

'Watching the Watchdog'

Malaysian Media Coverage of GE13

Preliminary Results – Release 5: World Press Freedom Day

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Watching the Watchdog Release 5¹: Malaysian voters deprived of fair and objective information about their political landscape in the run-up to GE13

Preface

No matter the outcome, the 13th Malaysian General Election is being fought primarily through the media – the so-called 'watchdogs' of democracy.

But how effective are Malaysian media outlets at providing fair and objective information about national politics? How well do they inform Malaysian citizens about their political environment, and thus enable them to make informed decisions about who to vote for?

Key Results

In scrutinising the GE13 coverage provided by the most popular and influential Malaysian media, the Watching the Watchdog media monitoring project² found that citizens of Malaysia are being deprived of fair and objective information about (1) political parties and coalitions and (2) politicians and political figures taking part in the elections.

(1) Coverage of Parties & Coalitions

- The ruling BN coalition and its parties are given the most coverage overall, often by a significant margin.
- The ruling BN coalition and its parties are given the most favourable coverage overall, often by a significant margin.
- The only news sources which do not conform to the above trends are the online news portals, which give approximately equal quantities and quality of coverage to both BN and PR.
- Newspapers and television news heavily favour BN in terms of both the quantity and quality of coverage devoted to the coalition and its parties.

(2) Coverage of Politicians and Political Figures

Who is talked about the most? And how are they talked about?

- The volume of mention-level coverage given to politicians from both coalitions is relatively equitable overall, but some interesting variations are present at the medium-specific and politician-specific levels.
 - Najib Razak is the politician given the single most mentions overall – i.e. he is the political figure discussed the most, by a significant margin.

1 Release 5 is based on data collected over fourteen days (7/4/13 – 20/04/13) for 26 media/publications.

2 The 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.

- Bernama talk *about* opposition politicians much more than they talk *about* BN politicians.
- In contrast, the television news broadcasts talk *about* BN politicians the most.
- The online media discuss independent political figures more than any of the other three mediums.
- BN politicians are given the most positive coverage by a significant margin, while PR politicians are given the most negative coverage and attacked the most by significant margins.

Who is used as a source the most? And who engages in attack politics the most?

- Of all the politicians and political figures tracked, Najib Razak, Muhyiddin Yassin, and Mahathir Mohamad are most commonly used as sources by the media overall, with their combined use as sources larger than that of the rest of the top 10 sources combined, and representing almost half of all source usage tracked.
 - Due in large part to the dominance of this trio, BN politicians are used much more often as sources overall than PR politicians, who are used as sources roughly the same amount as independent political figures.
- Again, notable medium-specific variations are present:
 - Bernama and the television news broadcasts barely use PR politicians as sources, instead devoting most source use to BN followed by independent political figures.
- Muhyiddin Yassin is the source carrying out the highest proportion of all 'attack politics', followed by Najib Razak and Mahathir Mohamad. Together, these three BN politicians are responsible for almost two-thirds of all political attacks made overall.
 - This is only partially attributable to their high source use.

Why are Malaysia's 'Watchdogs' doing their job so poorly?

According to the Reporters Sans Frontieres [World Press Freedom Index 2013](#), press freedom in Malaysia has dropped to an all-time low ranking of 145 out of 179 countries. This state of affairs is attributable to several factors:

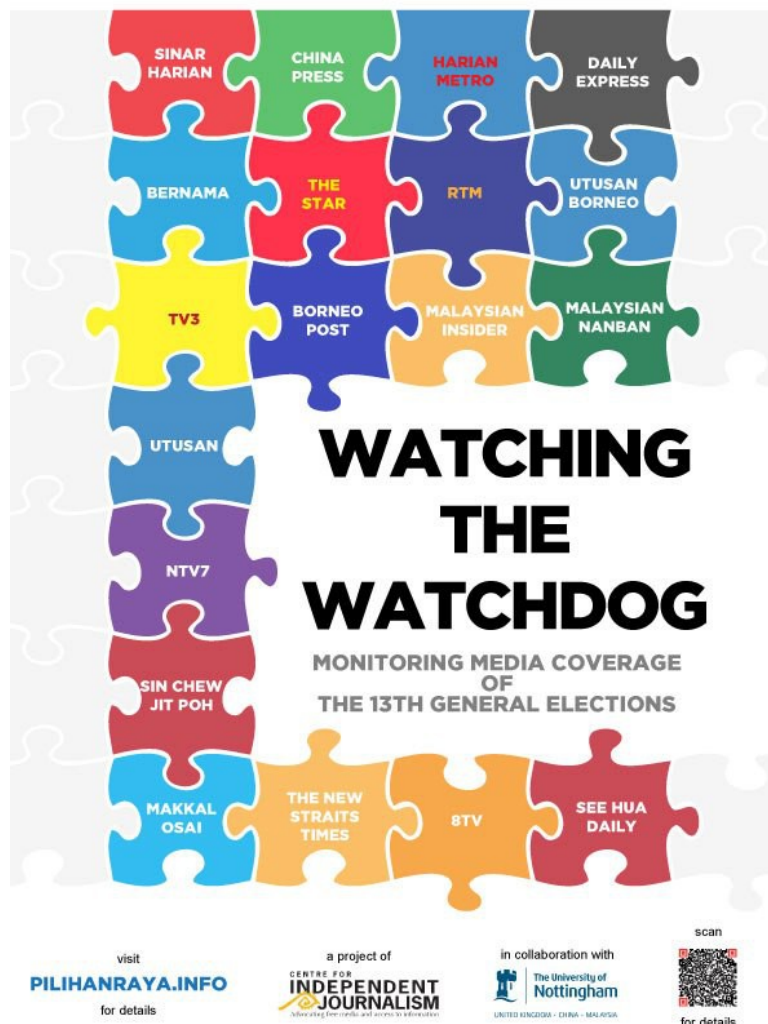
- Under the governance of Barisan Nasional, Malaysia has been and continues to be subjected to multiple pieces of oppressive legislation that effectively stifle freedom of the press/speech in Malaysia's offline media. The worst of these is the Printing Presses and Publication Act, which allows the government to refuse printing/publication licenses to any parties they deem unsupportive of the regime.
- Barisan Nasional (as a coalition) also have control of the nation's media via political and economic mechanism. They use the state-owned media as party mouthpieces, and push the same role upon various media outlets owned directly or indirectly by members of their coalition.
- The only arena in which one can find somewhat balanced political information is via the online media. But these media face several structural difficulties, such as being barred from attending UMNO press conferences and events, being threatened with crackdowns on online speech by the Malaysian Communication Multimedia Commission (MCMC), and suffering regular Distributed Denial-of-Service (DDoS) attacks and other forms of interference with their websites, such as recent ISP-level bandwidth throttling.

Why should we care?

The academic and popular literature on the fundamental importance of the freedom of the press to democracy is extensive – too extensive to enter into in any detail here. However, the quote below does well in summarising why Malaysia can only move towards becoming 'the best democracy in the world' when the Malaysian media (as a whole) are allowed to function as true 'watchdogs', or checks and balances upon those in power.

“Freedom of expression - in particular, **freedom of the press** - guarantees popular participation in the decisions and actions of government, and popular participation is the essence of [our] democracy.”

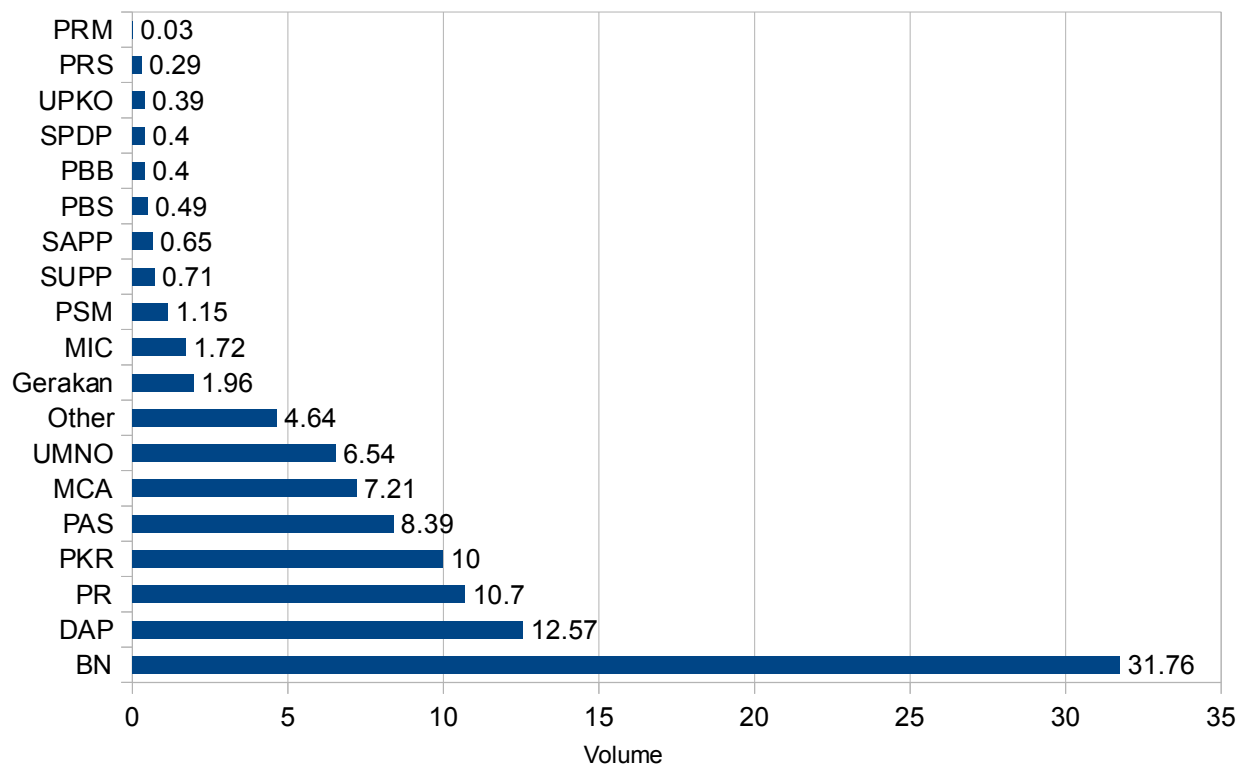
Corazon Aquino



Section 1: Media Coverage of Political Parties & Coalitions

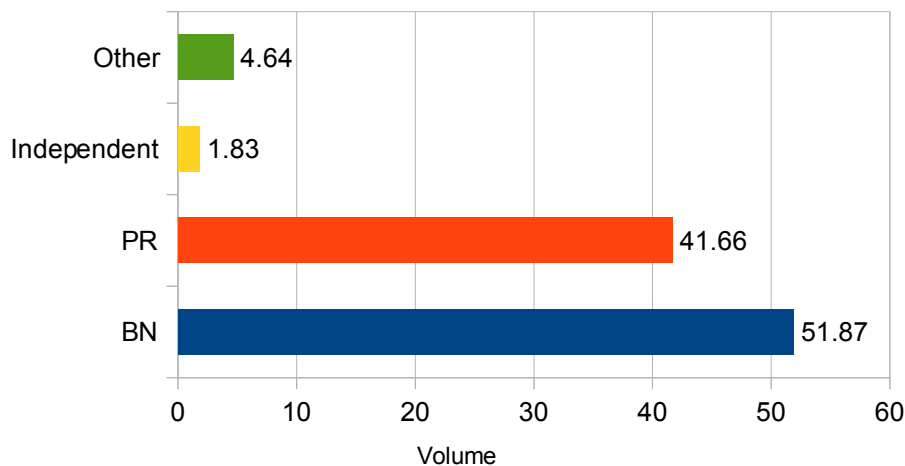
1.1 Volume of Coverage of Parties & Coalitions

Figure 1: Volume of Coverage of Political Parties & Coalitions



- Across all media and all parties/coalitions, BN receive the most coverage by a significant margin (31.76%), followed by DAP (12.57%), then PR (10.7%) and PKR (10%).
- Refer to Table 1 for figures.

