'Watching the Watchdog'
Malaysian Media Coverage of GE13

Preliminary Results – Release 4: Race & Religion

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Watching the Watchdog Release 4[1]: Different 'Language Media' provide differential information about GE13

In scrutinising the GE13 coverage provided by the most popular and influential Malaysian media, the Watching the Watchdog media monitoring project[2] found that different 'Language Media' (i.e. the media produced in different languages – English, Bahasa Malaysia, and Mandarin[3]) provide differential information about GE13 participants, although in all cases, they reproduce the pro-BN bias found by the Watching the Watchdog project overall. Our key findings are as follows:

Party and Coalition-Level Coverage

Volume of Coverage

- BN is given the greatest volume of all coverage across all three language media.

- The Bahasa Malaysia language media give greater volumes of coverage to BN and PAS cf. the English and Mandarin language media.

- The Mandarin language media give greater volumes of coverage to DAP and MCA cf. the English and Bahasa Malaysia language media.

Tone of Coverage

- BN receive the greatest volume of all positive media coverage across all three language media by a very significant margin.

- BN receive the greatest volume of neutral coverage across all three language media by a significant margin.

- PR receive the greatest volume of attacks across all three language media by a significant margin.

- BN receives the greatest proportion of negative coverage overall in the English and Mandarin media, but PR receives the most in the Bahasa Malaysia media, with PKR, DAP, and PAS all receiving more negative coverage than BN.

Politician and Political Figure-Level Coverage

Volume of Coverage

- Najib Razak receives the greatest volume of coverage across all three language media.

- Anwar Ibrahim and lim Kit Siang receive the second and third most coverage respectively in both the English and Bahasa Malaysia language media, but Lim Kit Siang followed by Chua Soi Lek receive the second and third most in the Mandarin language media.

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1 Release 4 is based on data collected over fourteen days (7/4/13 – 20/04/13) 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.
3 Tamil was not addressed in this preliminary analysis due to there being only one Tamil newspaper's data currently available.

- PR politicians are *talked about* more in Bahasa Malaysia media than in English and Mandarin media (see next section on tone for an explanation of this finding).

Tone of Coverage

- The English language media coverage of politicians is equally pro-BN and anti-PR:
  - PR politicians are negatively mentioned or attacked roughly 1.4x more often then BN politicians.
  - BN politicians receive roughly 1.5x more positive mentions than PR politicians.

- The Bahasa Malaysia media coverage of politicians is somewhat pro-BN and very strongly anti-PR (which contextualises the finding that they speak about PR politicians more than the other language media).
  - PR politicians receive roughly 4.3x more attacks than BN politicians.
  - PR politicians receive roughly 5.6x more negative mentions than BN politicians.
  - BN politicians receive roughly 1.2x more positive mentions than PR politicians.

- The Mandarin coverage of politicians has BN receiving the most of all categories of toned mentions (neutral, positive, negative, and attacked), which likely corresponds with the higher volume of coverage given to BN politicians in the Mandarin media overall, and likely also corresponds to the high interest in MCA compared to other language media.
  - It also indicates than the neutral category is the most often used category, meaning that the Mandarin media are more even-handed in their coverage overall than the English or Bahasa Malaysia media.

Section 1: Media Coverage of Parties & Coalitions

1.1 Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions

Figure 1: Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: English Media

Party/Coalition	Coverage Volume (%)
PRM	0.02
PRS	0.53
PBB	0.54
UPKO	0.58
PBS	0.62
SPDP	0.66
SUPP	0.89
SAPP	1.08
PSM	1.3
MIC	1.32
Gerakan	1.39
MCA	4.89
Other	5.89
UMNO	6.31
PAS	8.08
PR	10.01
PKR	11.33
DAP	11.69
BN	32.87

Coverage Volume (%)
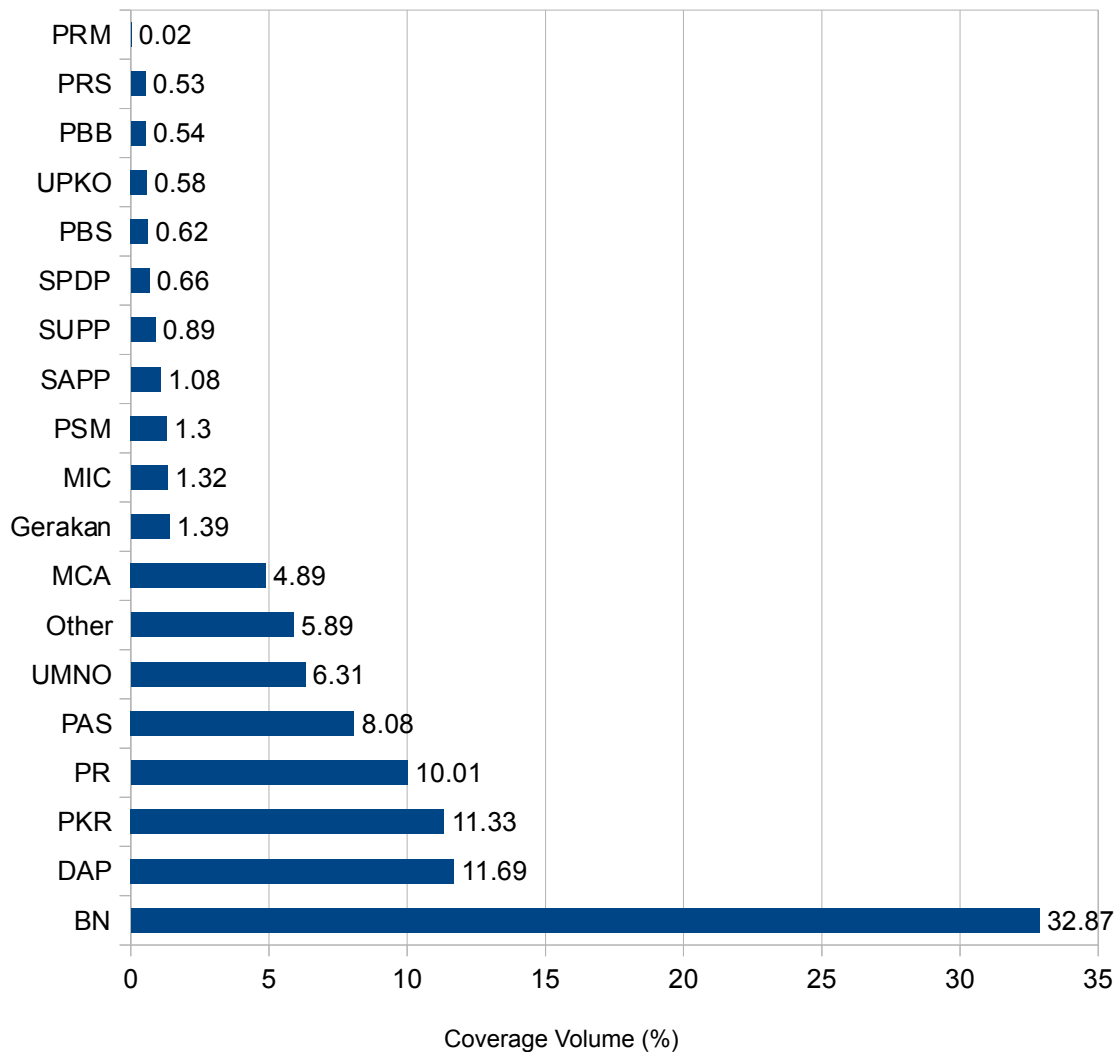
- The English media give the most party/coalition-level coverage to BN (32.87%) by a significant margin, with BN being given almost a third of all party/coalition-level coverage.

- DAP, PKR and PR come in 2nd – 4th places, followed by PAS in 5th place.

- NB: English language media statistics will be used as a 'baseline' for comparison with Bahasa Malaysia and Mandarin media, as English is less tied to any one ethnicity/religion. It should however, be noted that this is a relative baseline, and used purely to enable comparisons to be drawn overall.

- Refer to Table 1 for figures.

Figure 2: Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: Bahasa Malaysia Media

Coverage Volume (%)

Party	Value
PRM	0.05
PRS	0.23
SAPP	0.3
UPKO	0.37
SPDP	0.39
PBB	0.5
PBS	0.54
Gerakan	0.63
SUPP	0.81
MIC	0.97
PSM	1.04
MCA	2.82
Other	4.1
UMNO	7.05
DAP	10.1
PKR	10.54
PR	10.95
PAS	11.9
BN	36.69
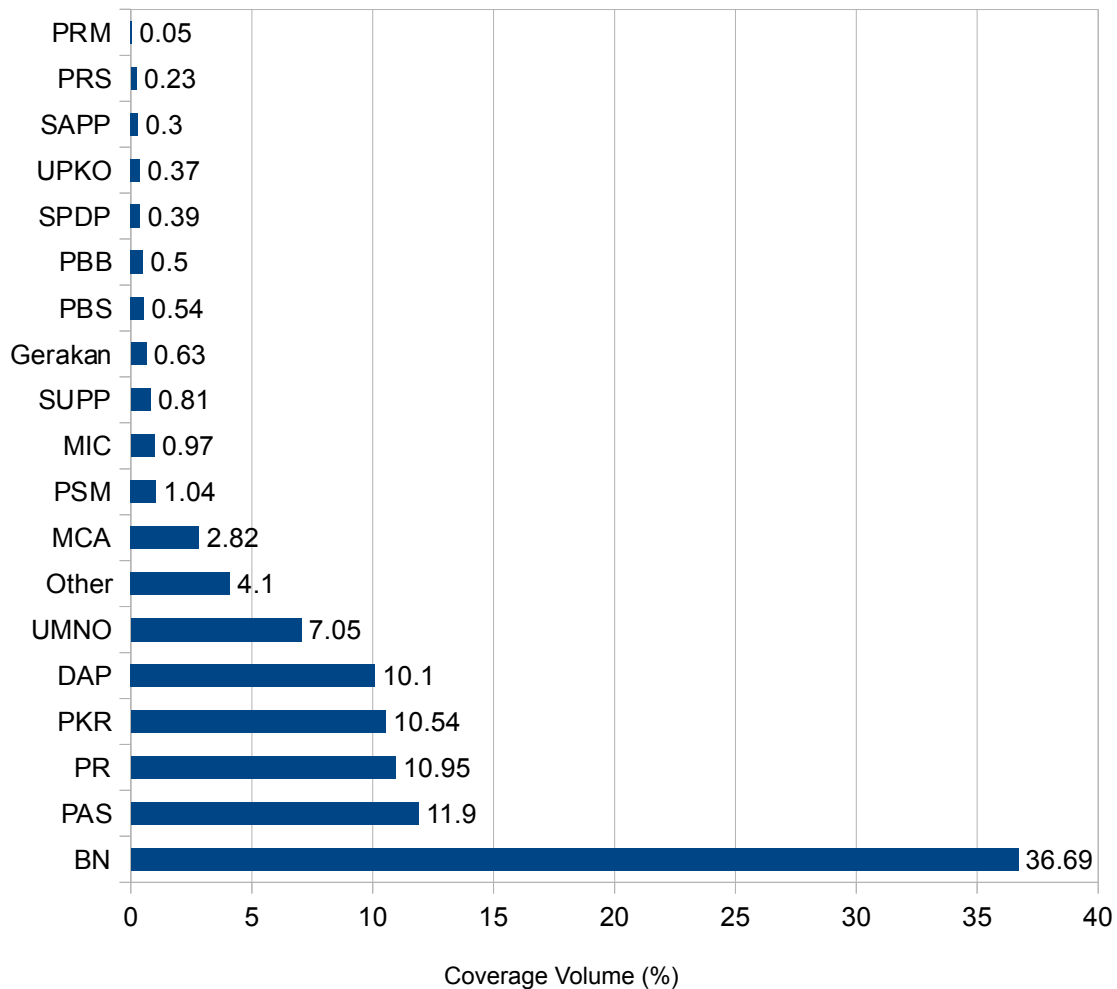
- The Bahasa Malaysia media also give the most party/coalition-level coverage to BN (36.69%) by a significant margin, with BN being given over a third of all party/coalition-level coverage.

- PAS, PR, PKR then DAP come in 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th respectively.

- It is worth noting the increased coverage of of BN and of PAS (presumably as an Islamic/predominantly Malay party) in this language medium, relative to English language (36.69% + 11.9% cf. 32.87% + 8.08%).

- DAP, however, are given less coverage overall than in the English language media (10.1% cf. 11.69%), as is MCA (2.82% cf. 4.89%).

- Refer to Table 2 for figures.

