	0		
Chua Soi Lek	1.6103		
Hadi Awang	0.56361		
Hassan Ali	0.40258		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.080515		
Khalid Ibrahim	0.16103		
Lim Guan Eng	1.8519		
Lim Kit Siang	0.24155		
Mahathir Mohamad	1.0467		
Muhyiddin Yassin	4.5894		
Musa Aman	0.080515		
Najib Razak	17.874		
Nazri Aziz	0.16103		
Nik Aziz	0.24155		
Taib Mahmud	0.32206		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	0.40258	**Female Name-Tracked**	0.40258
Vox Pop Male	9.0177	**Other male**	50.8047
Other male	41.787		
Vox Pop Female	6.2802	**Other female**	9.5813
Other female	3.3011		
Election Commission Spokesperson	7.3269	**Assumed Male**	7.3269
Public Opinion/Vox Pop General	2.0129	**Unknown/Other**	2.0129

TABLE 10 – Online			
Source	**Percentage**	**Gender Grouping**	**Percentage**
Anwar Ibrahim	2.1647	**Male Name-Tracked**	28.875054
Baru Bian	0.17395		
Chua Soi Lek	2.6285		
Hadi Awang	1.0437		
Hassan Ali	0.019327		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.096637		
Khalid Ibrahim	1.4302		
Lim Guan Eng	2.5512		
Lim Kit Siang	4.3873		
Mahathir Mohamad	2.0487		
Muhyiddin Yassin	3.1117		
Musa Aman	0.19327		
Najib Razak	6.9965		
Nazri Aziz	0.48319		
Nik Aziz	1.1403		
Taib Mahmud	0.40588		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.2176	**Female Name-Tracked**	1.2176
Vox Pop Male	3.0731	**Other male**	57.7121
Other male	54.639		
Vox Pop Female	1.1983	**Other female**	6.9772
Other female	5.7789		
Election Commission Spokesperson	2.6672	**Assumed Male**	2.6672
Public Opinion/Vox Pop General	2.5512	**Unknown/Other**	2.5512

TABLE 11	
Organisation Type	**Percentage**
Bersih	3.7443
Community	5.168
Democracy/Human Rights	1.5376
Environmental	0.34169
Ethnicity	3.9579
JATI	0.58371
Perkasa	2.0928
Professionals	6.9761
Religious	3.6446
Trade Union	0.42711
Women	2.9897
Youth/Student	6.6486
Election Commission	17.825
Other	44.063

TABLE 12	
Non-Policy Issues	**Percentage**
Ethnicity	28.48
Religion	7.84
Democracy & Human Rights	12.1
Socioeconomic Status	19.72
Mudslinging	3.93
Gender	4.7
Electioneering	23.24

TABLE 13	
Gender & Sexuality	**Percentage**
Sexuality	5.6838
Women in Politics	51.865
Personal/Private Life	2.3091
Women's Issues	24.867
LGBT/Q	4.7957
Appearance	0.35524
Sexism	0.71048
Other	9.4139

Section 4: Appendix 2 – Coding Scheme

1. Politician or Political Figure (Mentioned)

   1. Abdul Rahman Dalan
   2. Alfred Jabu
   3. Ambiga Sreenevasan
   4. Anwar Ibrahim
   5. Azmin Ali
   6. Baru Bian
   7. Bernard Dompok
   8. Chong Chieng Jen
   9. Chua Soi Lek
   10. Dzulkefly Ahmad
   11. Elizabeth Wong
   12. G. Palanivel
   13. Hadi Awang
   14. Hassan Ali
   15. Hishamuddin Hussein
   16. James Masing
   17. Jeffrey Kitingan
   18. Karpal Singh
   19. Khalid Ibrahim
   20. Khalid Samad
   21. Lim Guan Eng
   22. Lim Kit Siang
   23. Liow Tiong Lai
   24. Mahathir Mohamad
   25. Maximus Ongkili
   26. Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu
   27. Muhyiddin Yassin
   28. Musa Aman
   29. Najib Razak
   30. Ng Yen Yen
   31. Nik Aziz
   32. Nizar Jamaluddin
   33. Nurul Izzah
   34. Rafizi Ramli
   35. Rosmah Mansur
   36. Siti Mariah Mahmud
   37. Taib Mahmud
   38. Teresa Kok
   39. Tian Chua
   40. Tony Pua
   41. William Mawan
   42. Wong Ho Leng
   43. Wong Soon Koh
   44. Yong Teck Lee
   45. Other

2. Politicians or Political Figure (Used as a Source)

   1. Ambiga Sreenevasan (Bersih)
   2. Anwar Ibrahim (PKR)
   3. Baru Bian
   4. Chua Soi Lek
   5. Hadi Awang
   6. Hassan Ali
   7. Jeffrey Kitingan
   8. Khalid Ibrahim
   9. Lim Guan Eng
   10. Lim Kit Siang
   11. Mahathir Mohamad
   12. Muhyiddin Yassin
   13. Musa Aman
   14. Najib Razak
   15. Nazri Aziz
   16. Nik Aziz
   17. Taib Mahmud
   18. Vox Pop Male
   19. Vox Pop Female
   20. Public Opinion/Vox Pop General
   21. Election Commission Spokesperson
   22. Other