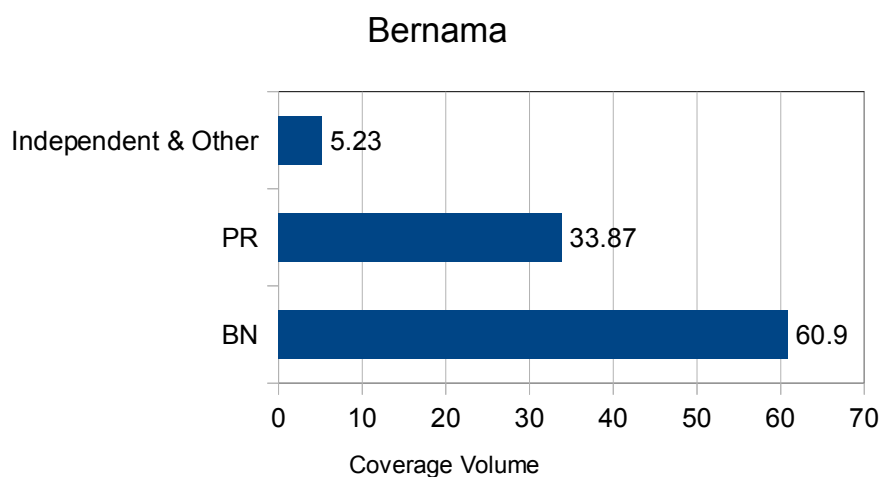
Figure 2: Volume of Coverage of Political Parties & Coalitions: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent



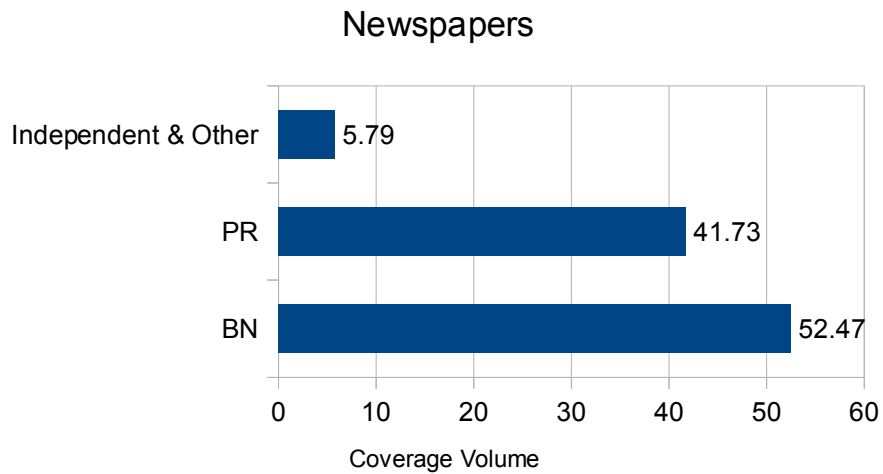
- Once parties/coalitions' coverage volumes are combined, the BN coalition again received the most coverage by a significant margin (51.87%), as opposed to PR (41.66%).
- Refer to Table 2 for figures.

Figures 3-6:

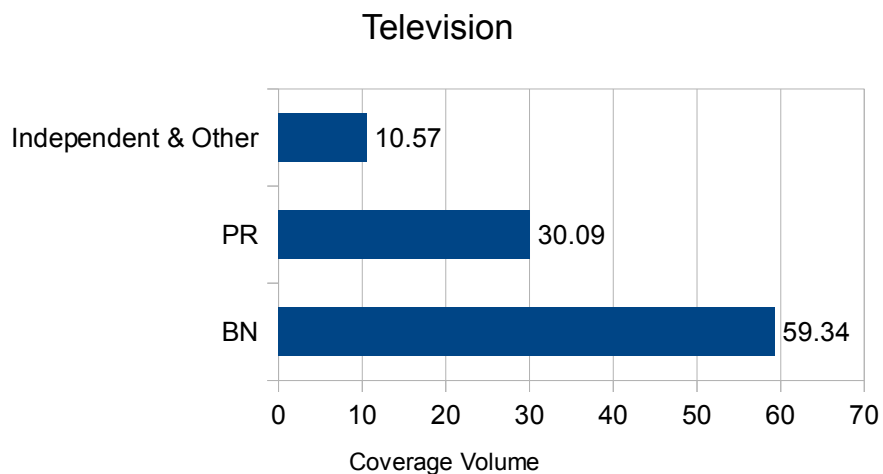
Volume of Coverage of Political Parties & Coalitions: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent - Bernama vs. Newspapers vs. Television vs. Online News



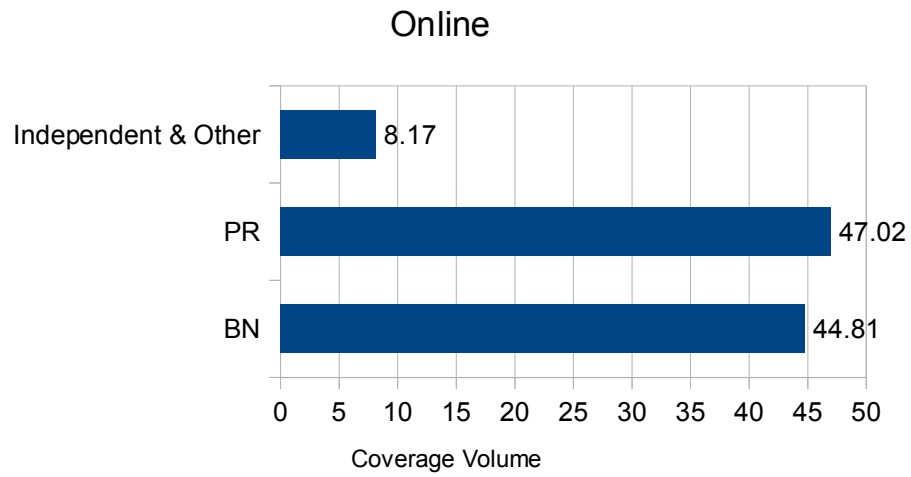
- Bernama gives the most coverage to the BN coalition and its parties (60.9%), followed by the opposition coalition and its parties (33.9%) then Independents and Others (5.2%).
- Refer to Table 3 for figures.



- The newspapers also give the most coverage to the BN coalition and its parties (52.47%), followed by the opposition coalition and its parties (41.73%) then independent and other parties (5.79%)
- Refer to Table 3 for figures.



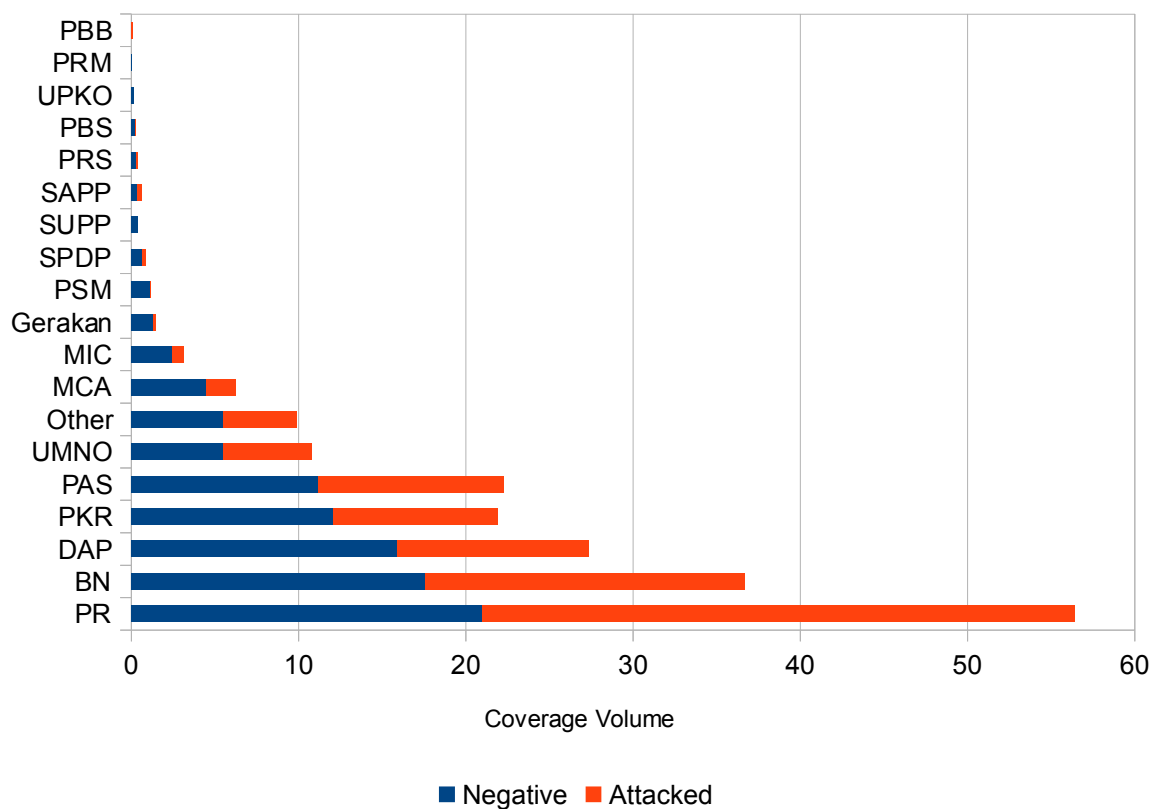
- Television also gives the most coverage to the BN coalition and its parties by a significant margin (59.34%), compared to that given to PR and its parties (30.1%) and independent and other parties (10.6%).
- Refer to Table 3 for figures.



- The online media give relatively equal coverage to both major coalitions (favouring PR very slightly), with PR and BN and their parties at 47% and 44.8% respectively.
- Refer to Table 3 for figures.