Figure 3: Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: Mandarin Media

Horizontal bar chart — Coverage Volume (%):

Party/Coalition	Coverage Volume (%)
PRM	0.01
PRS	0.01
SPDP	0.04
PBB	0.12
UPKO	0.14
PBS	0.24
SAPP	0.38
SUPP	0.39
PSM	0.81
MIC	2
Other	2.83
Gerakan	4.16
PAS	5.74
UMNO	6.56
PKR	7.44
PR	11.78
MCA	15.28
DAP	15.84
BN	26.21
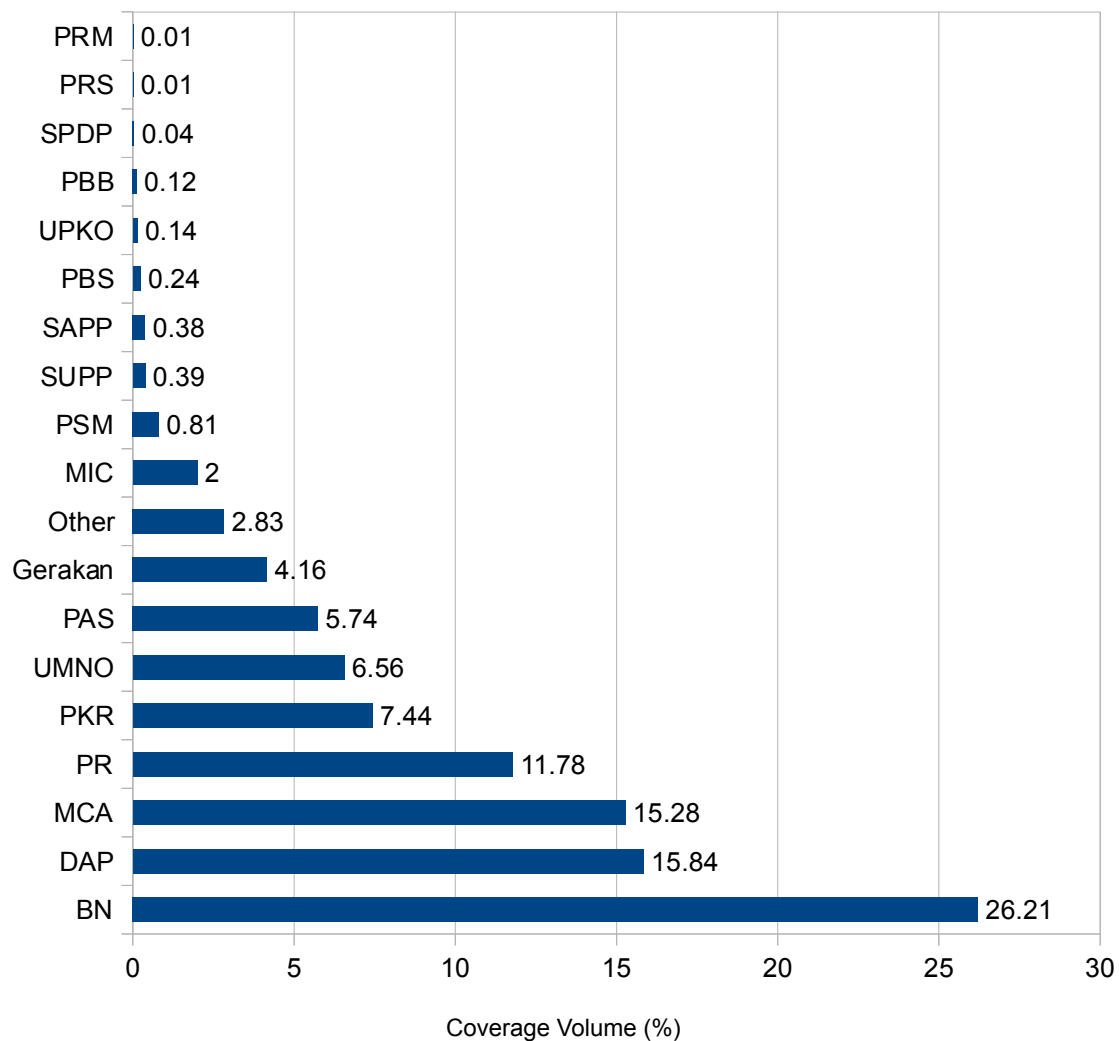
- The Mandarin media also give the most party/coalition-level coverage to BN (26.21%) by a significant margin, but by a lesser margin cf. the English and Bahasa Malaysia language mediums.

- Correspondingly, DAP and MCA (coming in 2nd and 3rd overall respectively) are given over 15% each, followed by PR at almost 12%.

- Overall, the Mandarin language media:
  - Cover the 'top' parties and coalitions more somewhat equitably in terms of the *volume* devoted to them (see following sections for *tone* of coverage);
  - Show a marked interest in MCA compared to both the English and Bahasa language mediums (15.25% cf. 4.89% cf. 2.82%)
  - Show a marked interest in DAP compared with the Bahasa Malaysia language mediums (15.84% cf. 10.1%).
  - Show a marked disinterest in PAS and PKR relative to both English and Bahasa Malaysia language mediums (5.75% + 7.44% cf. 8.08% + 11.33% cf. 11.9% + 10.54%).

- Refer to Table 3 for figures.

1.2 Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions (BN vs. PR vs Independent)

Figure 4: Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: English Media
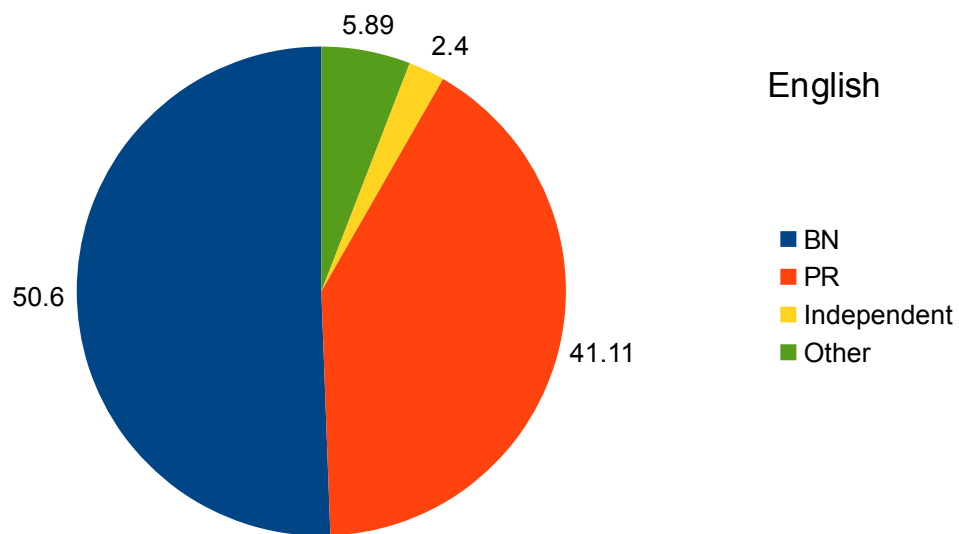
- Refer to Table 4 for figures.

Figure 5: Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: Bahasa Malaysia Media
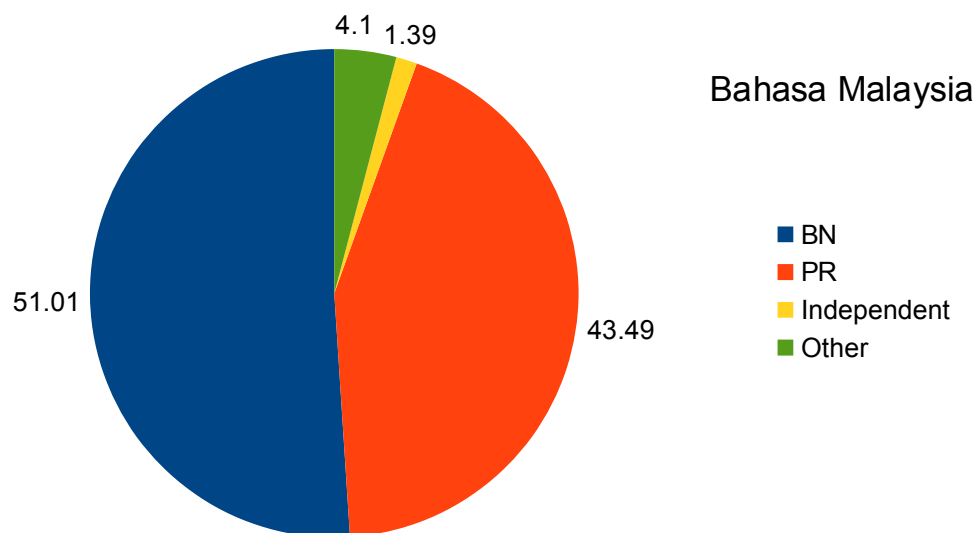
- The overall coverage volume given to each coalition by the English language and Bahasa Malaysia language media is very similar.
- Refer to Table 5 for figures.

Figure 6: Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: Mandarin Media
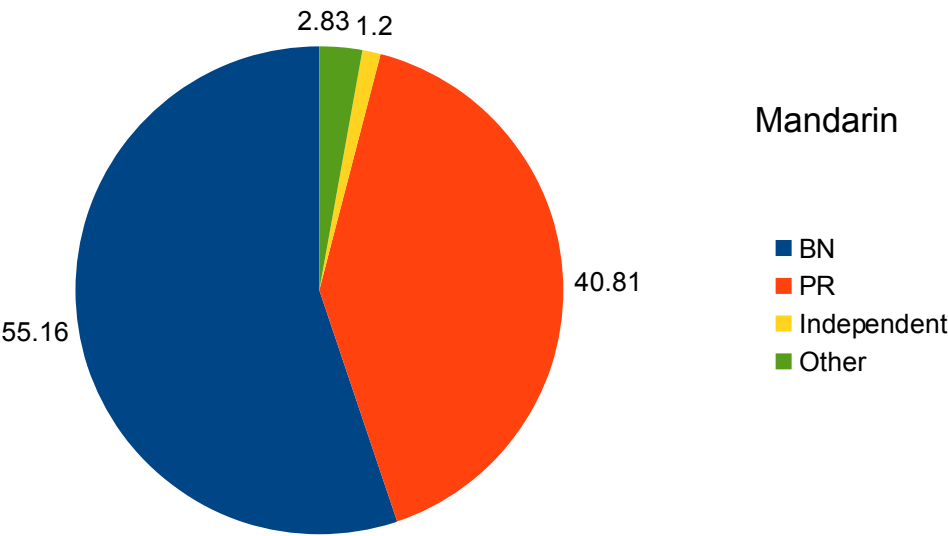
- The overall coverage volume given to each coalition by the Mandarin media is somewhat different from that given by the English/Bahasa Malaysia language media, in that a higher proportion of coverage is given to BN, with the shares for PR, Independents and Others decreasing proportionally.

- Refer to Table 6 for figures.

1.3 Tone of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions

Figures 7a & 7b: Tone of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: English Media

Coverage Volume (% of Toned)
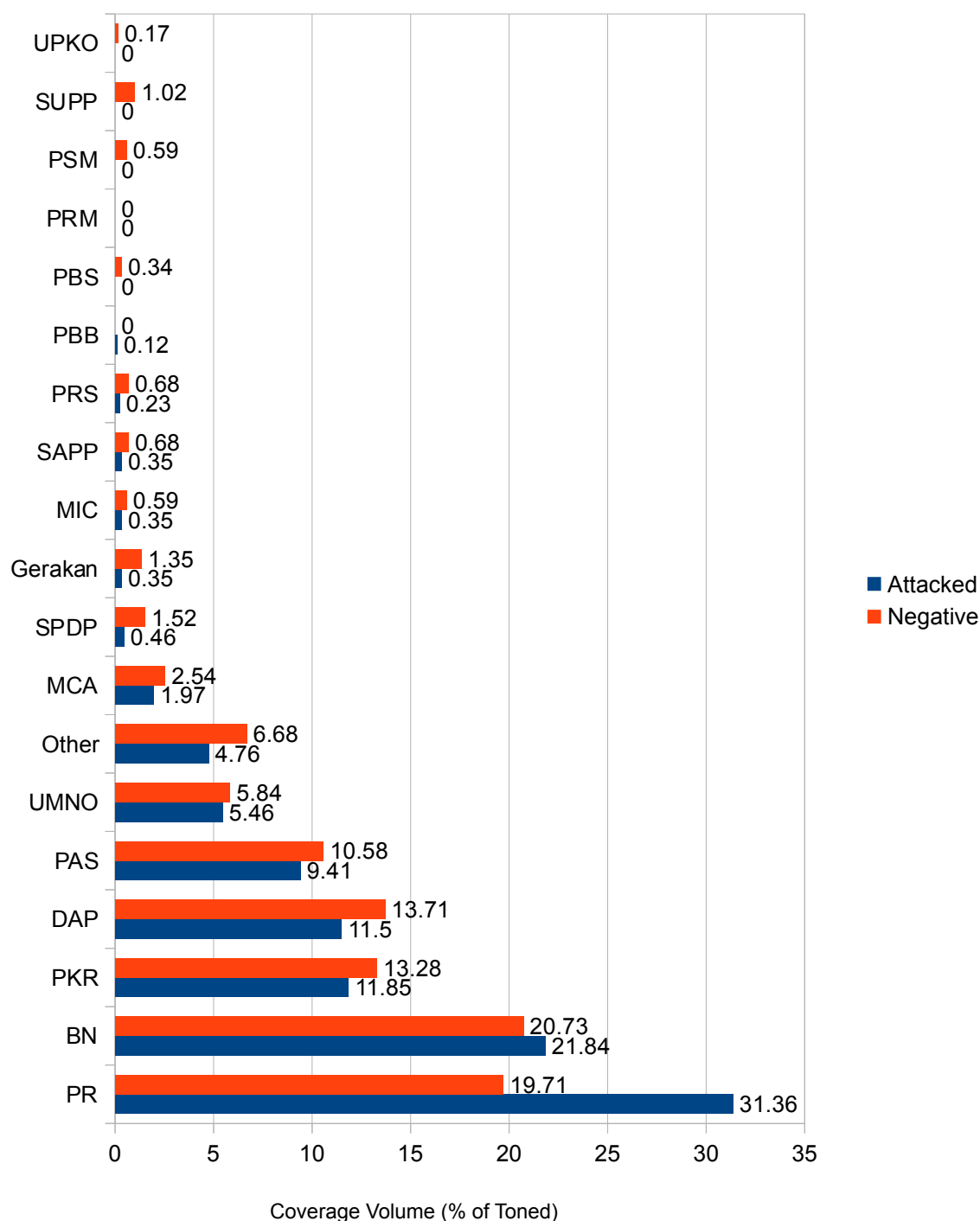
- PR receive the largest percentage of all attacks by a significant margin, followed by BN, then PKR and DAP, with PAS taking 5th place overall.

- BN receive slightly more negative coverage than PR, with PKR, DAP and PAS again taking the remainder of the top 5 positions.

- Refer to Table 7a for figures.

