Transforming Political Advertising in Malaysia: Strategizing Political Advertisements towards First-Time and Young Voters in Malaysian GE 14

MOHD HELMI ABD RAHIM
NOVEL LYNDON
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
mhelmi@ukm.edu.my
novel@ukm.edu.my

NAZRIN SHAHNAZ PEER MOHAMED
University of Sussex, Brighton, England
zaarashahnaz@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Undoubtedly, the 2013 Malaysia's general election campaign marked to have significantly increased in budget, and much was contributed to advertising. The general election 2013 was noted to be among the most interesting campaign, with salient competitive campaign among the two coalition political parties. This research aims at analyzing the 2013 political advertisements rendered during the time, in order to give insights as to transform and strategize the next 2018 General Election advertising campaign. The king-makers are to be the first-time and young voters. The study approach to understand the effectiveness of political advertising during the general election campaign 2013 to the first- time voters; on how they perceived the advertisements, whether those advertisements have an impact on them, and their preferred advertisements content, elements, and style that suited the first- time voters, and, hence drew the most likeability and believability to the changes of perspectives of these first-time voters after a period of 4 years. The research employs the focus group method. This method was chosen as it allows access to socially-constructed expressed views, opinions, experiences, and attitudes as the respondents interpreted the advertisements messages and elements. Eighteen participants were identified to form three different groups representing the rural, semi-urban and urban first- time voters. The results show that there are many elements that were not acknowledged by the creators of advertisements and the political parties as to design and strategizing their campaign. There is a lack of effectiveness in persuasion and communicating through advertisement, to the first-time voters. Though political messages remain unpopular, but it plays a rather significant role in influencing the young voters' to vote in the coming election. Suggestions are made on transforming the political advertisements as to improve effectiveness in the coming Malaysian General Election.

Keywords: *political advertising, first-time voters, general election campaign, political parties, vote.*

INTRODUCTION

The use of political advertising could be seen over the past years, especially when elections beckoned. The uses of political advertising were mainly to serve as means of a communication tool for political parties, and electoral candidates (Rafter, 2009). But not limited to that, the uses of political advertising also to assist candidates to be better known through establishing

popularities, enable candidates to connect with particular demographics groups, attract new supporters, stimulate voters participation in the campaign, raising fund for the candidates and the political parties involved, and ultimately attacking opponents (Munira, 2012). The uses of political advertising was well praised by political and social studies not merely as an effective tool in promoting candidates, but also enable to reshape the image of competing candidates (McGinnis, 1969; Valentino et al., 2004).

The use of political advertising in Malaysian General Elections (GE) started in the 1999 election. Since then, spending on political campaigns began to increase in every election at a double- digit rate, much contributing to political advertising. Malaysia, has been stated in the Malaysian Federal Constitution, the GE must be held at a maximum of every five years. The GE 2013 seems to be the highest expenditure for political campaigning purposes of over RM400 million as compared to GE 2008 at RM171.8 million which is higher than the GE 2004 estimated at RM100 million (The Star, 2003). It can be predicted that the next coming GE 2018 would see another increase of advertising expenditure. Factors contributing to this higher expenditure and the increase of using political advertising are, (1) the uprising of the middle class citizens, (2) the increase of young and first-time voters, (3) the usage of the new media (blogs, Facebook, Twitter and other online platforms), independent newspaper, news online and other alternative media (Ng, 2013), and, (4) the rise of coalition of the opposition parties under the flag *Pakatan Harapan* (The People's Hope Coalition) is seeing *Parti Keadilan Rakyat* (The People's Justice Party), *Amanah* (The People's Responsibility Islamic Party), *Bersatu (*Unity Party) and the Democratic Action Party against the ruling coalition *Barisan Nasional* (National Front) which is the government. New developments are expected to be seen from both sides of the coalitions.