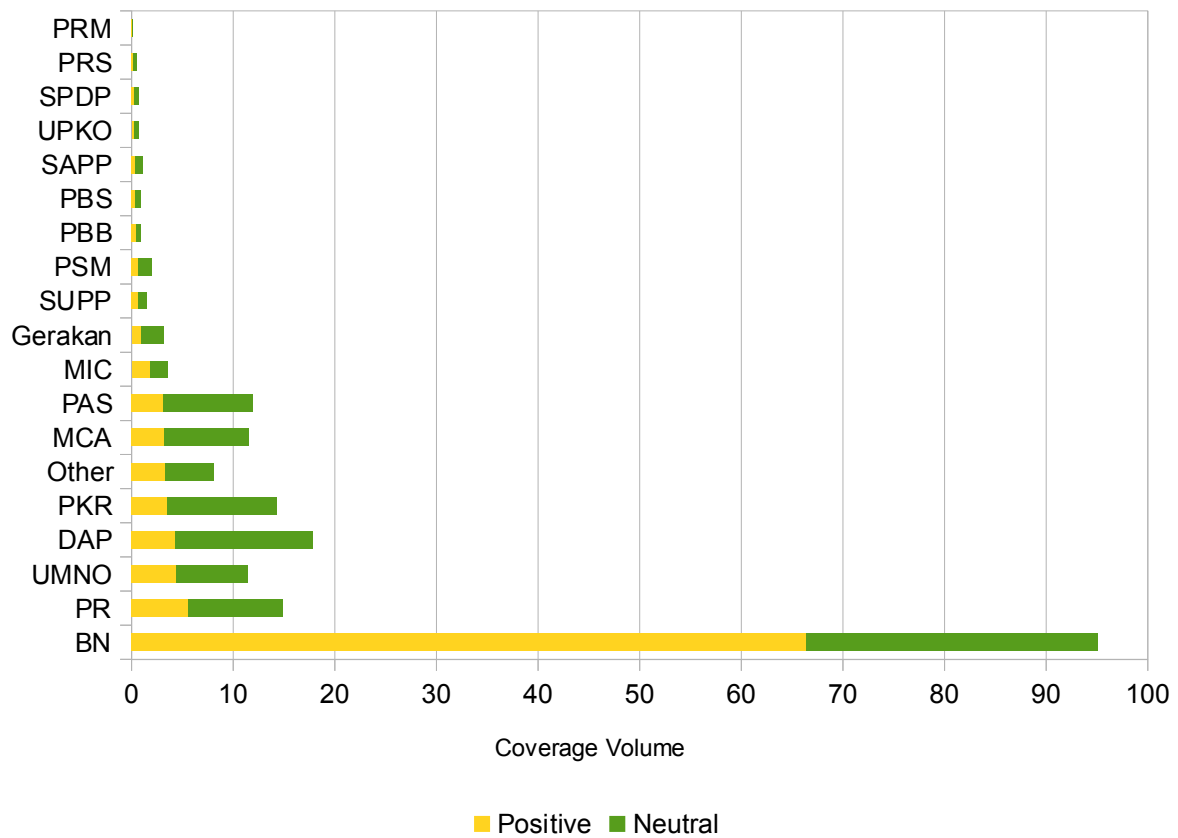
1.2 Tone of Coverage of Political Parties & Coalitions

Figure 7: Negative Political Party & Coalition Coverage



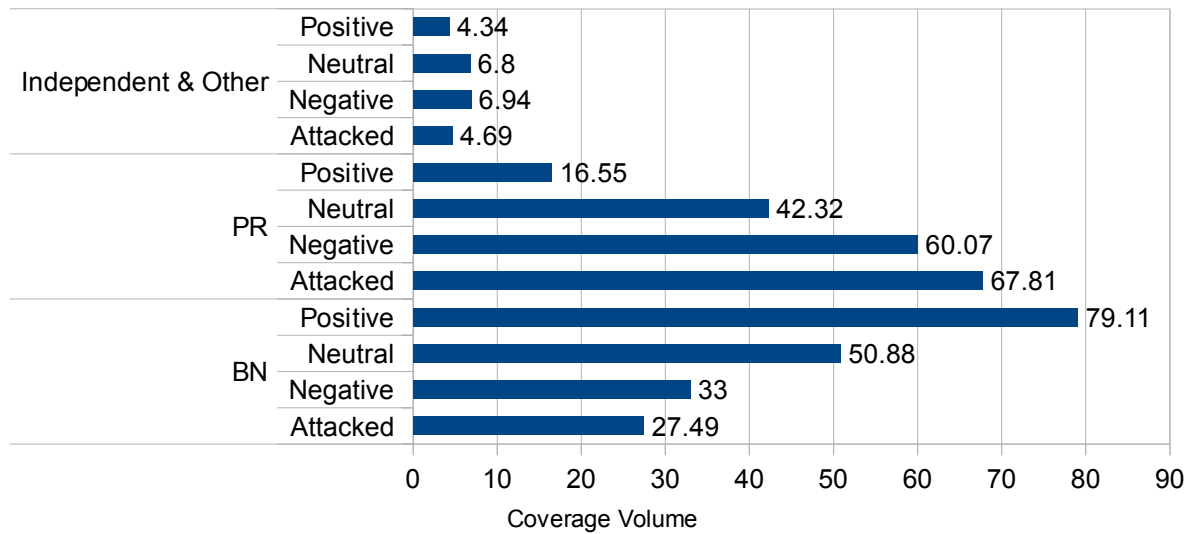
- PR are the most negatively covered (21%) and attacked (35.4%) party/coalition by a significant margin.
- BN comes in second, with 17.6% and 19.1% in each category respectively.
- However, it should be noted that the most attacked parties in positions 3-5 are the opposition coalition's constituent parties – see Figure 9 for combined coverage.
- Refer to Table 4 for figures.

Figure 8: Positive Political Party & Coalition Coverage



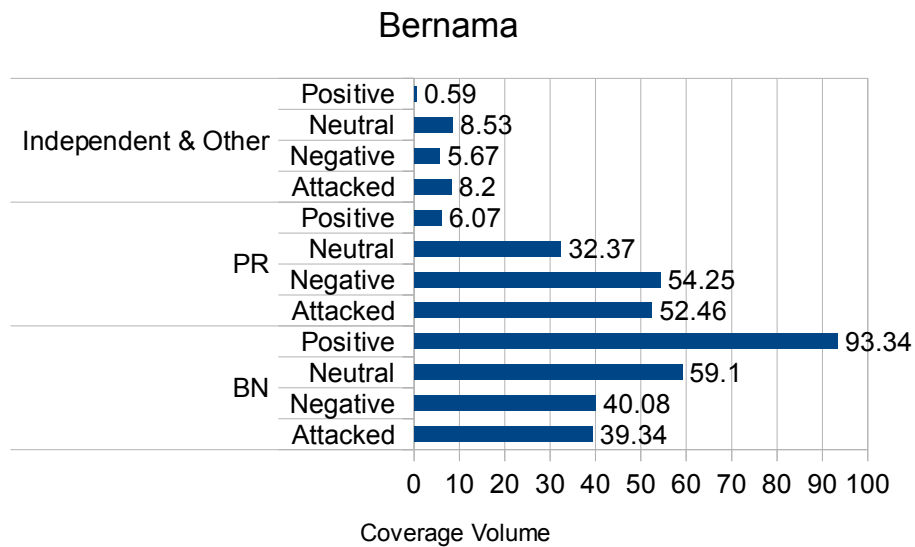
- BN receive the most positive (66.4%) coverage by a very significant margin, with the opposition coalition/parties receiving very little positive coverage at all.
- BN also receive the most neutral coverage by a significant margin (28.7%).
- Refer to Table 4 for figures.

Figure 9: Tone of Coverage of Political Parties & Coalitions: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent

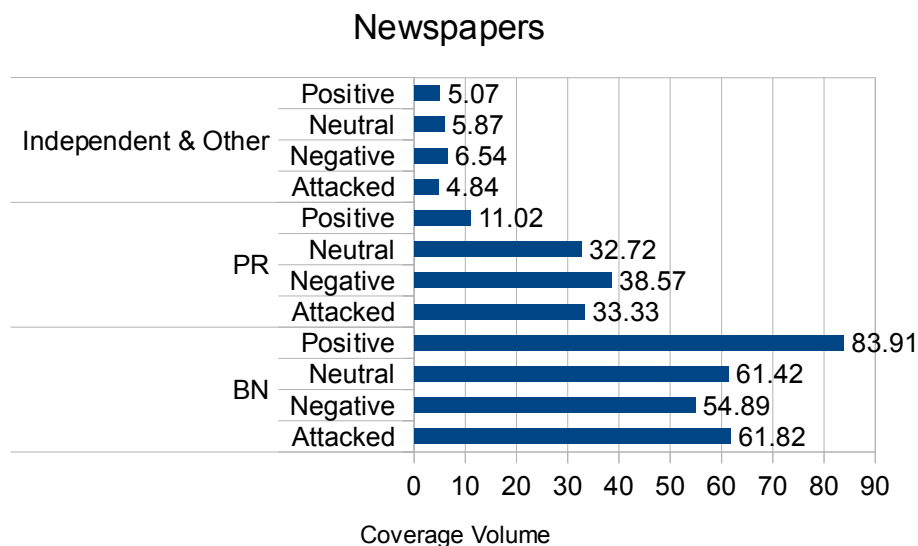


- When coalition and party coverage is combined into the two opposing coalitions, it becomes very clear that BN receives the largest proportion of positive coverage by a very significant margin (79.1%).
- BN also receives the most neutral coverage (50.1%).
- In contrast, PR receives the largest proportions of attacks (67.8%) and negative coverage (60.1%).
- Refer to Table 5 for figures.

Figures 10-13: Tone of Coverage of Political Parties & Coalitions: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent - Bernama vs. Newspapers vs. Television vs. Online News

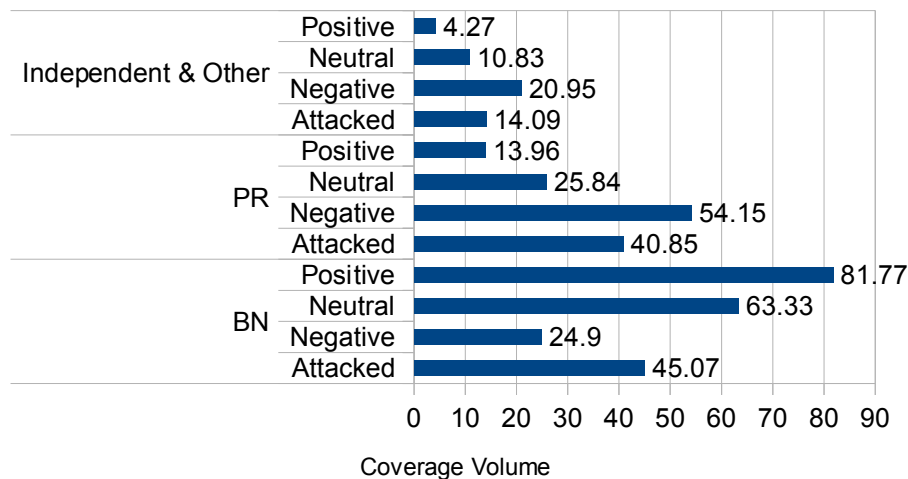


- Bernama echoes the overall trend of giving the BN coalition the most positive coverage by a very significant margin (93.3%), as well as the most neutral coverage (59.1%).
- PR receive both the most attacks (52.5%) and the most negative coverage (54.3%).
- Refer to Tables 6 for figures.