Coverage Volume (% of Toned)
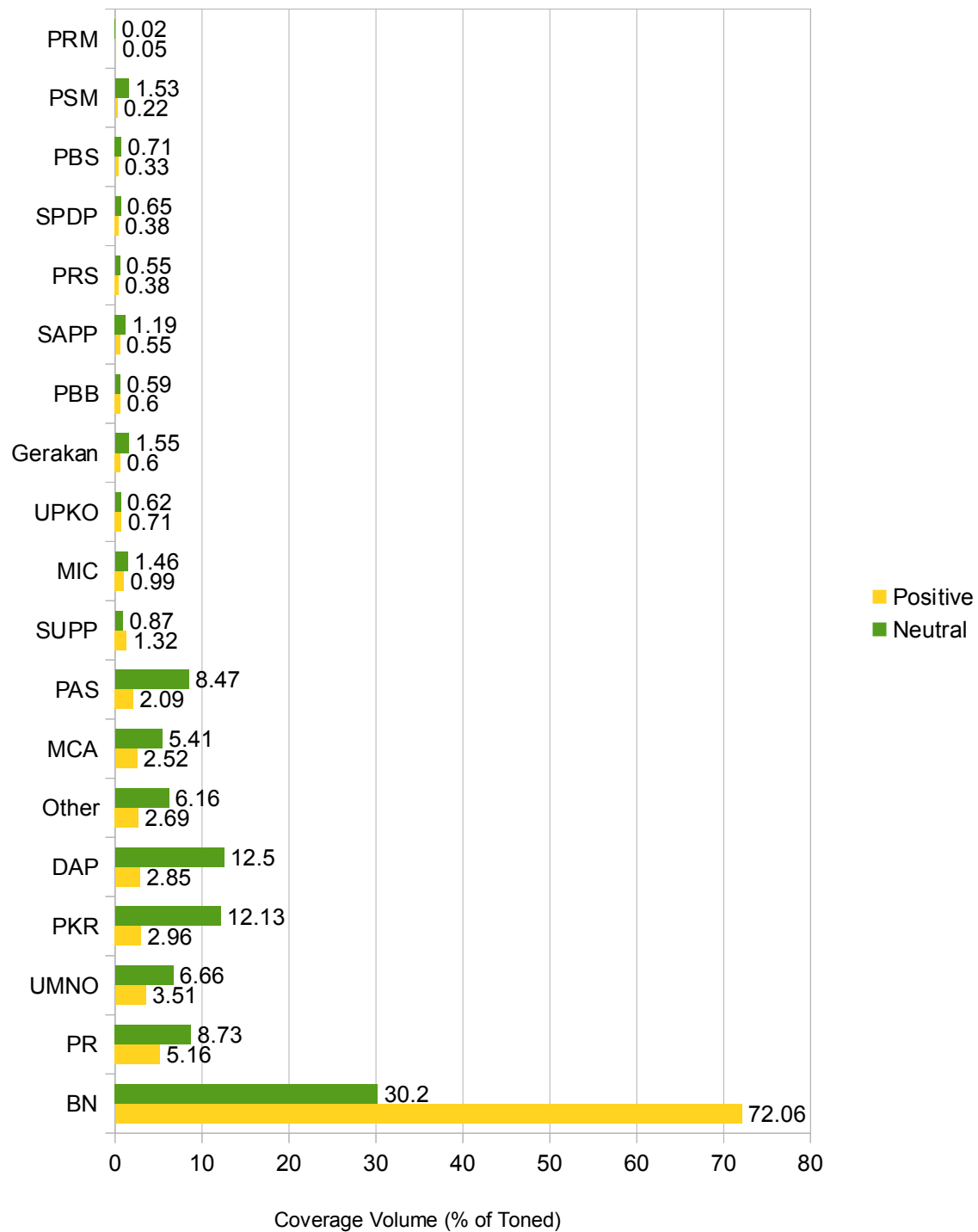
- BN receive the vast majority of all positive coverage in the English language media – almost three-quarters of all positive coverage is devoted to them. The next most positively covered (PR) comes in at just over 5% of all positive coverage, with the other parties positive coverage all less than 4% of the total.

- BN also receive the most neutral coverage (30.2%), followed by Dap and PKR, then PR, then PAS.

- Refer to Table 7b for figures.

Figures 8a & 8b: Tone of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: Bahasa Malaysia Media

Coverage Volume (% of Toned)

Party	Negative	Attacked
UPKO	0.07	0
SUPP	0.14	0
SPDP	0.21	0
SAPP	0.14	0
PRM	0.07	0
PRS	0.14	0
MIC	0.48	0
Gerakan	0.41	0
PSM	1.1	0.15
PBS	0.07	0.15
PBB	0	0.15
MCA	1.51	0.15
UMNO	5.21	4.66
Other	4.73	5.24
PKR	15.48	11.06
DAP	16.51	11.5
BN	13.29	12.81
PAS	16.23	16.59
PR	24.25	37.56
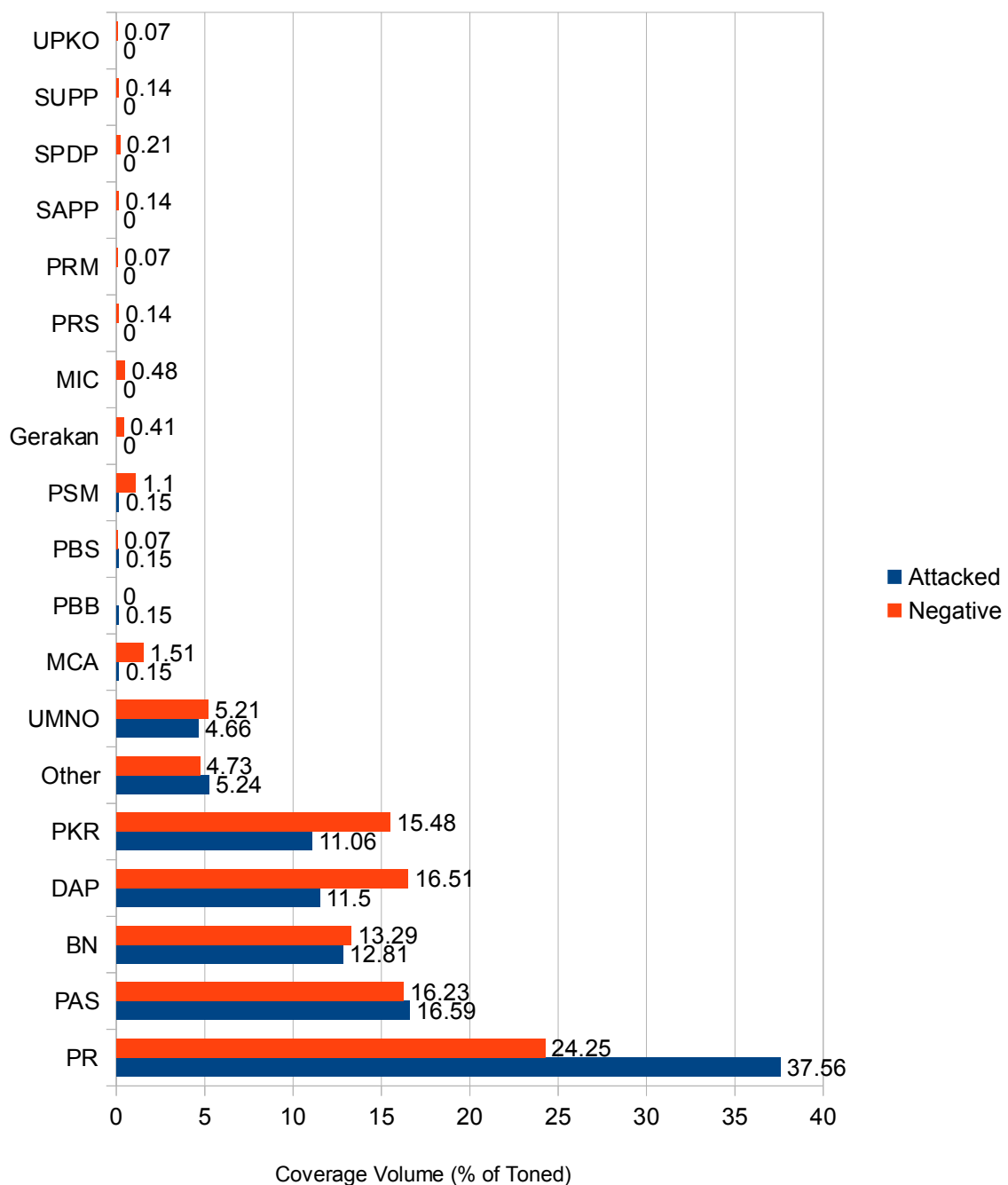
- PR again receive the significant majority of all attacks, with almost 38% of all attacks launched being directed at them – more than in the English language media.

- PAS are attacked the second most often (16.6%) - again, much more than in the English language media, with BN (12.81%), then DAP and PKR coming in 2nd – 5th places respectively.

- PR also receive the majority of all negative coverage, drawing almost a quarter of all negative mentions, with DAP (16.51%), PKR (15.58%), PAS (16.23%) and then BN (13.29%) following.

- Refer to Table 8a for figures.

Party	Neutral	Positive
PRM	0.07	0
PSM	1.38	0.11
UPKO	0.52	0.14
PRS	0.29	0.18
SPDP	0.48	0.29
SAPP	0.35	0.29
PBS	0.69	0.43
Gerakan	0.76	0.43
SUPP	1.08	0.5
PBB	0.6	0.5
MIC	1.23	0.68
MCA	3.59	1.75
DAP	11.35	2.18
Other	4.44	2.5
PKR	12	2.72
PR	8.96	3.79
PAS	13.1	4.29
UMNO	8.07	5.36
BN	31.04	73.87

Coverage Volume (% of Toned)
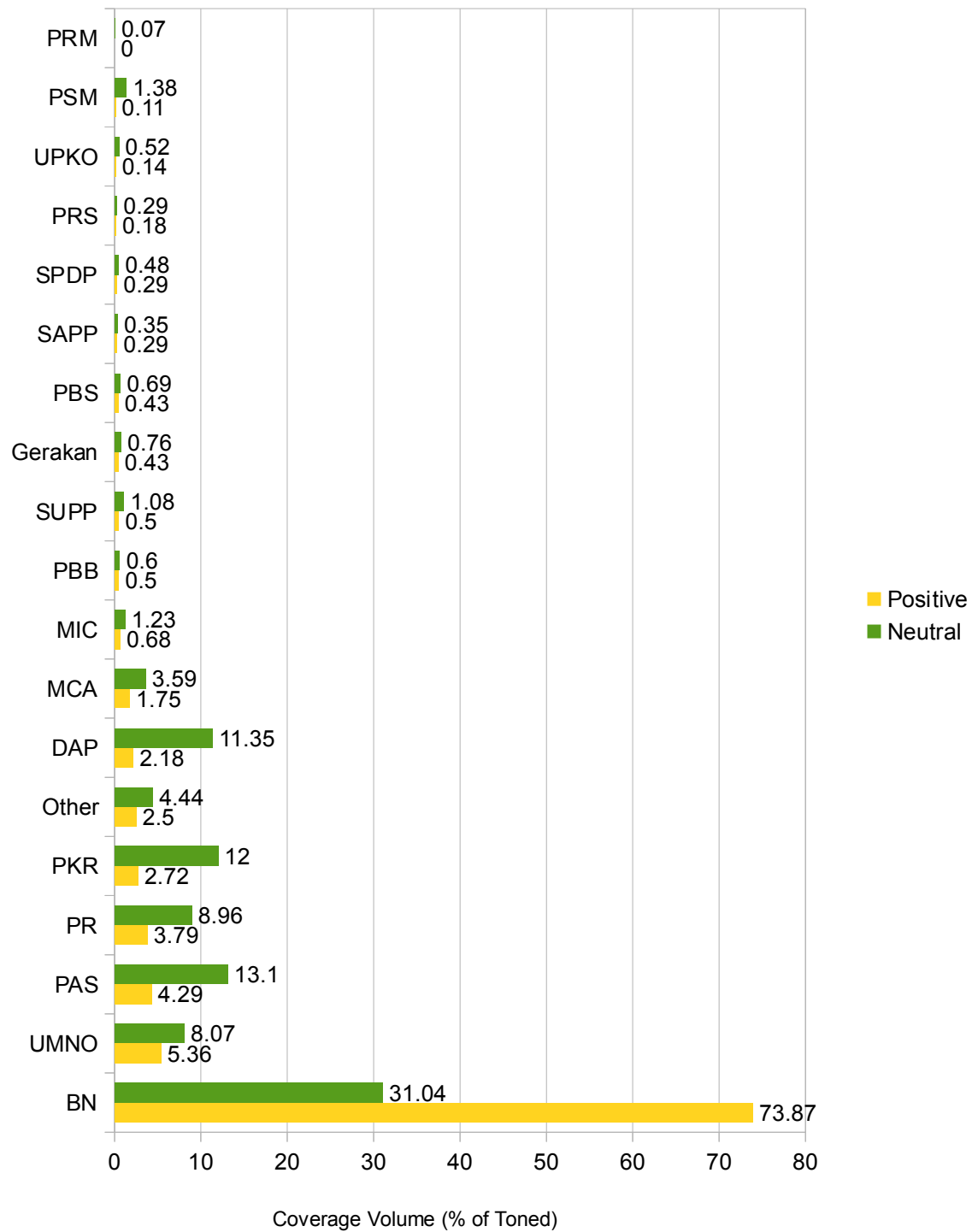
- BN again receive the vast majority of all positive coverage in the Bahasa Malaysia language media, once more garnering almost three-quarters of all positive coverage. UMNO garners just over 5% of the remainder, followed by PAS, then PR and PKR.

- BN also (again) receive the most neutral coverage (31.04%), followed by DAP, PAS, PKR then PR.

- Refer to Table 8b for figures.

Figures 9a & 9b: Tone of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions: Mandarin Media

Coverage Volume (% of Toned)