3. Party or Coalition

   1. BN (Barisan Nasional)
   2. DAP (Democratic Action Party)
   3. Gerakan (Malaysian People's Movement Party)
   4. MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association)
   5. MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress)
   6. PAS (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party)
   7. PBB (Parti Besaka Bumputera Bersatu)
   8. PBS (Parti Bersatu Sabah)
   9. PKR (People's Justice Party)
   10. PR (Pakatan Rakyat)
   11. PRS (Sarawak People's Party)
   12. PRM (Parti Rakyat Malaysia)
   13. PSM (Parti Sosialis Malaysia)
   14. SAPP (Sabah Progressive Party)
   15. SPDP (Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party)
   16. SUPP (Sarawak United People's Party)
   17. UMNO (United Malays National Organisation)
   18. UPKO (United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Organisation)
   19. Other

4. Organisations

   1. Bersih
   2. Community-based organisations.
   3. Democracy- or human rights-oriented organisations (excluding Bersih)
   4. Environmentally-oriented organisations
   5. Ethnicity-oriented organisations
   6. JATI
   7. Perkasa
   8. Professionals organisations
   9. Religious organisations.
   10. Trade Unions
   11. Womens' rights or issues focused organisations.
   12. Youth or student focused organisations
   13. Election Commission
   14. Other

5. Policy Issues

   1. Vision Policies or Programmes
      1. 1Malaysia
      2. GTP (Government Transformation Programme)
      3. ETP (Economic Transformation Programme)
      4. NKRA (National Key Results Areas)
      5. NEP/'Bumiputeraism'
      6. PAS's Welfare State
      7. PKR's Buku Jingga
      8. NEM (New Economic Model)
      9. 'Transformasi'
      10. BN Manifesto
      11. PR Manifesto
      12. Other

   2. Environment
      1. Deforestation/Land Rights
      2. Recycling
      3. Lynas
      4. Polluting Industries (non-Lynas)
      5. Damming Projects
      6. Other

   3. Economy/Development
      1. Recession
      2. Welfare
      3. Unemployment
      4. Poverty
      5. Privatisation
      6. Growth/FDI
      7. FTA/Globalisation
      8. Inflation/Price Rises
      9. Infrastructure
      10. Housing
      11. Other

   4. Education
      1. Vernacular Schools
      2. Access
      3. PPSMI
      4. Academic Freedom
      5. System
      6. PTPTN
      7. Other

   5. Foreign Policy
      1. Western World
      2. Singapore (Mentions of)
      3. Singapore (Comparison with)
      4. China
      5. India
      6. Islamic World
      7. Israel/Palestine
      8. Indonesia
      9. Other

   6. Domestic Policy, Crime, & National Security
      1. Immigration
      2. Illegals/Refugees
      3. Terrorism (not Lahad Datu)
      4. Crime
      5. Lahad Datu Incident

   6. Other

   7. Oppressive Legislation
      1. ISA (Internal Security Act)
      2. AUKU/UUCA (Universities and University Colleges Act 1971)
      3. Sedition Act
      4. PPPA (Printing Presses and Publication Act)
      5. PAA (Peaceful Assembly Act 2012)
      6. SOSMA (Security Offences (Special Measures) Act 2012)
      7. Other

   8. Health
      1. 1Care
      2. Other

   9. Religion
      1. Apostasy
      2. Islamic State
      3. Hudud
      4. Conversion (into Islam)
      5. 'Allah' issue
      6. Other

6. Non-Policy Issues

   1. Ethnicity
      1. Malaysia
      2. Chinese
      3. Indian/South Asian
      4. Orang Asli
      5. Orang Asal, Sabah & Sarawak
      6. Thai
      7. Portuguese/Eurasian
      8. Malay Rights
      9. Other

   2. Religion
      1. Islam
      2. Buddhism/Taoism
      3. Hinduism
      4. Christianity
      5. Sikhism
      6. Religious Freedom (non-apostasy related)
      7. Interfaith Dialogue/Unity
      8. Interfaith Friction
      9. Other

   3. Democracy & Human Rights
      1. General Corruption
      2. Electoral Corruption
      3. Media Freedom
      4. Electoral Reform
      5. Electoral Legislation
      6. 2-Party System
      7. Protest/Rallies
      8. Other

   4. Socioeconomic Sectors
      1. Middle Class/Professionals
      2. Working Class
      3. Aristocracy/Monarchy
      4. Civil Service

5. Military and Police
6. FELDA
7. Plantation/Estate Workers
8. Chine New Villagers
9. Senior Citizens/Retirees
10. RELA/Wataniah
11. Urban
12. Rural
13. Cost of Living
14. Other

5. Territory
    1. Kuala Lumpur
    2. Labuan
    3. Putrajaya
    4. Johor
    5. Kedah
    6. Kelantan
    7. Malacca
    8. Negeri Sembilan
    9. Pahang
    10. Perak
    11. Perlis
    12. Penang
    13. Sabah
    14. Sarawak
    15. Selangor
    16. Terengganu
    17. Sarawak Independence
    18. Sabah Independence

6. Mudslinging
    1. Anwar/Sodomy
    2. Altantuya
    3. Rosmah
    4. Penang CM
    5. Selangor CM
    6. NFC

7. Arms Deals
8. Psy/CNY Concert
9. Project IC
10. Taib Mahmud and Logging Expose
11. Other

7. Gender
    1. Sexuality
    2. Women in politics
    3. Personal/Private life
    4. Womens' Issues
    5. LGBT/Q
    6. Appearance
    7. Sexism
    8. Other

8. Electioneering
    1. Event-specific Gifts
    2. Handouts
    3. Timely Developments
    4. Election Promises
    5. Baby-kissing
    6. Cybertroopers/Social Media War
    7. Other