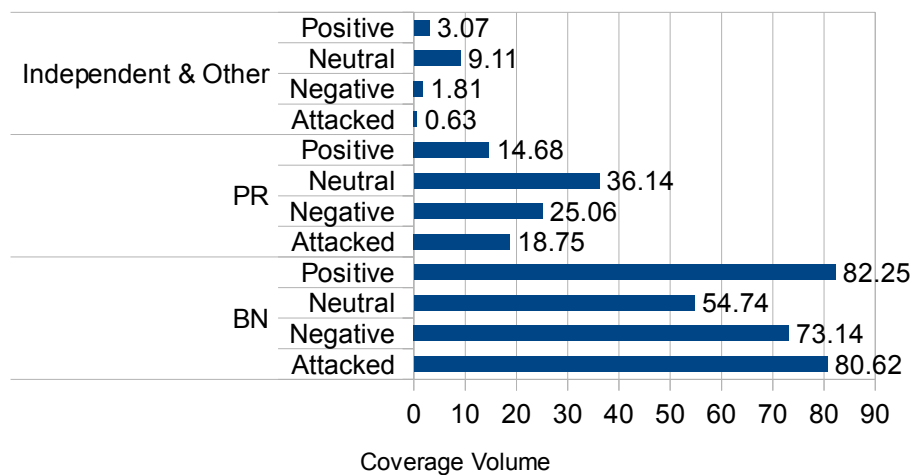
- The newspapers also echo the overall trend of giving the BN coalition the most positive coverage by a very significant margin (83.91%) and the most neutral coverage (61.42%).
- However, BN also receive the most attacks and negative coverage (61.8% and 54.9% respectively), which reflects the fact that they are given greatest volume of coverage overall.
- Refer to Tables 6 for figures.

Television



- Television coverage also echoes the general trend of giving the BN coalition the most positive coverage by a significant margin (81.8%), with the lack of negative coverage given to BN (24.9%) especially pronounced in this medium.
- PR receives the most negative coverage (54.1%), but is attacked slightly less than BN overall (40.8% cf. 45.1%).
- Refer to Table 6 for figures.

Online

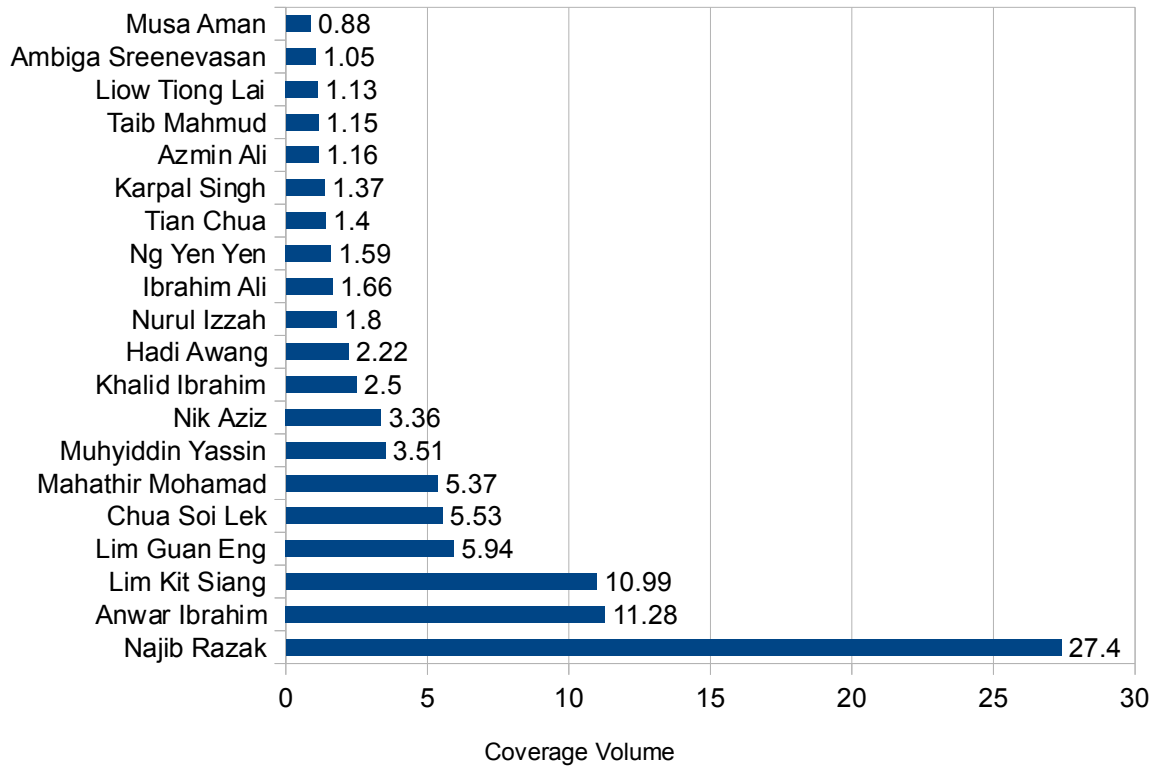


- The online media give BN the most coverage within each tonal category (proportionally), giving them proportionally more positive coverage than negative coverage or attacks.
- They run attacks on and negative coverage of PR proportionally more than they give PR positive coverage.
- When viewed alongside Figure 6, this tells us that the neutral tonal category is by far the largest category used in the online media, i.e. they are the most even-handed in their coverage of political parties and coalitions of the four media types analysed.
- Refer to Table 6 for figures.

Section 2: Media Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures

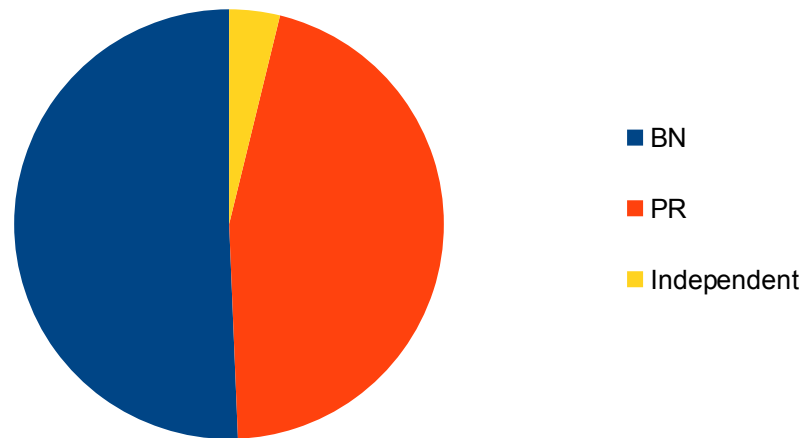
2.1 Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures

Figure 14: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures



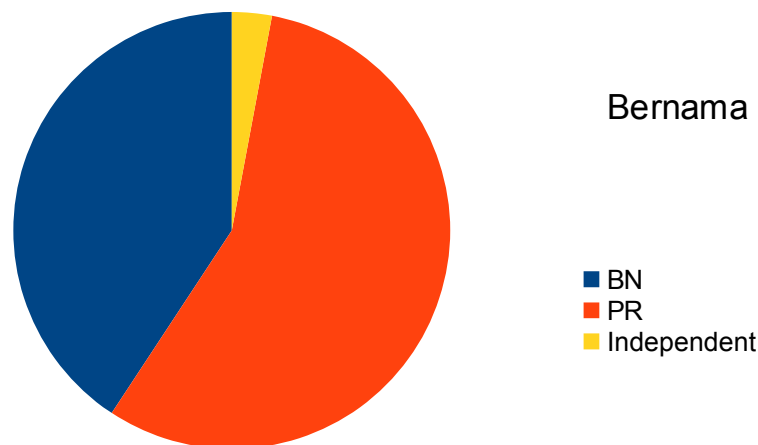
- Only the top 20 most *mentioned* name-tracked politicians are shown on this graph.
- Of all name-tracked politicians and political figures, Najib Razak receives the most mentions by a significant proportion (27.4%), followed by Anwar Ibrahim (11.3%) and Lim Kit Siang (11%).
- Refer to Table 7 for full figures.

Figure 15: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent

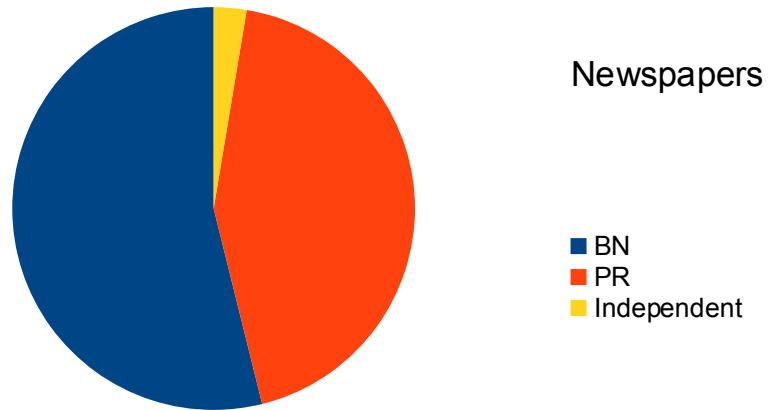


- When the mentions of individual politicians and political figures are combined and merged into their respective coalitions, the collective mentions given to each major coalition's constituent politicians across all media types are fairly equitable i.e. similar volumes of coverage are given at the individual level to each coalition.
- Refer to Table 8 for figures.