Legend: ■ Attacked ■ Negative

Party	Negative	Attacked
UPKO	0.33	0
SUPP	0	0
SPDP	0	0
PSM	0.49	0
PRM	0	0
PRS	0	0
PBS	0.49	0
PBB	0	0
Gerakan	3.43	0
MIC	2.45	0.28
SAPP	0.16	0.56
PKR	3.92	1.41
Other	2.61	1.98
MCA	16.15	4.52
PAS	2.45	5.08
UMNO	6.04	6.5
DAP	16.8	11.58
BN	24.96	25.42
PR	19.74	42.66
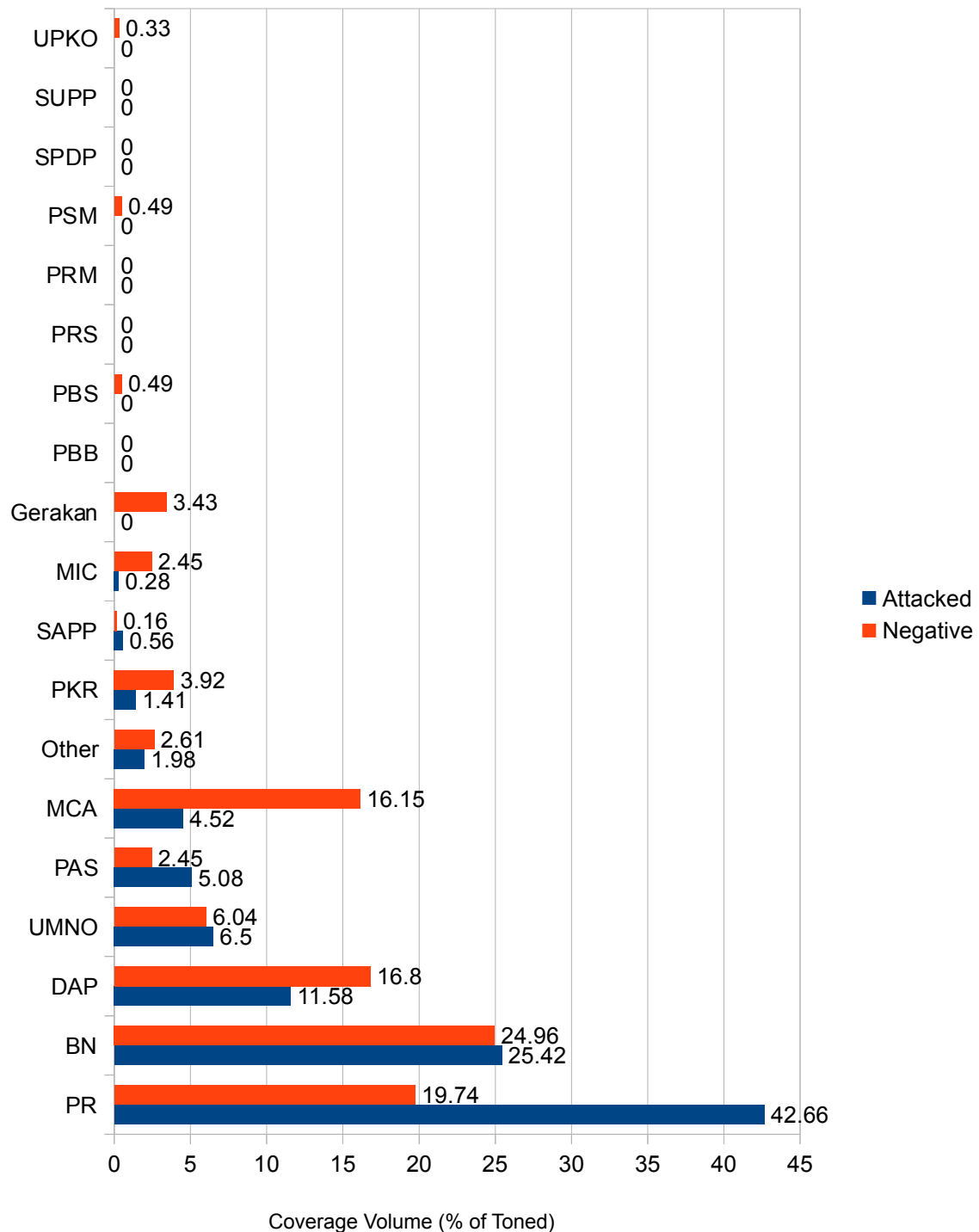
- PR (again) receive a significant majority (over 40%) of all attacks, followed by BN (with just over one quarter of all attacks), DAP, UMNO and then PAS.

- Interestingly, BN receive the majority of all negative coverage (almost one quarter – 25.42%), followed by PR, DAP, and then MCA.

- Refer to Table 9a for figures.

14

Coverage Volume (% of Toned)
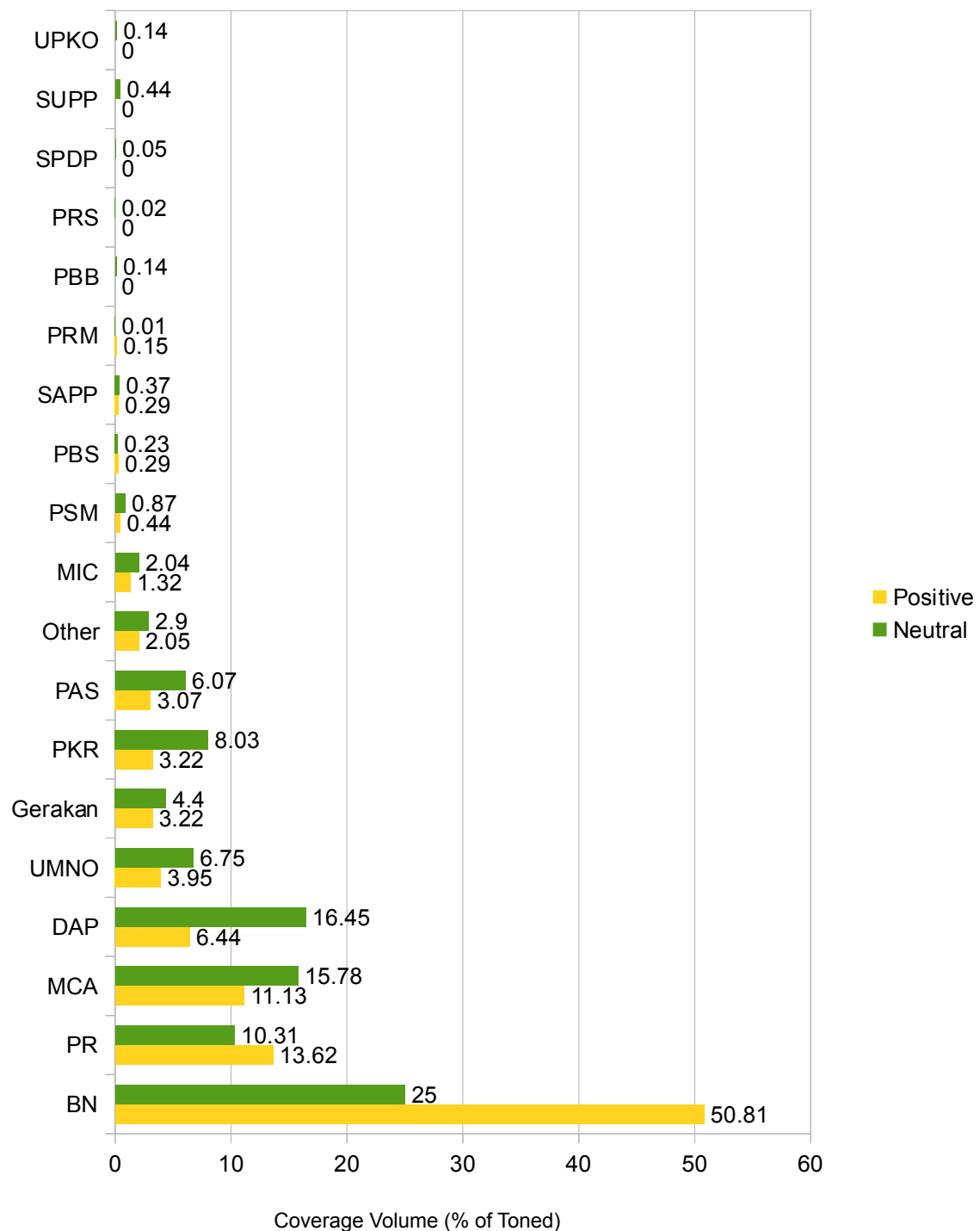
- BN once more again receive the majority of all positive coverage (50.81%), but interestingly, they receive only half of all positive mentions as opposed to the closer-to three-quarters they receive in both the English and Bahasa Malaysia language media.

- PR receive 13.62% of all positive coverage, which is relatively high compared to the English and Bahasa Malaysia media.

- MAC also receives more positive coverage in the Mandarin media cf. the other language media.

- BN receive a quarter of all neutral coverage, with DAP (16.45%) and MCA (15.78%) receiving the 2nd and 3rd biggest proportions of all neutral coverage in the Mandarin media.

- Refer to Table 9b for figures.

Section 2: Media Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures

2.1 Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures (Top 20 / BN vs. PR vs Independent/Other)

Figures 10a and 10b: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: English Media

English

- BN
- PR
- Independent/Other

3.92
48.31
47.77

Top 20 Most Mentioned

Name	Mention Volume (%)
Ng Yen Yen	1
Jeffrey Kitingan	1.03
Karpal Singh	1.09
Azmin Ali	1.19
Rafizi Ramli	1.32
Musa Aman	1.32
Hadi Awang	1.46
Nurul Izzah	1.61
Taib Mahmud	1.68
Tian Chua	2.14
Ibrahim Ali	2.22
Nik Aziz	2.81
Muhyiddin Yassin	2.87
Chua Soi Lek	3.08
Khalid Ibrahim	3.31
Lim Guan Eng	4.82
Mahathir Mohamad	6.15
Lim Kit Siang	9.57
Anwar Ibrahim	12.96
Najib Razak	28.7
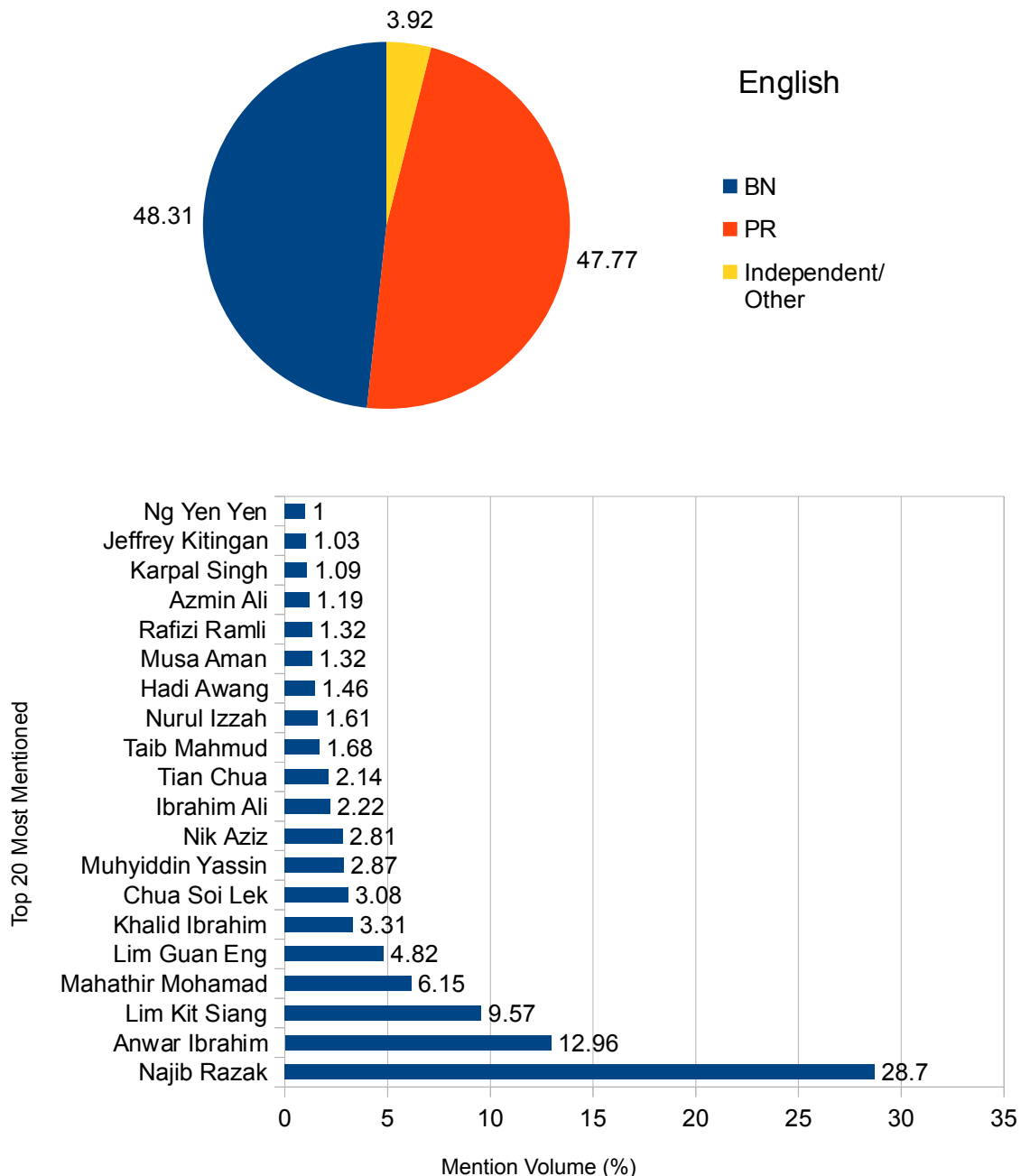
- BN and PR receive relatively equal coverage at the name-tracked politicians and political figure level.

- Najib Razak receives almost 30% of all coverage, followed by Anwar Ibrahim (12.96%).

- Refer to Tables 10a and 10b for figures.

Figures 11a and 11b: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Bahasa Malaysia Media

Bahasa Malaysia

- BN
- PR
- Independent/ Other

6.02
43.9
50.07

Top 20 Most Mentioned

Name	Mention Volume (%)
Tian Chua	0.95
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	1.01
Yong Teck Lee	1.13
Musa Aman	1.28
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.28
Taib Mahmud	1.4
Azmin Ali	1.49
Chua Soi Lek	1.52
Karpal Singh	1.94
Nurul Izzah	2.06
Ibrahim Ali	2.33
Khalid Ibrahim	2.83
Hadi Awang	3.16
Mahathir Mohamad	3.49
Muhyiddin Yassin	3.64
Lim Guan Eng	4.44
Nik Aziz	7.19
Lim Kit Siang	7.96
Anwar Ibrahim	13.51
Najib Razak	29.65

Mention Volume (%)

- Interestingly, name-tracked PR politicians and political figures receive more coverage than their BN counterparts in the Bahasa malaysia language media.

- Najib Razak receives almost 30% of all coverage, again followed by Anwar Ibrahim (13.51%).

- Lim Kit Siang takes 3rd place, the same as in the English language media, but Nik Aziz replaces Mahathir Mohamad in 3rd place, with Lim Guan Eng remaining static in 5th place.

- Refer to Tables 11a and 11b for figures.

Figures 12a and 12b: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Mandarin Media

Mandarin

- BN
- PR
- Independent/ Other

2.48
44.47
53.04

Top 20 Most Mentioned:

Name	Mention Volume (%)
Ibrahim Ali	0.63
Teresa Kok	0.77
Tian Chua	0.81
Azmin Ali	0.92
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.22
G. Palanivel	1.28
Karpal Singh	1.3
Khalid Ibrahim	1.32
Nik Aziz	1.41
Nurul Izzah	1.85
Liow Tiong Lai	2.42
Hadi Awang	2.44
Ng Yen Yen	3.01
Muhyiddin Yassin	4.17
Mahathir Mohamad	4.76
Anwar Ibrahim	8.17
Lim Guan Eng	8.27
Chua Soi Lek	10.98
Lim Kit Siang	14.64
Najib Razak	24.9

- BN name-tracked politicians and political figures receive noticeably more coverage than their PR counterparts in the Mandarin-language media.

- Najib Razak receives almost one quarter of all coverage less then in the English and Bahasa Malaysia language media.