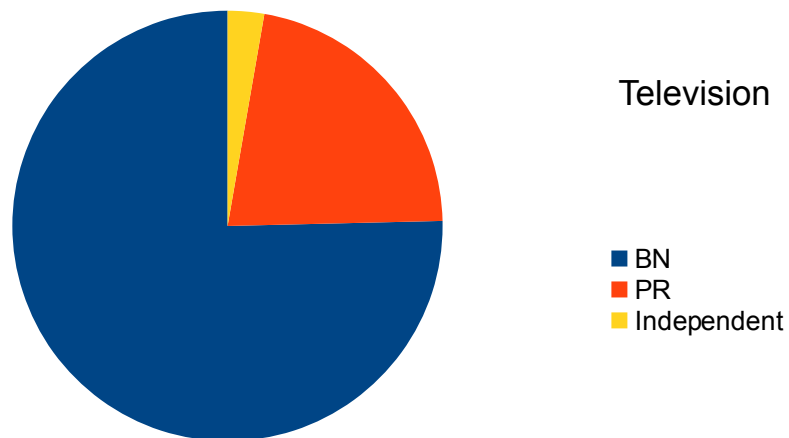
Figures 16 -19: Volume of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent - Bernama vs. Newspapers vs. Television vs. Online News



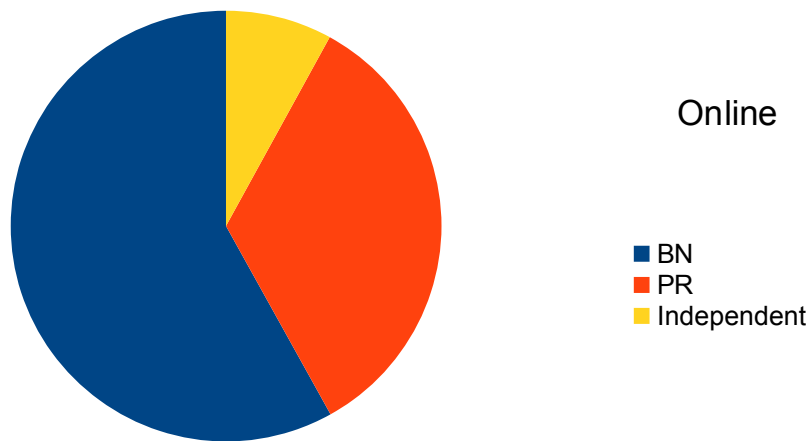
- Interestingly, Bernama appear to *mention* opposition politicians most often. Our hypothesis (based on their very low use of PR politicians as sources and high use of BN politicians and independent figures as sources – see Figure 9) is that this stems from a high proportion of discussion *about* opposition politicians being carried by Bernama, rather than using them as sources.
- Refer to Table 9 for figures.



- The newspapers give relatively equitable volumes of mention-level coverage to politicians from both coalitions.
- Refer to Table 9 for figures.



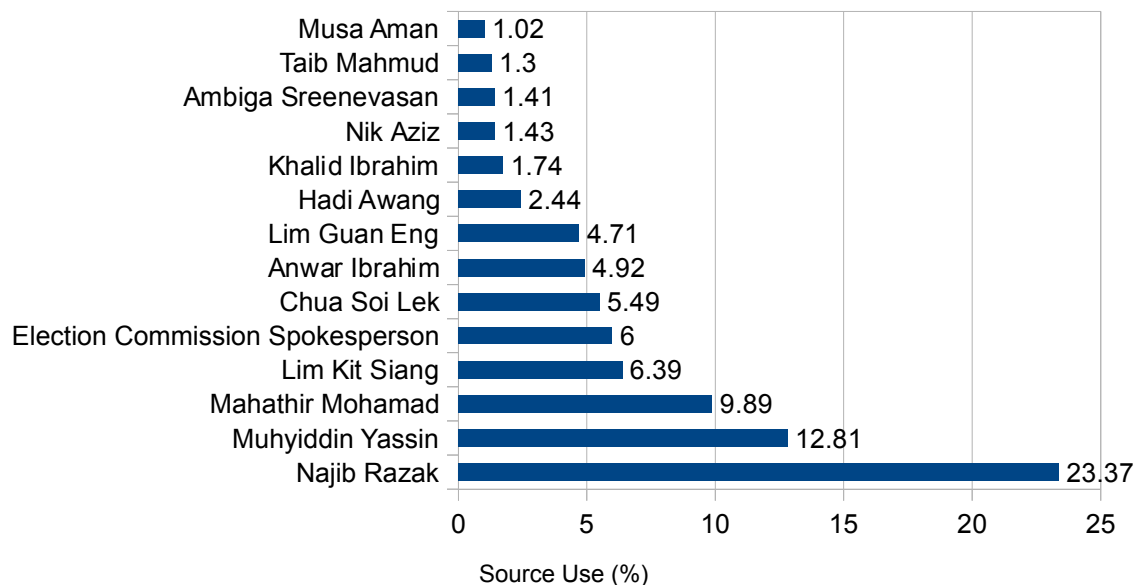
- The television news gives the vast majority of their mention-level coverage to individual politicians and political figures from BN, and devotes very little coverage to PR politicians.
- Refer to Table 9 for figures.



- The online media devote significantly more of their mention-level coverage of politicians and political figures to those from BN as opposed to those from PR.
- Of all mediums, they devote the largest proportion of their mention-level coverage of politicians and political figures to those not aligned with either coalition, i.e. independents and others.
- Refer to Table 9 for figures.

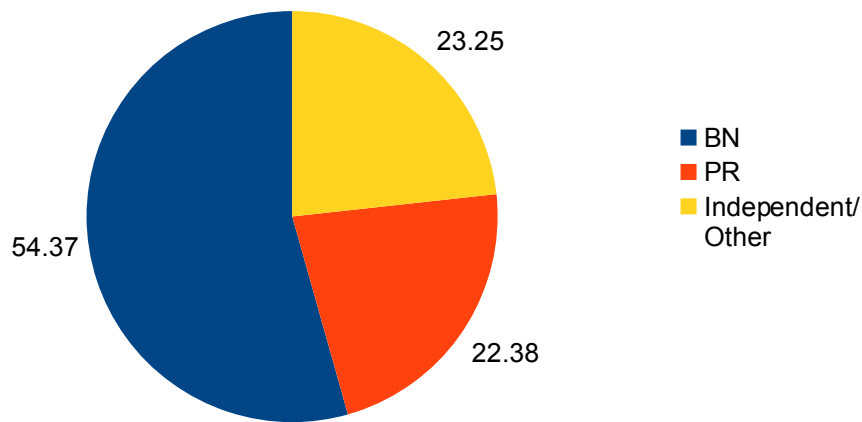
2.2 Volume of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures as Sources

Figure 20: Volume of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures as Sources



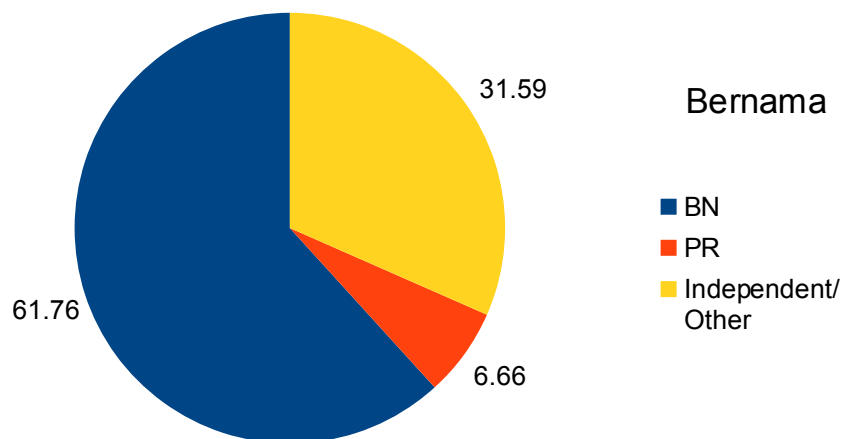
- Of the politicians and political figures tracked, Najib Razak, Muhyiddin Yassin, and Mahathir Mohamad are most commonly used as sources by the media.
- Their combined use as sources (46.1%) is larger than that of the rest of the top 10 sources combined, and represents almost half of all source usage tracked.
- This dominance is apparent in the next graph which shows combined source use from each coalition across all politicians tracked.
- Refer to Table 10 for figures.

Figures 21: Volume of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures As Sources: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent/Other

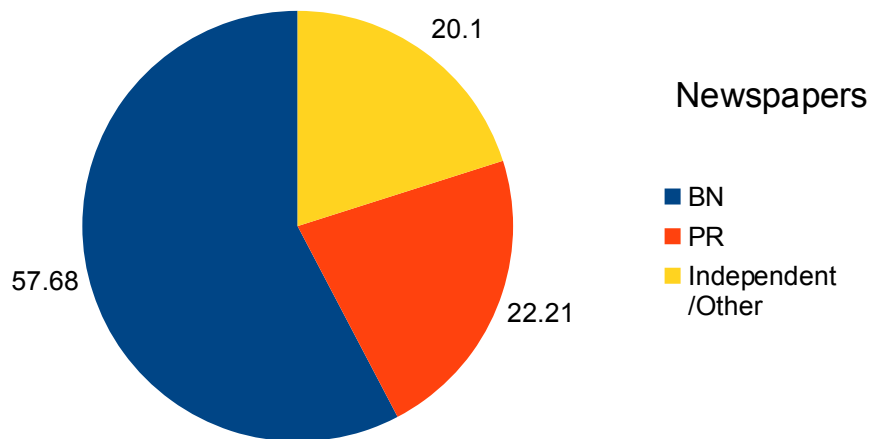


- Politicians from BN are used as sources much more often (54.4%) than politicians from PR (22.4%) or independent/other political figures (23.2%).
- Refer to Table 10 for figures.

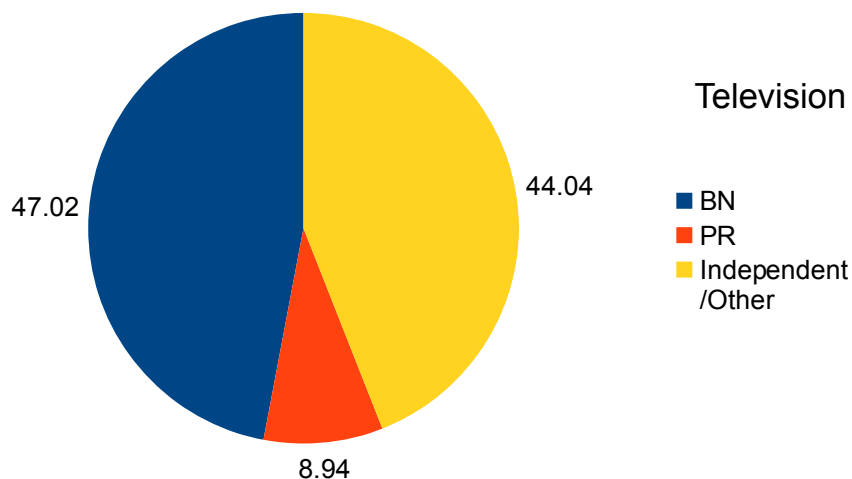
Figures 22-25: Volume of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures as Sources: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent/Other - Bernama vs. Newspapers vs. Television vs. Online News



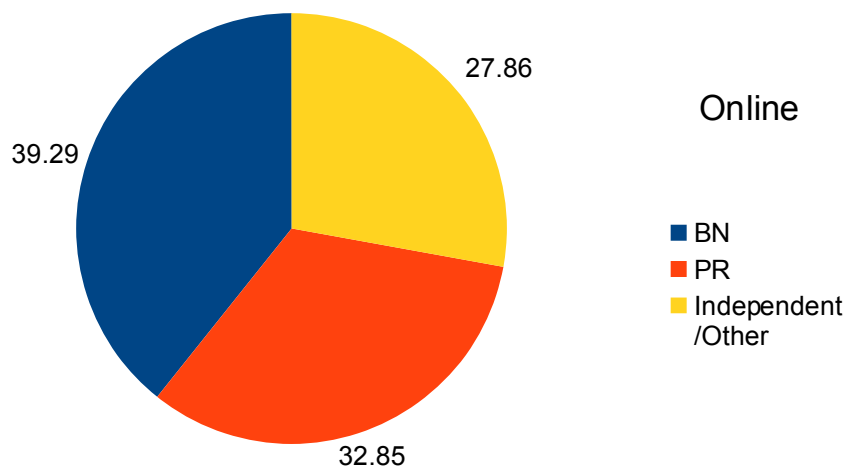
- Bernama use sources from BN (61.76%) much more often than sources from PR (6.7%).
- Bernama also use independent/other sources (31.6%) much more often than sources from PR.
- Refer to Table 11 for figures.



- The newspapers also use BN politicians as sources significantly most often, but give relatively equitable source usage to PR and independent/other politicians and political figures.
- Refer to Table 11 for figures.



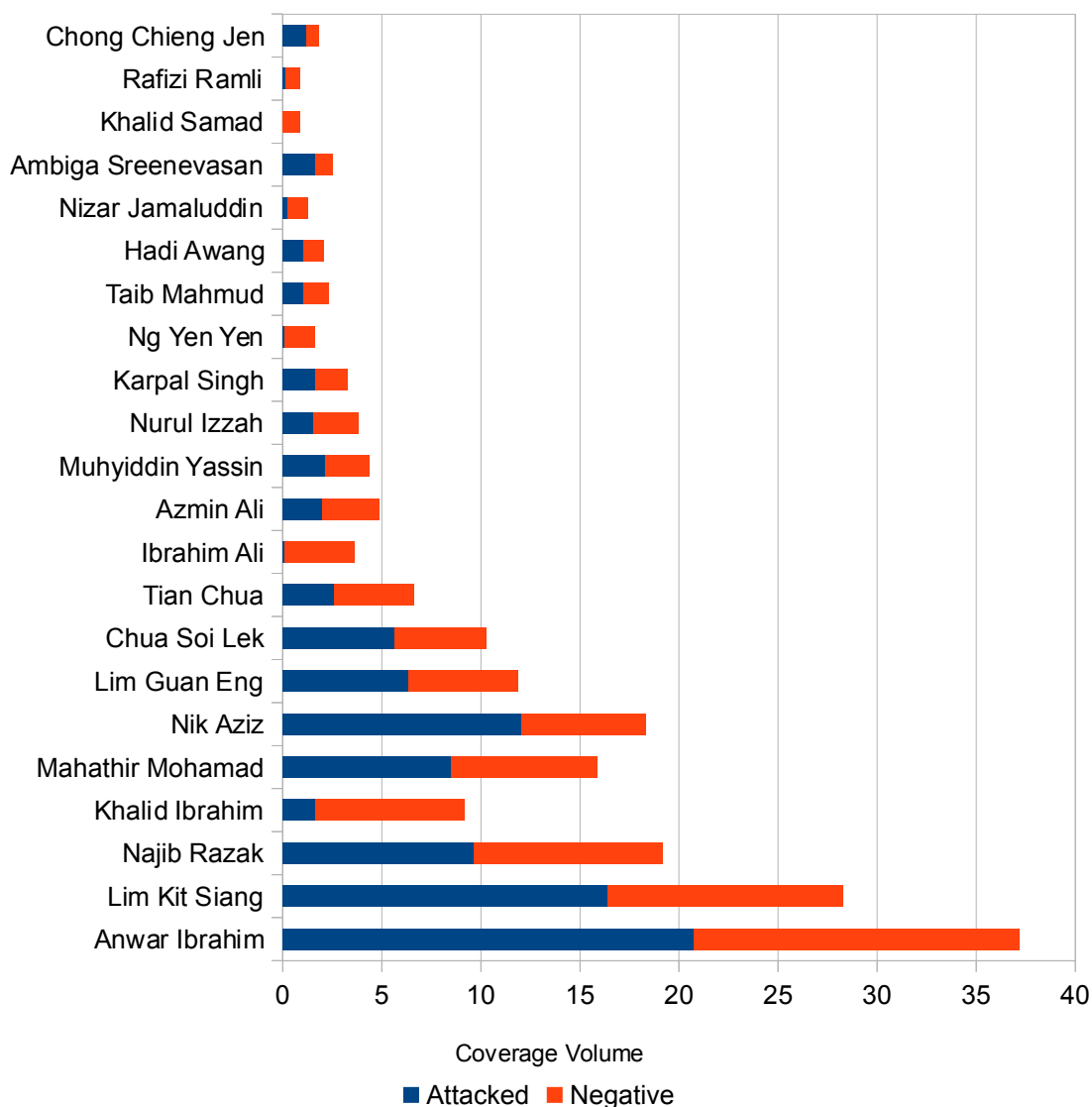
- Similar to Bernama, television news uses BN politicians the most as sources, and gives much more source usage to independent/other politicians and political figures to politicians from PR.
- When viewed in combination with the data in Figure 5, we can say that at the individual political figure or politician level, the television news is comprised largely of BN politicians being used as sources and being spoken about (by themselves, or by others).
- Refer to Table 11 for figures.



- The online media also use BN politicians as sources the most often, but are the most equitable overall in terms of who they use as sources compared to the other mediums.
- Refer to Table 11 for figures.

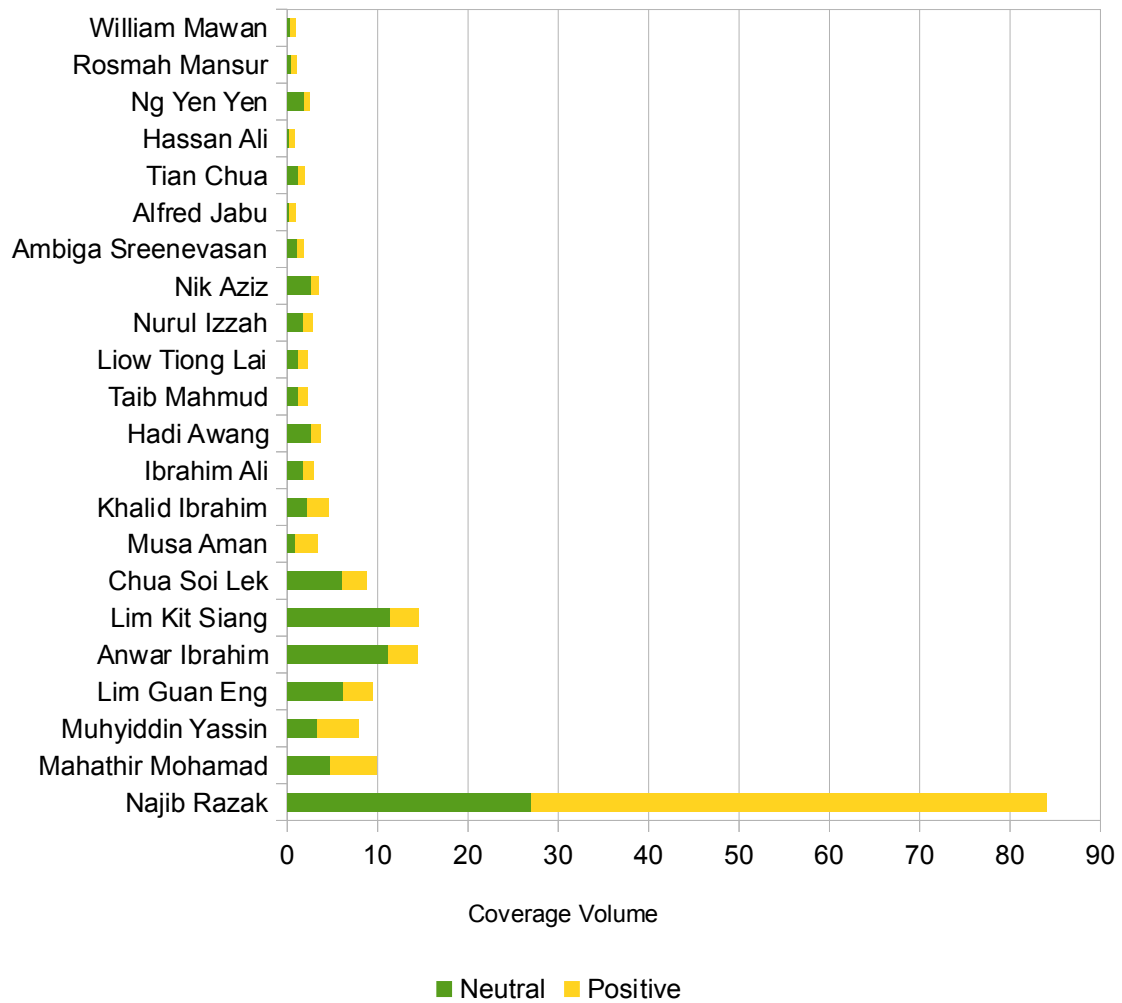
2.3 Tone of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures

Figure 26: Negative Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures



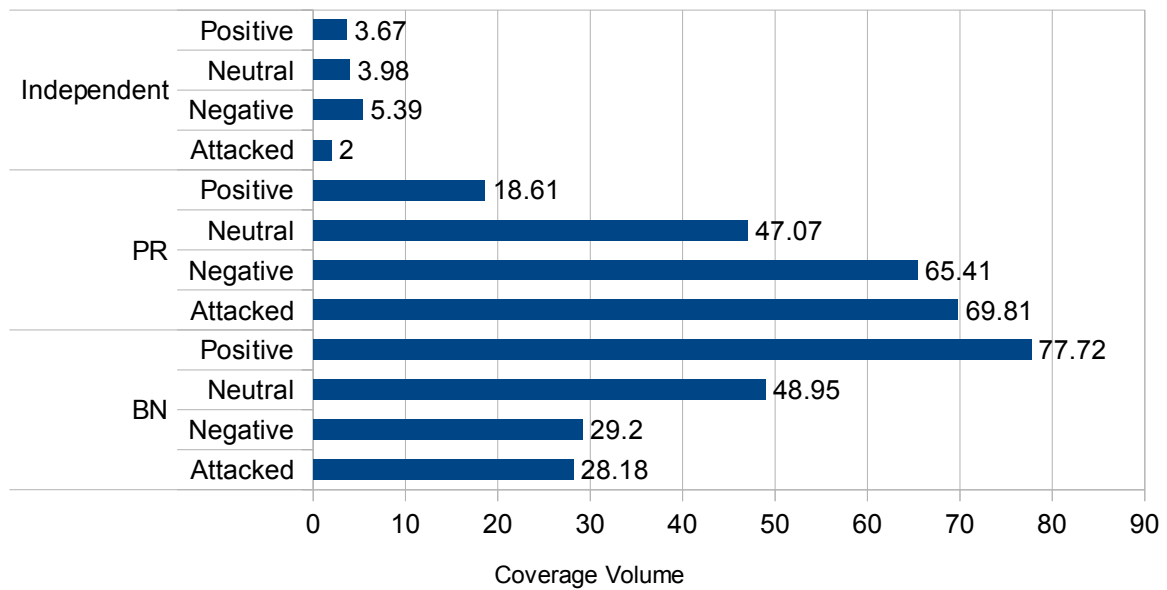
- In terms of the tone of mentions of named politicians and political figures, Anwar Ibrahim receives the highest proportion of negative mentions (16.4%) and the highest proportion of attacks (20.8%).
- Lim Kit Siang and Niz Aziz are the next most often attacked (16.4% and 12% respectively).
- Najib Razak and Mahathir Mohamad come in at fourth and fifth most attacked (9.7% and 8.5% respectively).
- Lim Kit Siang receives the 2nd highest proportion of negative mentions (11.9%), followed by Najib Razak (9.5%), Khalid Ibrahim (7.52%), then Mahathir Mohamad (7.39%).
- Refer to Table 12 for full figures.