- Anwar Ibrahim is no longer in 2nd place (as he is in the English and Bahasa Malaysia language media) but is relegated to 5th position, following Lim Kit Siang in 2nd, Chua Soi Lek in 3rd (who manages only 7th/13th place in the English/Bahasa Malaysia media), and Lim Guan Eng in 5th.
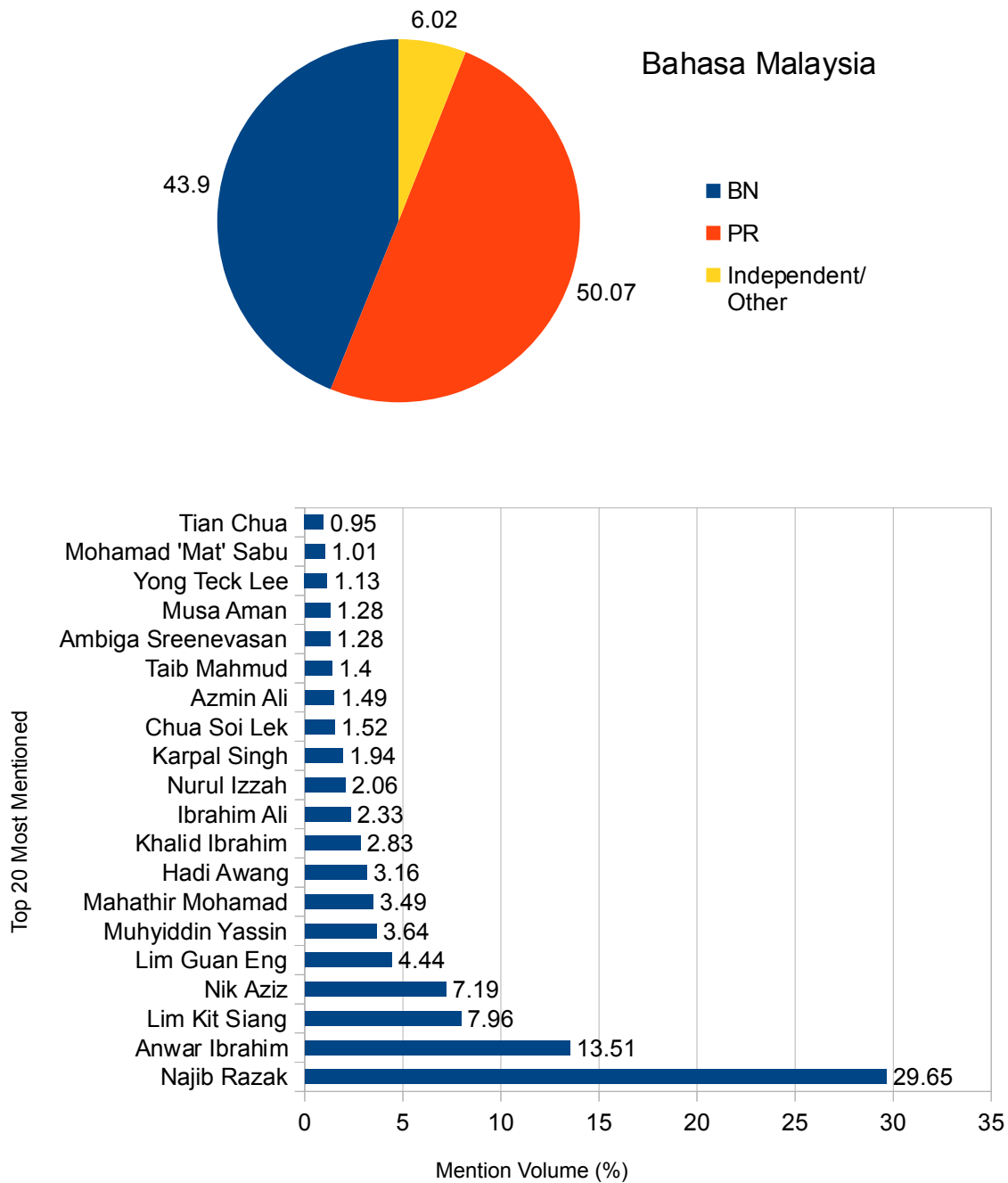
- Refer to Tables 12a and 12b for figures.

2.2 Tone of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures (BN vs. PR vs Independent/Other)

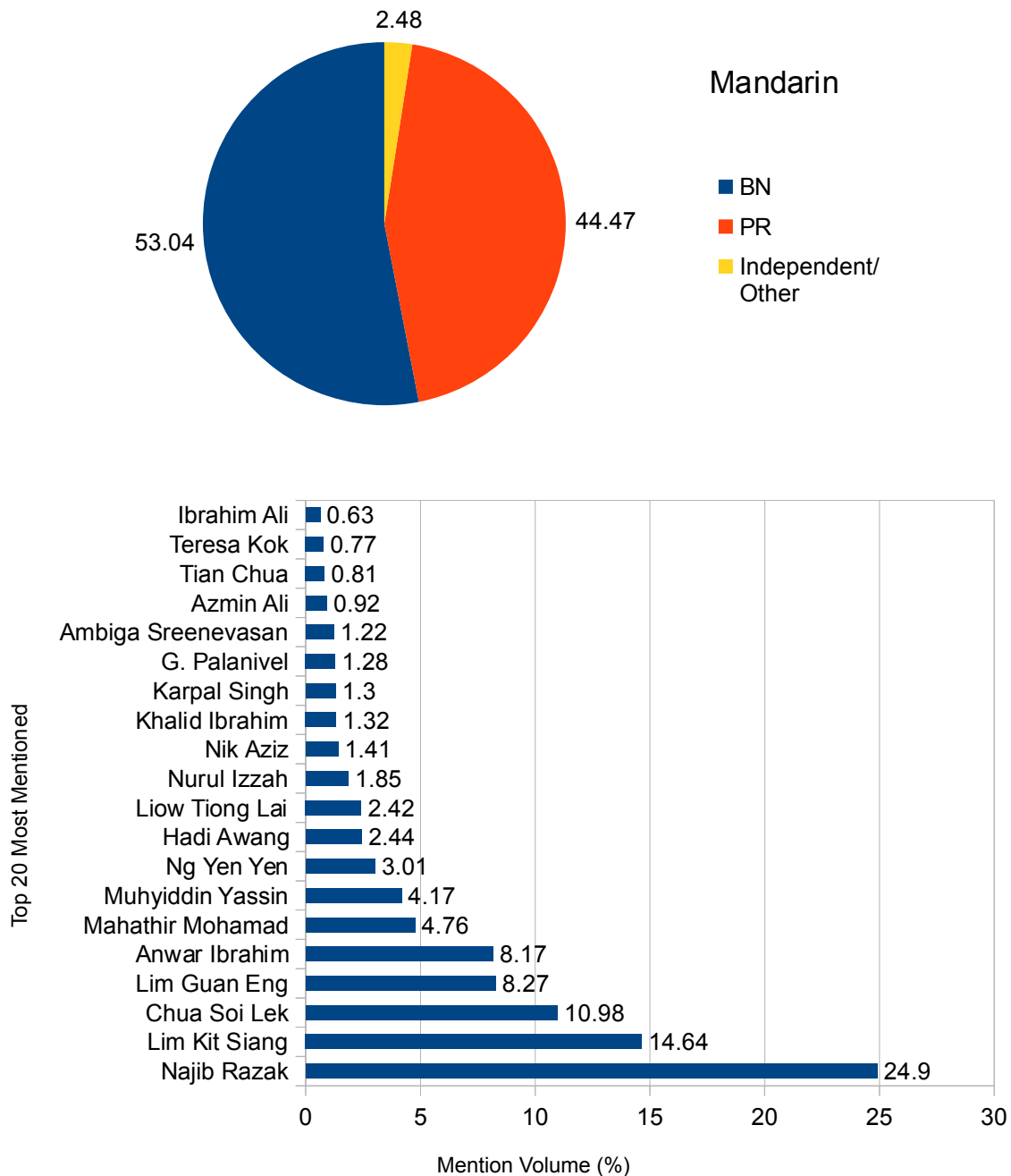Figure 13: Tone of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: English Media
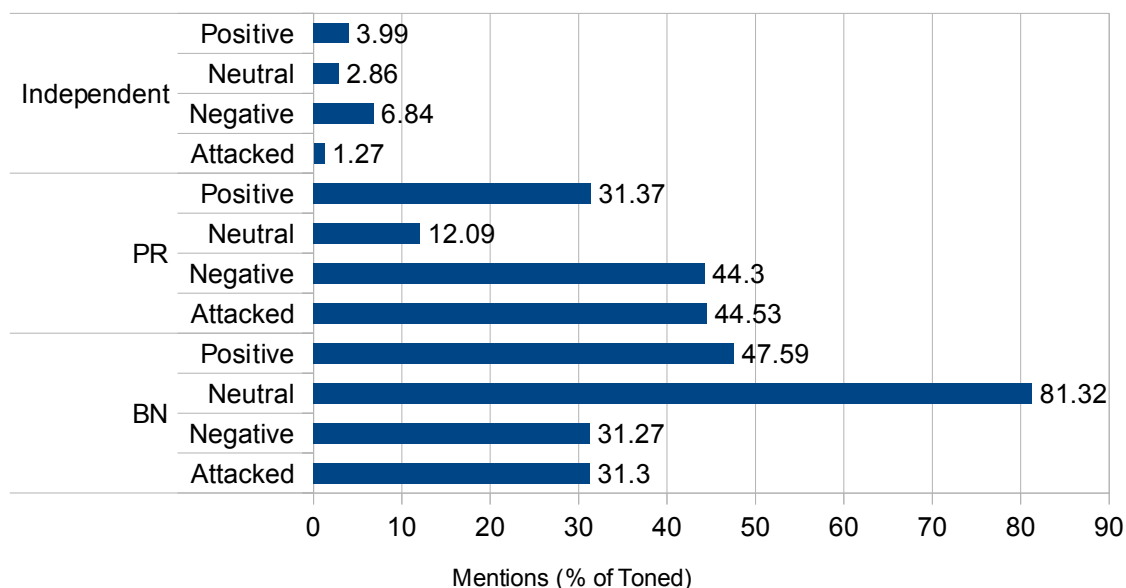
- When we assess the tone of coverage of the politicians and political figures constituting the two major coalitions and independents in the English language media, we find that BN politicians are given the largest proportion of all positive coverage – almost half (47.59%).

- In contrast, PR politicians receive 31.37% of all positive mentions – resulting in a ratio of positive mentions of BN politicians compared to positive mentions of PR politicians of roughly 1.5 : 1.

- BN is given the vast bulk of all neutral coverage (over 80% of the total), with PR receiving very much less neutral coverage at only 12.09%.

- PR is attacked the most (44.53%) and receives the most negative coverage (44.3%) of each tonal total, with BN garnering roughly 31% of each category in comparison – resulting in a ratio of roughly 1.4 attacks or negative mentions of PR politicians per every 1 attack or negative mention of a BN politician.

- In summary, the English language media coverage of politicians is equally pro-BN and anti-PR.

- Refer to Table 13 for figures.

Figure 14: Tone of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Bahasa Malaysia Media
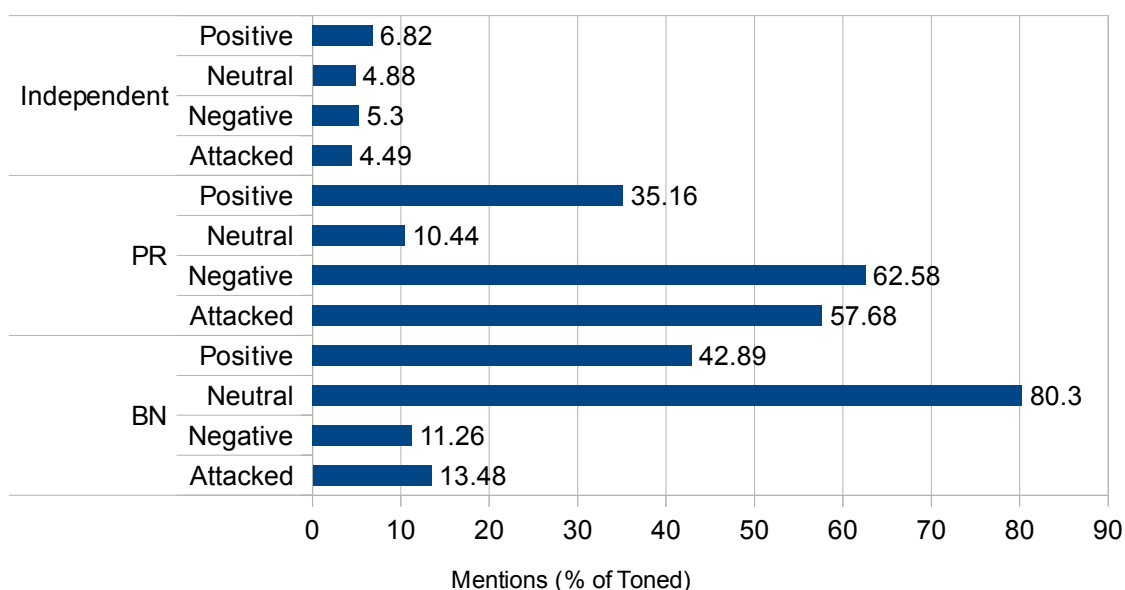
- When we assess the tone of coverage of the politicians and political figures constituting the two major coalitions and independents in the Bahasa Malaysia language media, we find that BN politicians are again given the largest proportion of all positive coverage, although slightly less than in the English media (42.89%).

- PR politicians receive 35.16% of all positive mentions, and as such, the ratio of positive mentions given BN politicians compared to those given to PR politicians (1.2 : 1) is more equitable in the Bahasa Malaysia media than in the English language media.

- BN is again given the vast bulk of all neutral coverage (over 80% of the total), with PR receiving very much less neutral coverage at only 10.44%.

- PR is attacked the most (57.68%) and receives the most negative coverage (62.58%) of each tonal total, with BN garnering much less of each category in comparison (13.48% and 11.26% respectively).

- This results in a ratio of roughly 4.3 attacks of PR politicians per every 1 attack of a BN politician.

- This results in a ratio of roughly 5.6 negative mentions of PR politicians per every 1 negative mention of a BN politician.

- In summary, the Bahasa Malaysia media coverage of politicians is somewhat pro-BN and very strongly anti-PR.

- Refer to Table 14 for figures.