Figure 27: Positive Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures



- In terms of the tone of mentions of named politicians and political figures, Najib Razak received the highest proportions of both positive (57.1%) and neutral mentions (27%) by very significant margins.
- Mahathir Mohamed received the second most positive mentions (5.2%), then Muhyiddin Yassin (5.2%), Lim Guan Eng (3.3%), and Anwar Ibrahim (3.2%).
- Refer to Table 13 for figures.

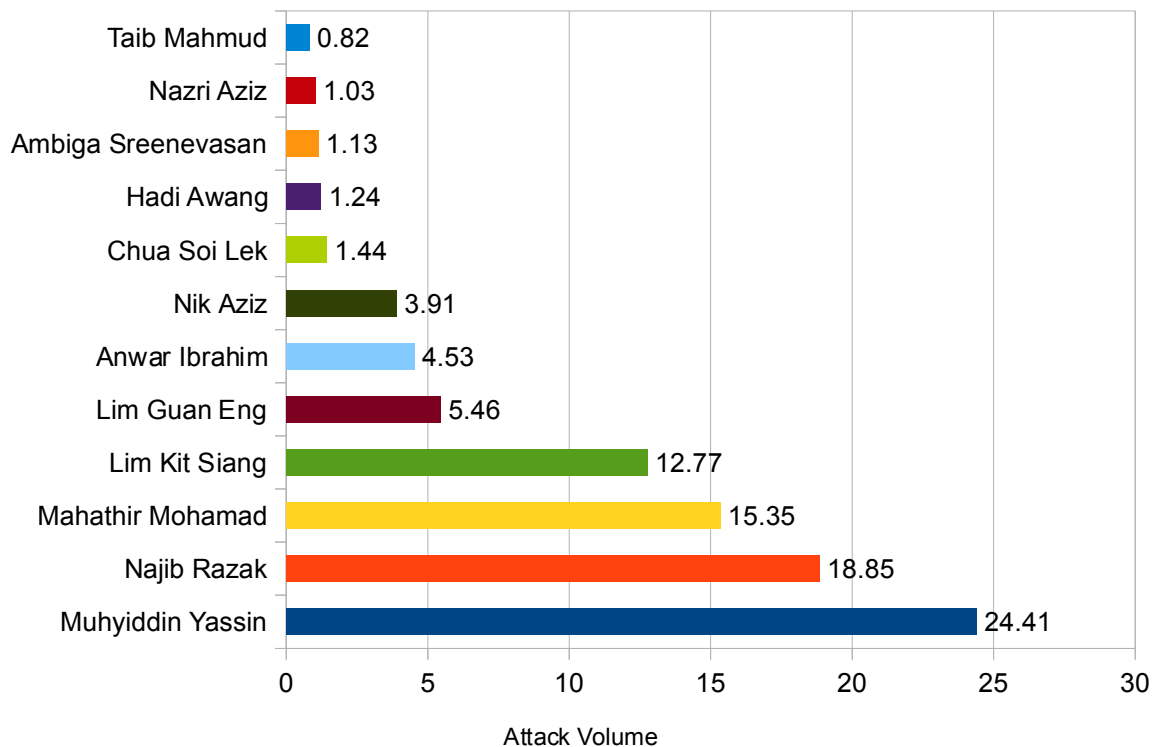
Figure 28: Tone of Coverage of Politicians & Political Figures: Government vs. Opposition vs. Independent



- Overall, BN politicians are given the highest proportion of positive mentions by a very significant margin (77.7% as opposed to PR's 18.6%).
- Overall, PR politicians are given the highest proportion of negative mentions by a significant margin (65.41% as opposed to BN's 29.2%).
- Overall, PR politicians receive the highest proportion of attacks by a significant margin (69.8% as opposed to BN's 28.2%).
- Politicians from both major coalitions receive roughly the same proportions of neutral coverage.
- Refer to Table 14 for figures.

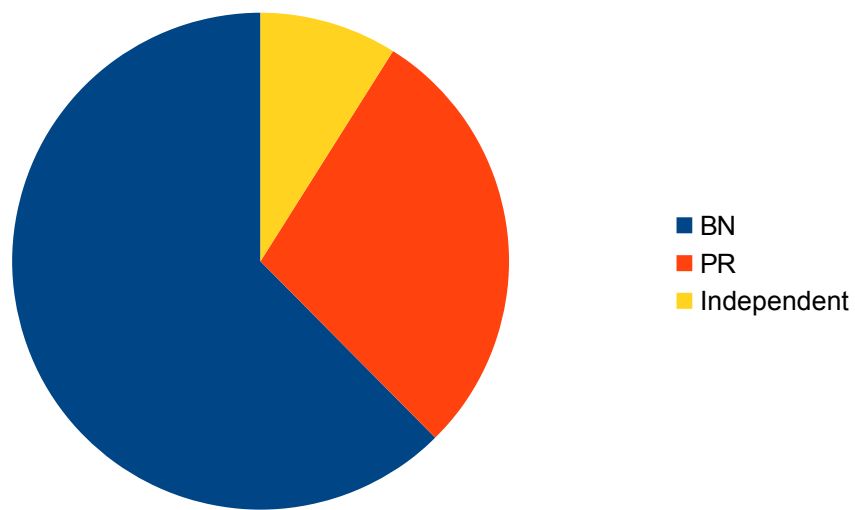
2.4 Tone of the Use of Politicians & Political Figures As Sources: Attack Politics or Negative Campaigning

Figure 29: Attack Politics: Which Politicians and Political Figures Employ 'Attack Politics' Most Often?



- Muhyiddin Yassin (24.4%) is the tracked source carrying out the highest proportion of all 'attack politics', followed by Najib Razak (18.9%) and Mahathir Mohamad (15.3%). Together, these three BN politicians are responsible for 58.6% of all political attacks made.
- Of the opposition figures used/tracked as sources, Lim Kit Siang is responsible for the highest proportion of all political attacks (12.8%), followed by Lim Guan Eng (5.5%) and Anwar Ibrahim (4.5%).
- Refer to Table 15 for figures.

Figure 30: Attack Politics: Which Coalition Employs Attack Politics Most Often?



- Overall, BN coalition politicians engage in attack politics much more often than either opposition politicians or independent politicians or political figures.
- Refer to Table 15 for figures.

Section 3: 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
	<i>The Star</i> (sans 15/04/13)			
	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			
	<i>See Hua Daily</i> (Sabah)*	8TV Mandarin News		
	<i>See Hua Daily</i> (Sarawak)*			
Tamil	Makkal Osai			
	<i>Malaysian Nanban*</i>			

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 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 4: Appendix 1 – Tables

TABLE 1	
Party	Percentage
BN	31.755
DAP	12.565
Gerakan	1.9644
MCA	7.2073
MIC	1.7166
PAS	8.3946
PBB	0.40239
PBS	0.48564
PKR	9.9982
PR	10.698
PRS	0.29337
PRM	0.025769
PSM	1.1517
SAPP	0.64818
SPDP	0.40239
SUPP	0.71359
UMNO	6.5393
UPKO	0.39049
Other	4.6443

TABLE 2			
Party	Percentage	Coalition	Percentage
BN	31.755	BN	51.87047
Gerakan	1.9644		
MCA	7.2073		
MIC	1.7166		
PBB	0.40239		
PBS	0.48564		
PRS	0.29337		
SPDP	0.40239		
SUPP	0.71359		
UMNO	6.5393		
UPKO	0.39049		
PR	10.698	PR	41.6558
DAP	12.565		
PAS	8.3946		
PKR	9.9982		
PRM	0.025769	Independent	1.825649
PSM	1.1517		
SAPP	0.64818		
Other	4.6443	Other	4.6443

TABLE 3		
Publication Type	Coalition	Percentages
Bernama	BN	60.89547
	PR	33.8705
	Independent & Other	5.23403
Newspapers	BN	52.4664
	PR	41.7336
	Independent & Other	5.794488
Television	BN	59.344898
	PR	30.0904
	Independent & Other	10.56504
Online	BN	44.805138
	PR	47.023
	Independent & Other	8.172269

TABLE 4					
Parties & Coalitions	Attacked	Negative	Neutral	Positive	TOTAL
BN	19.092	17.562	28.672	66.438	131.764
DAP	11.476	15.88	13.507	4.3363	45.1993
Gerakan	0.15649	1.2987	2.2708	0.9695	4.69549
MCA	1.7736	4.4864	8.3041	3.2082	17.7723
MIC	0.67814	2.4498	1.6685	1.8685	6.66494
PAS	11.111	11.128	8.7654	3.1553	34.1597
PBB	0.10433	0	0.44596	0.44068	0.99097
PBS	0.052165	0.23613	0.55104	0.35255	1.191885
PKR	9.807	12.102	10.785	3.4902	36.1842
PR	35.42	20.956	9.2626	5.5702	71.2088
PRS	0.10433	0.29516	0.31781	0.21153	0.92883
PRM	0	0.029516	0.02563	0.035255	0.090401
PSM	0.052165	1.0921	1.2866	0.65221	3.083075
SAPP	0.26082	0.32468	0.73045	0.35255	1.6685
SPDP	0.20866	0.61983	0.41777	0.26441	1.51067
SUPP	0	0.41322	0.78171	0.66984	1.86477
UMNO	5.3208	5.49	7.0072	4.3892	22.2072
UPKO	0	0.14758	0.4434	0.29967	0.89065
Other	4.3818	5.49	4.7569	3.2963	17.925

TABLE 5 WEIGHTED SUMMARY		
BN	Attacked	27.490515
	Negative	32.99882
	Neutral	50.88029
	Positive	79.11208
PR	Attacked	67.814
	Negative	60.066
	Neutral	42.32
	Positive	16.552
Independent & Other	Attacked	4.694785
	Negative	6.936296
	Neutral	6.79958
	Positive	4.336315