Figure 15: Tone of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Mandarin Media
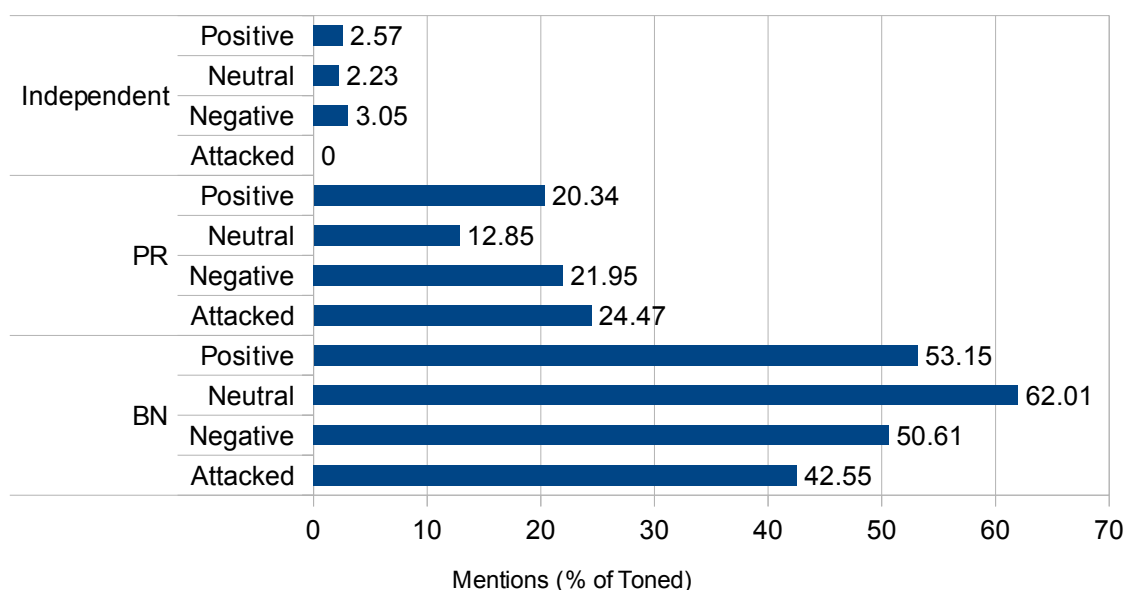

- When we assess the tone of coverage of the politicians and political figures constituting the two major coalitions and independents in the Mandarin language media, we find that BN politicians are again given the largest proportion of all positive coverage (53.15%), even more so than in the English and Bahasa Malaysia language media.

- PR politicians receive 20.34% of all positive mentions, and as such, the ratio of positive mentions given BN politicians compared to those given to PR politicians (2.6 : 1) is much less equitable than in the Bahasa Malaysia media, as well as less equitable than that in the English language media.

- BN is again given the majority of all neutral coverage (62.01%), with PR receiving very much less neutral coverage at only 12.85%.

- BN is also attacked the most (42.55%) and receives the most negative coverage (50.61%) of each tonal total, with PR garnering less of each category in comparison (24.47% and 21.95% respectively).

- This results in a ratio of roughly 1.7 attacks of BN politicians per every 1 attack of a PR politician.

- This results in a ratio of roughly 2.3 negative mentions of BN politicians per every 1 negative mention of a PR politician.

- In summary, BN receives the most of all categories of toned mentions (neutral, positive, negative, and attacked), which likely corresponds with the higher volume of coverage given to BN politicians in the Mandarin media overall, and likely also corresponds to the high interest in MCA compared to other language media. It also indicates that the neutral category is the category used most often, indicating that the Mandarin media are more even-handed overall in their coverage of both coalitions.

- Refer to Table 15 for figures.

Section 3: Coverage of Organisations, Policy Issues and Non-Policy Issues: Race & Religion

3.1 Organisations: Race & Religion

Figure 16: Coverage of Organisations
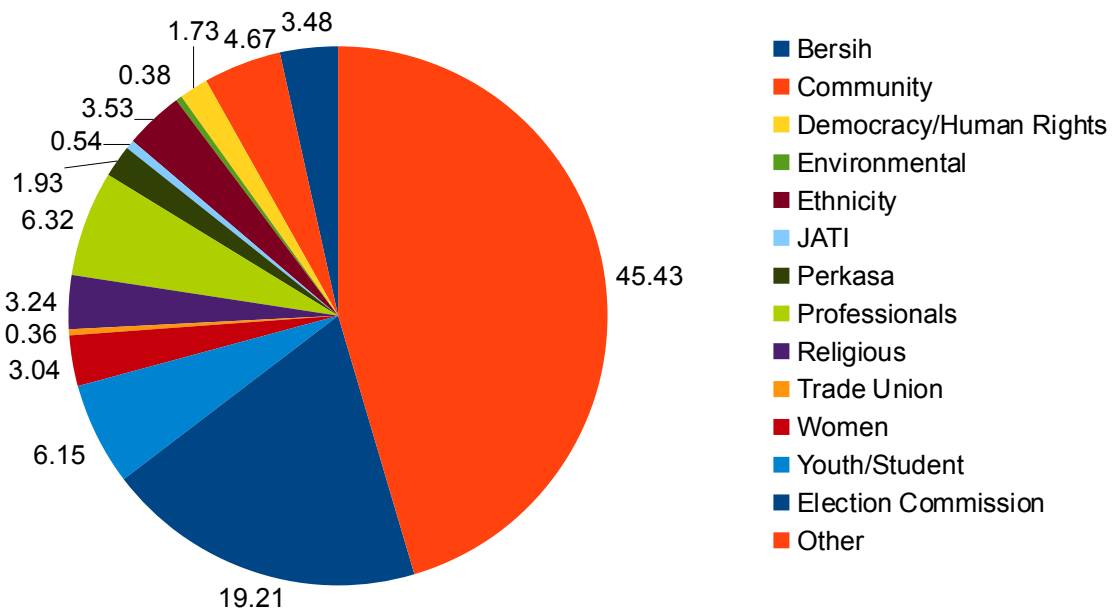
- <u>NB:</u> This chart begins at 12 o'clock and runs counter-clockwise.

- When we assess the total coverage of all organisational types, we can see that there is relatively low coverage of organisations focusing on ethnic or religious matters:

  - Ethnicity: 3.54%

  - JATI: 0.54%

  - Perkasa: 1.93%

  - Religious: 3.24%

- Refer to Table 16 for figures.

3.2 Policy Issues: Race & Religion

Figure 17: Coverage of Race & Religion - Policy Issues
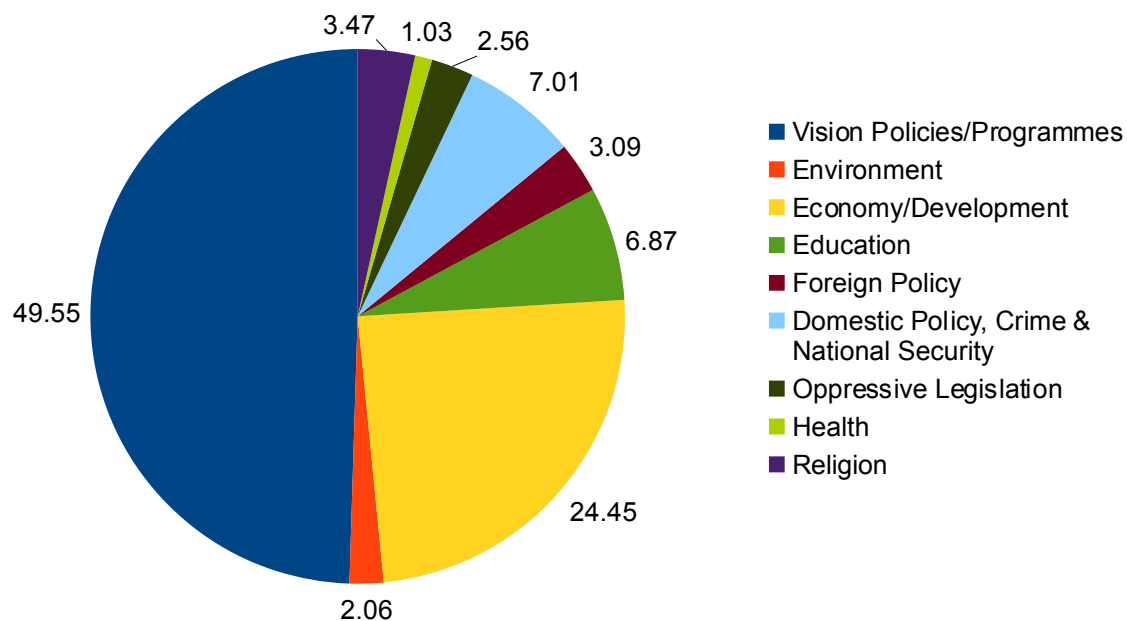
- When we assess the total coverage of all Policy Issues, and single out categories which touch on race and religion, there is high coverage of Vision Policies/Programmes, but relatively little coverage of both Domestic Policy, Crime and National Security and Religion.

  ○ Vision Policies/Programmes   49.55%

  ○ Domestic Policy *et al*   7.01%

  ○ Religion   3.47%

- Refer to Table 17 for figures.

Figure 18: Coverage of Race/Ethnicity ('Vision Policies/Programmes')
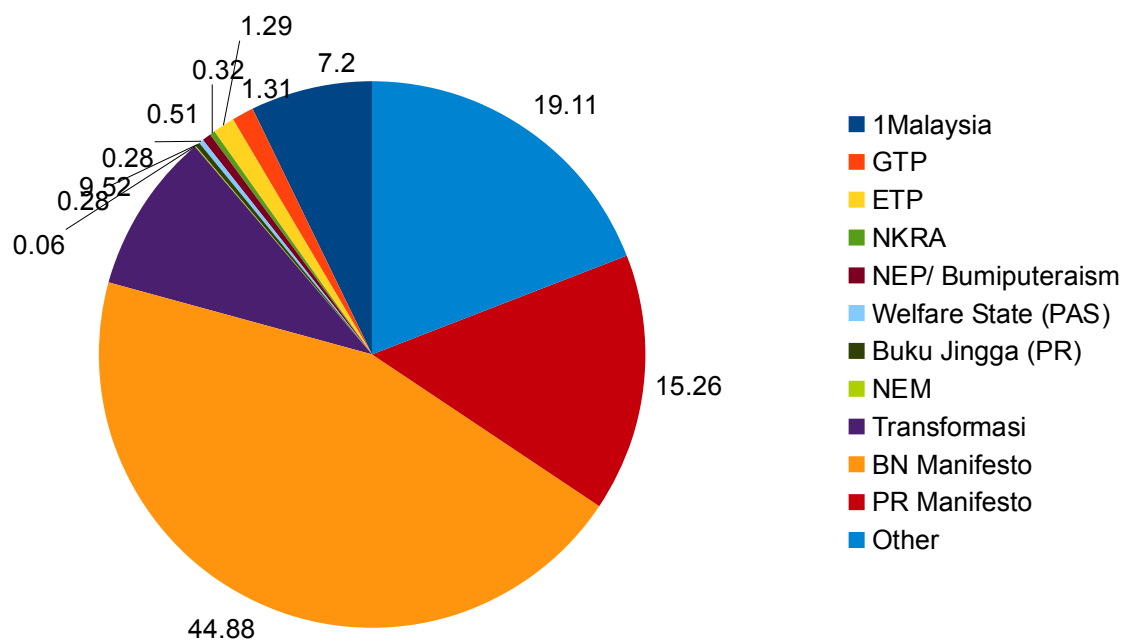
- The graph above shows the sub-categorical split of the coverage of Vision Policies and Programmes.

  ○ BN's manifesto has received much more coverage (44.88%) than PR's manifesto (15.26%).

  ○ 1Malaysia has received 7% of all category coverage.

  ○ There has been very little discussion of the NEP specifically (0.51%).

- Refer to Table 18 for figures.

Figure 19: Coverage of Race/Ethnicity ('Domestic Policy, Crime & National Security')
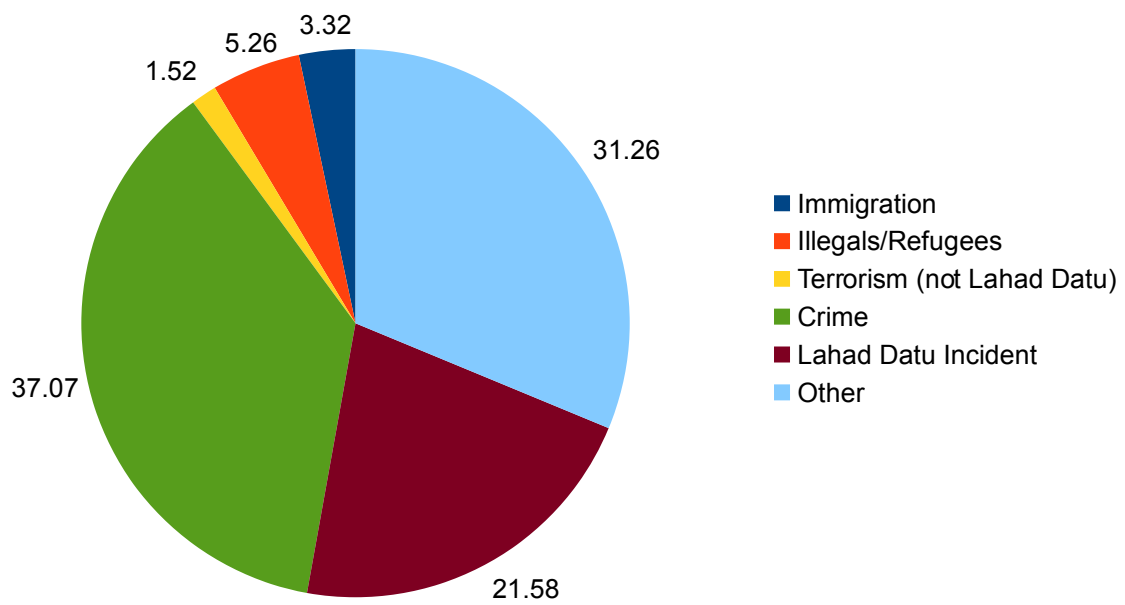
- The graph above shows the sub-categorical split of the coverage of Domestic Policy, Crime, & National Security.
  - There is high coverage of Crime (37.07%).
  - There is quite high coverage of the Lahad Datu incident (21.58%).
  - There is relatively low coverage of Illegals/Refugees, Immigration, and Terrorism (5.26%, 3.32%, and 1.52% respectively).
- Refer to Table 19 for figures.