TABLE 6 WEIGHTED SUMMARY			
Bernama	BN	Attacked	39.34401
		Negative	40.08086
		Neutral	59.10104
		Positive	93.34319
	PR	Attacked	52.459
		Negative	54.251
		Neutral	32.3732
		Positive	6.0651
	Independent & Other	Attacked	8.1967
		Negative	5.66802
		Neutral	8.5253
		Positive	0.59172
Newspapers	BN	Attacked	61.8241
		Negative	54.8877
		Neutral	61.41545
		Positive	83.90766
	PR	Attacked	33.3334
		Negative	38.569
		Neutral	32.7184
		Positive	11.0195
	Independent & Other	Attacked	4.843355
		Negative	6.544
		Neutral	5.867367
		Positive	5.072465
Television	BN	Attacked	45.0705
		Negative	24.90172
		Neutral	63.325232
		Positive	81.7665
	PR	Attacked	40.8458
		Negative	54.15
		Neutral	25.8395
		Positive	13.9602
	Independent & Other	Attacked	14.085
		Negative	20.94851
		Neutral	10.83428
		Positive	4.27355
Online	BN	Attacked	80.624
		Negative	73.13726
		Neutral	54.744881
		Positive	82.25319
	PR	Attacked	18.75
		Negative	25.0564
		Neutral	36.141
		Positive	14.6758
	Independent & Other	Attacked	0.625
		Negative	1.8059
		Neutral	9.113513
		Positive	3.0717

TABLE 7	
Politician/Political Figure	(mention)
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0.11777
Alfred Jabu	0.36803
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.0452
Anwar Ibrahim	11.276
Azmin Ali	1.1556
Baru Bian	0.26498
Bernard Dompok	0.2429
Chong Chieng Jen	0.47107
Chua Soi Lek	5.5277
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0.16929
Elizabeth Wong	0.066245
G. Palanivel	0.8023
Hadi Awang	2.2229
Hassan Ali	0.22082
Hishamuddin Hussein	0.38275
Ibrahim Ali	1.6561
James Masing	0.17665
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.50788
Karpal Singh	1.3691
Khalid Ibrahim	2.5026
Khalid Samad	0.633
Lim Guan Eng	5.9399
Lim Kit Siang	10.989
Liow Tiong Lai	1.1262
Mahathir Mohamad	5.3658
Maximus Ongkili	0.12513
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.60356
Muhyiddin Yassin	3.511
Musa Aman	0.8759
Najib Razak	27.403
Ng Yen Yen	1.5899
Nik Aziz	3.3638
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.39747
Nurul Izzah	1.796
Rafizi Ramli	0.78758
Rosmah Mansur	0.44899
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0.022082
Taib Mahmud	1.1482
Teresa Kok	0.54468
Tian Chua	1.3985
Tony Pua	0.25026
William Mawan	0.33858
Wong Ho Leng	0.22082
Wong Soon Koh	0.036803
Yong Teck Lee	0.53732

TABLE 8					
Politician/Political Figure	Party etc.	Percentage	Coalition	Percentage	
Chua Soi Lek	MCA	8.2438	BN	49.138613	
Liow Tiong Lai					
Ng Yen Yen					
G. Palanivel	MIC	0.8023			
Alfred Jabu	PBB	1.51623			
Taib Mahmud					
Maximus Ongkili	PBS	0.12513			
James Masing	PRS	0.17665			
William Mawan	SPDP	0.33858			
Wong Soon Koh	SUPP	0.036803			
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	UMNO	37.65622			
Hishamuddin Hussein					
Mahathir Mohamad					
Muhyiddin Yassin					
Musa Aman					
Najib Razak					
Bernard Dompok	UPKO	0.2429			
Chong Chieng Jen	DAP	19.78483	PR	46.952317	
Karpal Singh					
Lim Guan Eng					
Lim Kit Siang					
Teresa Kok					
Tony Pua					
Wong Ho Leng					
Dzulkefly Ahmad	PAS	7.412102			
Hadi Awang					
Khalid Samad					
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu					
Nik Aziz					
Nizar Jamaluddin					
Siti Mariah Mahmud	PKR	19.755385			
Anwar Ibrahim					
Azmin Ali					
Baru Bian					
Elizabeth Wong					
Jeffrey Kitingan					
Khalid Ibrahim					
Nurul Izzah					
Rafizi Ramli					
Tian Chua					
Ambiga Sreenevasan	Bersih	1.0452	Independent	3.90843	
Hassan Ali	Independent	0.22082			
Ibrahim Ali	Perkasa	1.6561			
Rosmah Mansur	'1 st lady'	0.44899			
Yong Teck Lee	SAPP	0.53732			

TABLE 9		
Bernama	BN	44.71505
	PR	38.75316
	Independent	2.168
Newspapers	BN	47.27836
	PR	41.41721
	Independent	2.168
Television	BN	70.88107
	PR	20.59383
	Independent	2.586215
Online	BN	48.200676
	PR	33.625251
	Independent	7.610671

TABLE 10			
Politician/Political Figure	Percentage (source)	Coalition	Percentage
Chua Soi Lek	5.4947	BN	54.36924
Mahathir Mohamad	9.886		
Muhyiddin Yassin	12.811		
Musa Aman	1.0219		
Najib Razak	23.371		
Nazri Aziz	0.48134		
Taib Mahmud	1.3033		
Anwar Ibrahim	4.9245	PR	22.37852
Baru Bian	0.47393		
Hadi Awang	2.4437		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.26659		
Khalid Ibrahim	1.7402		
Lim Guan Eng	4.7097		
Lim Kit Siang	6.3907		
Nik Aziz	1.4292		
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.4144	Independent	23.2524
Hassan Ali	0.4221		
Vox Pop Male	7.6348		
Vox Pop Female	2.7918		
Public Opinion/Vox Pop General	4.9911		
Election Commission Spokesperson	5.9982		

TABLE 11		
Publication Type	Coalition	Percentages
Bernama	BN	61.75689
	PR	6.6572
	Independent	31.586
Newspapers	BN	57.68348
	PR	22.21437
	Independent	20.103
Television	BN	47.01861
	PR	8.94302
	Independent	44.03802
Online	BN	39.28797
	PR	32.85484
	Independent	27.857475

TABLE 12		
Politician/Political Figure	Attacked	Negative
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0	0.25063
Alfred Jabu	0.35377	0.37594
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.6509	0.87719
Anwar Ibrahim	20.755	16.416
Azmin Ali	2.0047	2.8822
Baru Bian	0.58962	0.50125
Bernard Dompok	0	0
Chong Chieng Jen	1.1792	0.62657
Chua Soi Lek	5.6604	4.6366
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0.23585	0.62657
Elizabeth Wong	0.11792	0
G. Palanivel	0.23585	0.37594
Hadi Awang	1.0613	1.0025
Hassan Ali	0	0.25063
Hishamuddin Hussein	0	0.25063
Ibrahim Ali	0.11792	3.5088
James Masing	0	0.12531
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.70755	0.62657
Karpal Singh	1.6509	1.6291
Khalid Ibrahim	1.6509	7.5188
Khalid Samad	0	0.87719
Lim Guan Eng	6.3679	5.5138
Lim Kit Siang	16.392	11.905
Liow Tiong Lai	0.23585	0.50125
Mahathir Mohamad	8.4906	7.3935
Maximus Ongkili	0.23585	0.37594
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.4717	0.50125
Muhyiddin Yassin	2.1226	2.2556
Musa Aman	0	0
Najib Razak	9.6698	9.5238
Ng Yen Yen	0.11792	1.5038
Nik Aziz	12.028	6.2657
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.23585	1.0025
Nurul Izzah	1.533	2.2556
Rafizi Ramli	0.11792	0.75188
Rosmah Mansur	0.23585	0.50125
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0	0
Taib Mahmud	1.0613	1.2531
Teresa Kok	0	0.50125
Tian Chua	2.5943	4.01
Tony Pua	0	0
William Mawan	0	0.37594
Wong Ho Leng	0.11792	0
Wong Soon Koh	0	0
Yong Teck Lee	0	0.25063

TABLE 13		
Politician/Political Figure	Neutral	Positive
Abdul Rahman Dahlan	0.11689	0.15637
Alfred Jabu	0.263	0.70367
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.0715	0.78186
Anwar Ibrahim	11.192	3.2056
Azmin Ali	1.0715	0.46912
Baru Bian	0.23378	0.23456
Bernard Dompok	0.27274	0.39093
Chong Chieng Jen	0.4286	0.31274
Chua Soi Lek	6.0783	2.6583
Dzulkefly Ahmad	0.14611	0
Elizabeth Wong	0.077927	0
G. Palanivel	0.93513	0.31274
Hadi Awang	2.6106	1.0946
Hassan Ali	0.17534	0.62549
Hishamuddin Hussein	0.43834	0.31274
Ibrahim Ali	1.7144	1.1728
James Masing	0.14611	0.39093
Jeffrey Kitingan	0.54549	0.15637
Karpal Singh	1.4806	0.39093
Khalid Ibrahim	2.1625	2.3456
Khalid Samad	0.65264	0.46912
Lim Guan Eng	6.1562	3.2838
Lim Kit Siang	11.358	3.1274
Liow Tiong Lai	1.2468	1.0164
Mahathir Mohamad	4.7049	5.1603
Maximus Ongkili	0.10715	0.078186
Mohamad 'Mat' Sabu	0.70134	0.15637
Muhyiddin Yassin	3.3509	4.613
Musa Aman	0.8572	2.4238
Najib Razak	26.963	57.076
Ng Yen Yen	1.8995	0.62549
Nik Aziz	2.6398	0.86005
Nizar Jamaluddin	0.4286	0
Nurul Izzah	1.8313	1.0164
Rafizi Ramli	0.91564	0.15637
Rosmah Mansur	0.43834	0.62549
Siti Mariah Mahmud	0.019482	0.078186
Taib Mahmud	1.1884	1.0946
Teresa Kok	0.63316	0.31274
Tian Chua	1.2079	0.70367
Tony Pua	0.32145	0.078186
William Mawan	0.34093	0.62549
Wong Ho Leng	0.25326	0.15637
Wong Soon Koh	0.038964	0.078186
Yong Teck Lee	0.58445	0.46912

TABLE 14		
BN	Attacked	28.18394
	Negative	29.19798
	Neutral	48.948254
	Positive	77.717132
PR	Attacked	69.81153
	Negative	65.41373
	Neutral	47.067879
	Positive	18.608182
Independent	Attacked	2.00467
	Negative	5.3885
	Neutral	3.98403
	Positive	3.67476

TABLE 15			
Politician/Political Figure	Percentage (source + attacking)	Coalition	Percentage
Chua Soi Lek	1.4418	BN	62.41052
Mahathir Mohamad	15.345		
Muhyiddin Yassin	24.408		
Musa Aman	0.51493		
Najib Razak	18.847		
Nazri Aziz	1.0299		
Taib Mahmud	0.82389		
Anwar Ibrahim	4.5314	PR	28.62991
Baru Bian	0.30896		
Hadi Awang	1.2358		
Jeffrey Kitingan	0		
Khalid Ibrahim	0.41195		
Lim Guan Eng	5.4583		
Lim Kit Siang	12.77		
Nik Aziz	3.9135	Independent	8.95985
Ambiga Sreenevasan	1.1329		
Hassan Ali	0.20597		
Vox Pop Male	3.7075		
Vox Pop Female	0.72091		
Public Opinion/Vox Pop General	2.9866		
Election Commission Spokesperson	0.20597		

Section 5: 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

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

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)

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

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. Chinese 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