Figure 20: Coverage of 'Religion'
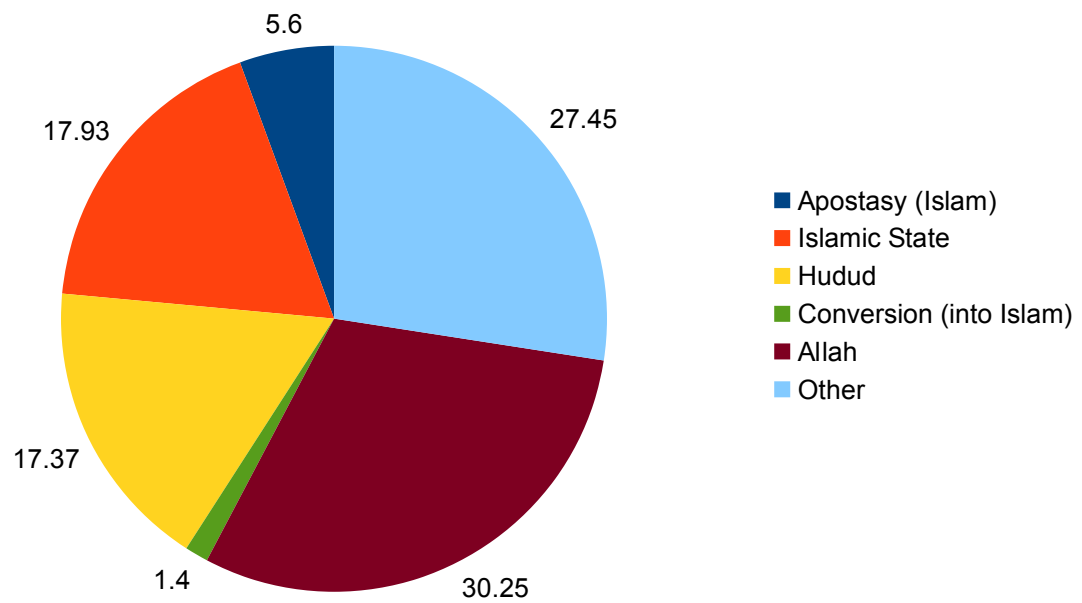
- The graph above shows the sub-categorical split of the coverage of Religion.
  - The 'Allah Issue' has received the most coverage (30.25%).
  - There has also been significant coverage of Hudud and the issue of an Islamic State (17.37% and 17.93% respectively).
  - There has been relatively little coverage of Apostasy or Conversion issues.
- Refer to Table 20 for figures.

3.3 Policy Issues: Race & Religion

Figure 21: Coverage of Non-Policy Issues
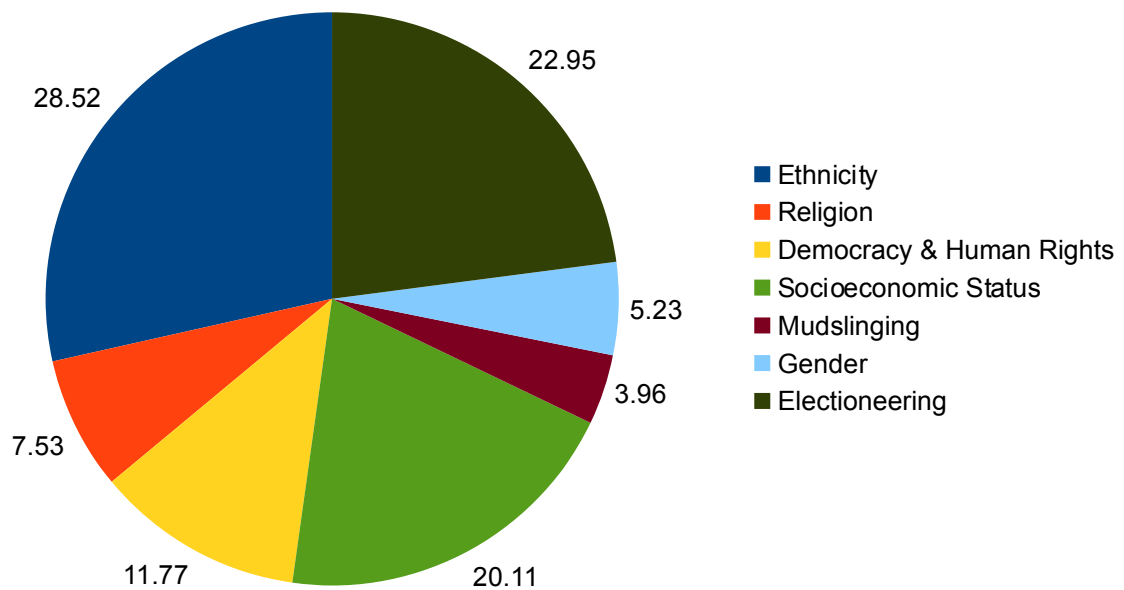
- When we assess the total coverage of all Non-Policy Issues, and single out categories which touch on race and religion, there is high coverage of Ethnicity and relatively low coverage of Religion.
  - Ethnicity   28.52%
  - Religion   7.53%
- Refer to Table 21 for figures.

Figure 22: Coverage of 'Religion'

Pie chart values:
- 68.03 (Islam)
- 1.33 (Buddhism/Taoism)
- 4.51 (Hinduism)
- 8.2 (Christianity)
- 5.02 (Sikhism)
- 1.54 (Religious Freedom (Non-Apostasy))
- 1.02 (Interfaith Dialogue/Unity)
- 1.33 (Interfaith Friction)
- 9.02 (Other)

Legend:
- Islam
- Buddhism/Taoism
- Hinduism
- Christianity
- Sikhism
- Religious Freedom (Non-Apostasy)
- Interfaith Dialogue/Unity
- Interfaith Friction
- Other
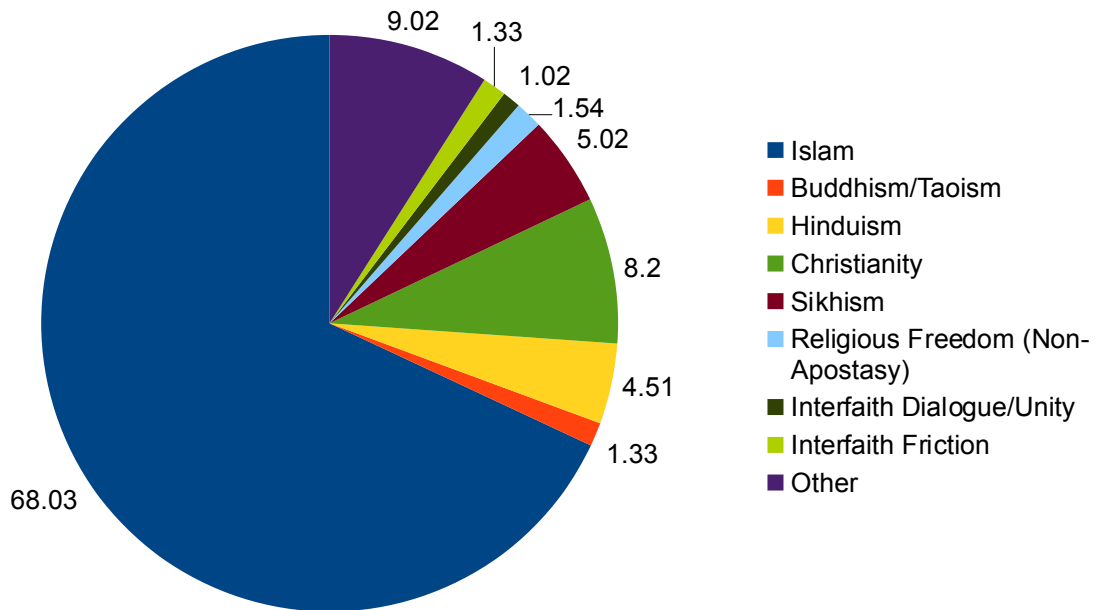
- The graph above shows the sub-categorical split of the coverage of Religion.
  - Islam is the most covered religion by a significant majority (68.03%).
- Refer to Table 22 for figures.

Figure 23: Coverage of Race/'Ethnicity'
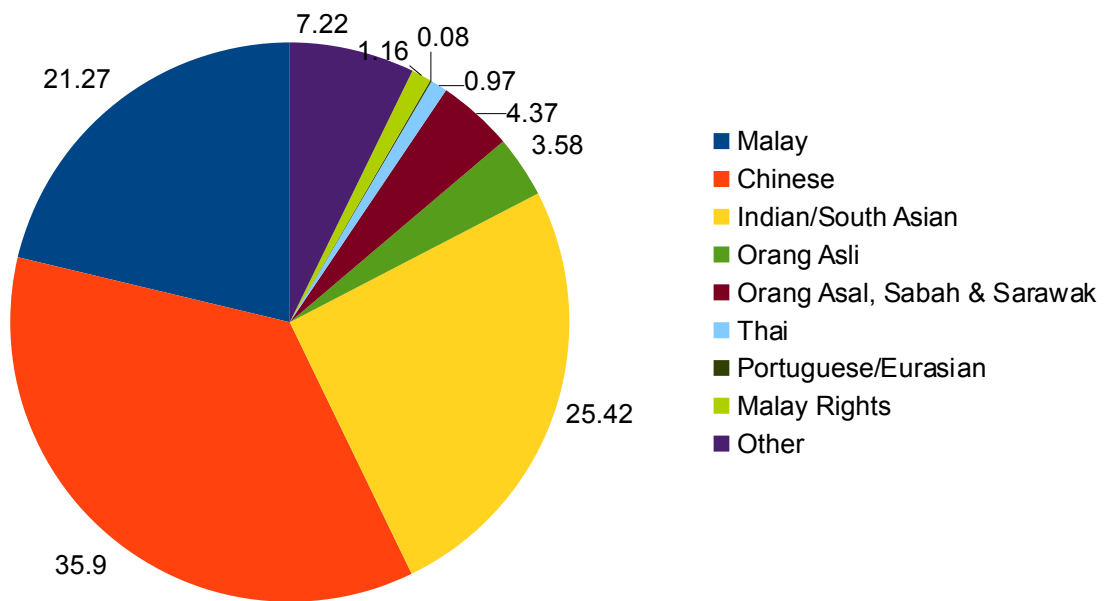
- The graph above shows the sub-categorical split of the coverage of Ethnicity.

  - People of Chinese descent are the most covered ethnic group. This is possibly due to the increasing political dynamism of this ethnic group as voters.

  - Indians and South Asians are the 2nd most covered ethnic group (25.42%). This is possibly due to the controversies and in-fighting surrounding Hindraf.

  - Malays come 3rd with 21.27%. This surprisingly low figure is possibly due to Malay being the status quo/default in Malaysia, much as 'white or European' is in e.g. the UK or America. These status quo groups commonly go 'unsigned' (i.e. not specified by name as they are the default 'we' or 'us' imagined and addressed).

- Refer to Table 23 for figures.

Section 4: 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 (sans 15/4/13)			
	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			
	China Press			
	*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 = 174106

Number of articles identified and analysed: n = 19613

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 5: Appendix 1 – Tables

TABLE 1 – English	
Party	**Percentage**
BN	32.87
DAP	11.693
Gerakan	1.3941
MCA	4.8862
MIC	1.3241
PAS	8.08
PBB	0.53618
PBS	0.62477
PKR	11.33
PR	10.01
PRS	0.52686
PRM	0.01865
PSM	1.3008
SAPP	1.077
SPDP	0.66207
SUPP	0.88586
UMNO	6.3129
UPKO	0.57814
Other	5.8887

TABLE 2 – Bahasa Malaysia	
Party	**Percentage**
BN	36.688
DAP	10.1
Gerakan	0.63389
MCA	2.8243
MIC	0.97197
PAS	11.896
PBB	0.50007
PBS	0.54233
PKR	10.537
PR	10.952
PRS	0.23243
PRM	0.049303
PSM	1.0424
SAPP	0.29582
SPDP	0.38738
SUPP	0.80997
UMNO	7.0503
UPKO	0.37329
Other	4.0992

TABLE 3 – Mandarin	
Party	**Percentage**
BN	26.213
DAP	15.844
Gerakan	4.1605
MCA	15.279
MIC	1.999
PAS	5.7427
PBB	0.12008
PBS	0.24016
PKR	7.438
PR	11.782
PRS	0.014127
PRM	0.014127
PSM	0.80526
SAPP	0.38144
SPDP	0.042382
SUPP	0.3885
UMNO	6.5621
UPKO	0.14127
Other	2.8325

TABLE 4 – English			
Party	**Percentage**	**Coalition**	**Percentage**
BN	32.87	**BN**	50.60118
Gerakan	1.3941		
MCA	4.8862		
MIC	1.3241		
PBB	0.53618		
PBS	0.62477		
PRS	0.52686		
SPDP	0.66207		
SUPP	0.88586		
UMNO	6.3129		
UPKO	0.57814		
PR	10.01	**PR**	41.113
DAP	11.693		
PAS	8.08		
PKR	11.33		
PRM	0.01865	**Independent**	2.39645
PSM	1.3008		
SAPP	1.077		
Other	5.8887	**Other**	5.8887

TABLE 5 – Bahasa Malaysia			
Party	Percentage	Coalition	Percentage
BN	36.688	BN	51.01393
Gerakan	0.63389		
MCA	2.8243		
MIC	0.97197		
PBB	0.50007		
PBS	0.54233		
PRS	0.23243		
SPDP	0.38738		
SUPP	0.80997		
UMNO	7.0503		
UPKO	0.37329		
PR	10.952	PR	43.485
DAP	10.1		
PAS	11.896		
PKR	10.537		
PRM	0.049303	Independent	1.387523
PSM	1.0424		
SAPP	0.29582		
Other	4.0992	Other	4.0992

TABLE 6 – Mandarin			
Party	Percentage	Coalition	Percentage
BN	26.213	BN	55.160119
Gerakan	4.1605		
MCA	15.279		
MIC	1.999		
PBB	0.12008		
PBS	0.24016		
PRS	0.014127		
SPDP	0.042382		
SUPP	0.3885		
UMNO	6.5621		
UPKO	0.14127		
PR	11.782	PR	40.8067
DAP	15.844		
PAS	5.7427		
PKR	7.438		
PRM	0.014127	Independent	1.200827
PSM	0.80526		
SAPP	0.38144		
Other	2.8325	Other	2.8325

Table 7a – English		
Parties & Coalitions	Attacked	Negative
PR	31.359	19.712
BN	21.835	20.728
PKR	11.847	13.283
DAP	11.498	13.706
PAS	9.4077	10.575
UMNO	5.4588	5.8376
Other	4.7619	6.6836
MCA	1.9744	2.5381
SPDP	0.46458	1.5228
Gerakan	0.34843	1.3536
MIC	0.34843	0.59222
SAPP	0.34843	0.67682
PRS	0.23229	0.67682
PBB	0.11614	0
PBS	0	0.33841
PRM	0	0
PSM	0	0.59222
SUPP	0	1.0152
UPKO	0	0.1692

Table 7b – English		
Parties & Coalitions	Positive	Neutral
BN	72.064	30.2
PR	5.1592	8.7264
UMNO	3.5126	6.6613
PKR	2.9638	12.126
DAP	2.854	12.5
Other	2.6894	6.1608
MCA	2.5247	5.413
PAS	2.0856	8.4733
SUPP	1.3172	0.87437
MIC	0.98793	1.4611
UPKO	0.7135	0.62126
Gerakan	0.60373	1.5474
PBB	0.60373	0.58675
SAPP	0.54885	1.1908
PRS	0.38419	0.55223
SPDP	0.38419	0.65002
PBS	0.32931	0.70755
PSM	0.21954	1.5301
PRM	0.054885	0.017257

Table 8a – Bahasa Malaysia		
Parties & Coalitions	Attacked	Negative
PR	37.555	24.247
PAS	16.594	16.233
BN	12.809	13.288
DAP	11.499	16.507
PKR	11.063	15.479
Other	5.2402	4.726
UMNO	4.6579	5.2055
MCA	0.14556	1.5068
PBB	0.14556	0
PBS	0.14556	0.068493
PSM	0.14556	1.0959
Gerakan	0	0.41096
MIC	0	0.47945
PRS	0	0.13699
PRM	0	0.068493
SAPP	0	0.13699
SPDP	0	0.20548
SUPP	0	0.13699
UPKO	0	0.068493

Table 8b – Bahasa Malaysia		
Parties & Coalitions	Positive	Neutral
BN	73.874	31.041
UMNO	5.361	8.0734
PAS	4.2888	13.104
PR	3.7884	8.9631
PKR	2.7162	11.995
Other	2.5018	4.4376
DAP	2.1801	11.347
MCA	1.7513	3.5918
MIC	0.67906	1.2302
PBB	0.50036	0.60413
SUPP	0.50036	1.0764
Gerakan	0.42888	0.75791
PBS	0.42888	0.692
SAPP	0.28592	0.35149
SPDP	0.28592	0.4833
PRS	0.1787	0.28559
UPKO	0.14296	0.51626
PSM	0.10722	1.384
PRM	0	0.065905

Table 9a – Mandarin		
Parties & Coalitions	Attacked	Negative
PR	42.655	19.739
BN	25.424	24.959
DAP	11.582	16.803
UMNO	6.4972	6.0359
PAS	5.0847	2.447
MCA	4.5198	16.15
Other	1.9774	2.6101
PKR	1.4124	3.9152
SAPP	0.56497	0.16313
MIC	0.28249	2.447
Gerakan	0	3.4258
PBB	0	0
PBS	0	0.4894
PRS	0	0
PRM	0	0
PSM	0	0.4894
SPDP	0	0
SUPP	0	0
UPKO	0	0.32626

Table 9b – Mandarin		
Parties & Coalitions	Positive	Neutral
BN	50.805	25.004
PR	13.616	10.312
MCA	11.127	15.778
DAP	6.4422	16.447
UMNO	3.9531	6.7541
Gerakan	3.2211	4.3954
PKR	3.2211	8.0261
PAS	3.0747	6.0699
Other	2.0498	2.8981
MIC	1.3177	2.0448
PSM	0.43924	0.86943
PBS	0.29283	0.23346
SAPP	0.29283	0.37031
PRM	0.14641	0.0080502
PBB	0	0.13685
PRS	0	0.0161
SPDP	0	0.048301
SUPP	0	0.44276
UPKO	0	0.1449

Table 10a – English				
Politician/Political Figure	**Party etc.**	**Percentage**	**Coalition**	**Percentage**
Chua Soi Lek	MCA	4.61419	**BN**	48.30563
Liow Tiong Lai				
Ng Yen Yen				
G. Palanivel	MIC	0.63182		
Alfred Jabu	PBB	1.99124		
Taib Mahmud				
Maximus Ongkili	PBS	0.2489		
James Masing	PRS	0.17231		
William Mawan	SPDP	0.78499		
Wong Soon Koh	SUPP	0.09573		
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	UMNO	39.40267		
Hishamuddin Hussein				
Mahathir Mohamad				
Muhyiddin Yassin				
Musa Aman				
Najib Razak				
Bernard Dompok	UPKO	0.36378		
Chong Chieng Jen	DAP	17.49944	**PR**	47.769694
Karpal Singh				
Lim Guan Eng				
Lim Kit Siang				
Teresa Kok				
Tony Pua				
Wong Ho Leng				
Dzulkefly Ahmad	PAS	6.184212		
Hadi Awang				
Khalid Samad				
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu				
Nik Aziz				
Nizar Jamaluddin				
Siti Mariah Mahmud				
Anwar Ibrahim	PKR	24.086042		
Azmin Ali				
Baru Bian				
Elizabeth Wong				
Jeffrey Kitingan				
Khalid Ibrahim				
Nurul Izzah				
Rafizi Ramli				
Tian Chua				
Ambiga Sreenevasan	Bersih	0.70841	**Independent/ Other**	3.92491
Hassan Ali	Independent	0.09573		
Ibrahim Ali	Perkasa	2.2209		
Rosmah Mansur	'1st lady'	0.36378		
Yong Teck Lee	SAPP	0.53609		

Table 11a – Bahasa Malaysia				
Politician/Political Figure	**Party etc.**	**Percentage**	**Coalition**	**Percentage**
Chua Soi Lek	MCA	2.17712	**BN**	43.900748
Liow Tiong Lai				
Ng Yen Yen				
G. Palanivel	MIC	0.29824		
Alfred Jabu	PBB	2.08765		
Taib Mahmud				
Maximus Ongkili	PBS	0.1193		
James Masing	PRS	0.35789		
William Mawan	SPDP	0.14912		
Wong Soon Koh	SUPP	0		
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	UMNO	38.413188		
Hishamuddin Hussein				
Mahathir Mohamad				
Muhyiddin Yassin				
Musa Aman				
Najib Razak				
Bernard Dompok	UPKO	0.29824		
Chong Chieng Jen	DAP	15.061174	**PR**	50.074304
Karpal Singh				
Lim Guan Eng				
Lim Kit Siang				
Teresa Kok				
Tony Pua				
Wong Ho Leng				
Dzulkefly Ahmad	PAS	12.76463		
Hadi Awang				
Khalid Samad				
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu				
Nik Aziz				
Nizar Jamaluddin				
Siti Mariah Mahmud				
Anwar Ibrahim	PKR	22.2485		
Azmin Ali				
Baru Bian				
Elizabeth Wong				
Jeffrey Kitingan				
Khalid Ibrahim				
Nurul Izzah				
Rafizi Ramli				
Tian Chua				
Ambiga Sreenevasan	Bersih	1.2824	**Independent/ Other**	6.02443
Hassan Ali	Independent	0.50701		
Ibrahim Ali	Perkasa	2.3263		
Rosmah Mansur	'1st lady'	0.77542		
Yong Teck Lee	SAPP	1.1333		

Politician/Political Figure	Party etc.	Percentage	Coalition	Percentage
		Table 12a – Mandarin		
Chua Soi Lek	MCA	16.4117		
Liow Tiong Lai				
Ng Yen Yen				
G. Palanivel	MIC	1.2828		
Alfred Jabu	PBB	0.468335		
Taib Mahmud				
Maximus Ongkili	PBS	0		
James Masing	PRS	0.061087	**BN**	53.043422
William Mawan	SPDP	0		
Wong Soon Koh	SUPP	0		
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	UMNO	34.73805		
Hishamuddin Hussein				
Mahathir Mohamad				
Muhyiddin Yassin				
Musa Aman				
Najib Razak				
Bernard Dompok	UPKO	0.08145		
Chong Chieng Jen	DAP	25.697857		
Karpal Singh				
Lim Guan Eng				
Lim Kit Siang				
Teresa Kok				
Tony Pua				
Wong Ho Leng				
Dzulkefly Ahmad	PAS	5.212782		
Hadi Awang				
Khalid Samad				
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu			**PR**	44.472045
Nik Aziz				
Nizar Jamaluddin				
Siti Mariah Mahmud				
Anwar Ibrahim	PKR	13.561406		
Azmin Ali				
Baru Bian				
Elizabeth Wong				
Jeffrey Kitingan				
Khalid Ibrahim				
Nurul Izzah				
Rafizi Ramli				
Tian Chua				
Ambiga Sreenevasan	Bersih	1.2217		
Hassan Ali	Independent	0.1629		
Ibrahim Ali	Perkasa	0.63124	**Independent/ Other**	2.48418
Rosmah Mansur	'1st lady'	0.3258		
Yong Teck Lee	SAPP	0.14254		

Table 10b – English	
Politician/Political Figure	Percentage (mention)
Najib Razak	28.7
Anwar Ibrahim	12.962
Lim Kit Siang	9.573
Mahathir Mohamad	6.1459
Lim Guan Eng	4.8248
Khalid Ibrahim	3.3123
Chua Soi Lek	3.0825
Muhyiddin Yassin	2.8719
Nik Aziz	2.8145
Ibrahim Ali	2.2209
Tian Chua	2.1444
Taib Mahmud	1.6849
Nurul Izzah	1.6083
Hadi Awang	1.4551
Musa Aman	1.3211
Rafizi Ramli	1.3211
Azmin Ali	1.1871
Karpal Singh	1.0913
Jeffrey Kitingan	1.0339
Ng Yen Yen	0.9956

Table 11b – Bahasa Malaysia	
Politician/Political Figure	Percentage (mention)
Najib Razak	29.645
Anwar Ibrahim	13.51
Lim Kit Siang	7.963
Nik Aziz	7.1876
Lim Guan Eng	4.4438
Muhyiddin Yassin	3.6385
Mahathir Mohamad	3.4894
Hadi Awang	3.1613
Khalid Ibrahim	2.8333
Ibrahim Ali	2.3263
Nurul Izzah	2.0579
Karpal Singh	1.9386
Chua Soi Lek	1.521
Azmin Ali	1.4912
Taib Mahmud	1.4017
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.2824
Musa Aman	1.2824
Yong Teck Lee	1.1333
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	1.014
Tian Chua	0.95437

Table 12b – Mandarin	
Politician/Political Figure	Percentage (mention)
Najib Razak	24.903
Lim Kit Siang	14.641
Chua Soi Lek	10.975
Lim Guan Eng	8.2672
Anwar Ibrahim	8.1653
Mahathir Mohamad	4.7648
Muhyiddin Yassin	4.1743
Ng Yen Yen	3.0136
Hadi Awang	2.4435
Liow Tiong Lai	2.4231
Nurul Izzah	1.853
Nik Aziz	1.405
Khalid Ibrahim	1.3236
Karpal Singh	1.3032
G. Palanivel	1.2828
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.2217
Azmin Ali	0.91631
Tian Chua	0.8145
Teresa Kok	0.77377
Ibrahim Ali	0.63124

TABLE 13 English		
BN	Attacked	31.29707
	Negative	31.2708
	Neutral	81.31918
	Positive	47.59263
PR	Attacked	44.52955
	Negative	44.29986
	Neutral	12.0879
	Positive	31.368745
Independent	Attacked	1.27226
	Negative	6.8404
	Neutral	2.85714
	Positive	3.986916

TABLE 14 Bahasa Malaysia		
BN	Attacked	13.48316
	Negative	11.25829
	Neutral	80.303
	Positive	42.89128
PR	Attacked	57.67805
	Negative	62.58329
	Neutral	10.43775
	Positive	35.16213
Independent	Attacked	4.49443
	Negative	5.29801
	Neutral	4.8822
	Positive	6.82246

TABLE 15 Mandarin		
BN	Attacked	42.55303
	Negative	50.6096
	Neutral	62.01102
	Positive	53.145637
PR	Attacked	24.46831
	Negative	21.95122
	Neutral	12.84922
	Positive	20.340998
Independent	Attacked	0
	Negative	3.04876
	Neutral	2.23462
	Positive	2.56968

TABLE 16	
Organisation Type	**Percentage**
Bersih	3.4785
Community	4.6704
Democracy/Human Rights	1.7271
Environmental	0.37704
Ethnicity	3.5271
JATI	0.53515
Perkasa	1.9338
Professionals	6.3245
Religious	3.2352
Trade Union	0.36487
Women	3.0406
Youth/Student	6.1542
Election Commission	19.205
Other	45.427

TABLE 17	
Sub-Issues	**Coverage**
1Malaysia	7.2022
GTP	1.3059
ETP	1.2861
NKRA	0.31658
NEP/ Bumiputeraism	0.51444
Welfare State (PAS)	0.27701
Buku Jingga (PR)	0.27701
NEM	0.059359
Transformasi	9.5172
BN Manifesto	44.875
PR Manifesto	15.255
Other	19.114

TABLE 18	
Policy Issues	**Coverage**
Vision Policies/Programmes	49.54776
Environment	2.0560424
Economy/Development	24.449337
Education	6.866261
Foreign Policy	3.0937611
Domestic Policy, Crime & National Security	7.011939
Oppressive Legislation	2.5603555
Health	1.0280212
Religion	3.4719636

TABLE 19	
Sub-Issues	Coverage
Immigration	3.3195
Illegals/Refugees	5.2559
Terrorism (not Lahad Datu)	1.5214
Crime	37.068
Lahad Datu Incident	21.577
Other	31.259

TABLE 20	
Sub-Issues	Coverage
Apostasy (Islam)	5.6022
Islamic State	17.927
Hudud	17.367
Conversion (into Islam)	1.4006
Allah	30.252
Other	27.451

TABLE 21	
Non-Policy Issues	Coverage
Ethnicity	28.52158
Religion	7.52828
Democracy & Human Rights	11.76672
Socioeconomic Status	20.11338
Mudslinging	3.96304
Gender	5.22546
Electioneering	22.9517

TABLE 22	
Sub-Issues	Coverage
Malay	21.267
Chinese	35.903
Indian/South Asian	25.418
Orang Asli	3.5849
Orang Asal, Sabah & Sarawak	4.3666
Thai	0.97035
Portuguese/Eurasian	0.080863
Malay Rights	1.159
Other	7.2237

TABLE 23	
Sub-Issues	Coverage
Islam	68.033
Buddhism/Taoism	1.332
Hinduism	4.5082
Christianity	8.1967
Sikhism	5.0205
Religious Freedom (Non-Apostasy)	1.5369
Interfaith Dialogue/Unity	1.0246
Interfaith Friction	1.332
Other	9.0164

Section 6: 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

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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