This study focuses on political advertising campaign targeting the first time voters of the GE 2013. The Election Commission (2013) reported that 70% of the 4.2 million unregistered voters are between 21 to 40 years old. On contrast, about 450,000 Malaysian turn 21 each year, thus eligible to vote in this country. The affect of the young voters were seen since the GE 2008, and is said to be one of the reasons the votes swing towards the opposition parties (Nawab, 2013). It is accounted some 2.3 million of the country's 13.3 million registered voters, or, one in five, is entering the polling booth for the first time (The Malaysian Times, 2013). The young voters are usually refers to as 'fence sitters' and is crucial to determine the future election outcome. An initial survey had estimated that there was a slim difference of the support for the two coalition parties; National Front (BN) at 42%, while the People's Coalition (PR) at 37%, respectively. Against this backdrop, BN and PR are all out to step up their effort to win the youths' votes (Nawab, 2013). The Malaysia Times (2013) reported that 90 % of the young voters had access to the Internet, thus, they are less likely to vote because of the political party, but will focus more on issues.

This study aims at, (1) expanding understanding of the first-time voters' awareness level and perceived rate of political advertisements effectiveness within specific geographical development categories, (2) expanding investigation on factors and elements of political advertisements which are able to engage and connected successfully with the first-time voters, in respective of geographical development categories (rural, semi-urban and urban)

preferences, and, (3) to imply on strategic transformation to political advertising campaign for the coming General Election.

Political Advertising
Why there is a need for political advertising? According to Freedman, Franz & Goldstein (2004), the levels of citizen participation and political knowledge are disturbingly low. Thus, advertising would rife both informational and emotional content, and contribute a more informed, more engaged, and more participatory citizenry. Exposure to advertising might produce citizens who are more interested in the election, because the advertisements say about candidates, and make citizens more likely to vote. This can be true especially for the first-time voters.

The context of Malaysia's GE 2013 Political Campaign:
The trend of Malaysia's 2013 electoral campaign seemed to focus more on candidates first then only parties, a shift of previous years of general elections. As an example, at one level of social media, candidates individually 'brand' themselves which lead surpass in numerical terns in social network, when compared to party-based platforms. For instance, Facebook fan pages of BN's Mohd Najib Tun Razak has 1,636,000 likes, compared to PAS's Nik Aziz Nik Mat 917,000, PKR's Anwar Ibrahim 582,000 and DAP's Lim Kit Siang 137,000. Meanwhile the BN page has 60,000 likes, while DAP's 434,000, PAS 120,000 and PKR's 20,000 (Free Malaysia Today, 2013).

The election system in Malaysia sat to overall majority of individual seats, not to an overall majority of individual votes. Thus, this gives rise to implication that one constituency is more important that to target constituencies that are more likely to change (Niffenegger, 1989). Advertising provides candidate with a much more 'direct route' to the minds of voters. The overall advertising plan is to strengthen the sponsoring candidate 'market share'; to achieve the targets, are by adjustment, alter advertising message into context in order to stage the campaign and to specific attributes of candidate in the race (Iyengar & McGrady, 2007). The principal effect of the advertising messages is to bring candidate preferences and party image into the line with voters' sense of party's identification.

The Malaysia's GE 2013 witnessed a healthy competition in individual candidate marketing, as well party political positioning. Naturally, both coalition parties were fighting to be the people's choice, and this gives rise to strong party's positioning tactics, and partly, by using political advertising. The results showed the BN still winning the federal level, and the opposition winning three states' level, out of 14 states, and, losing one state which the opposition won in the last election, to the BN.

METHODOLOGY
The study administered the focus group method. The focus group method was chosen as it allows the interaction between participants to be observed, which proved valuable for the study on youth (Raby, 2010), or the first-time voters. Furthermore, the respondents were able to engage in social facilitation (Feldman, 2001), where they encouraged responses from one another. This allows access to socially-constructed expressed views, opinions, experiences and

the attitudes of the participants which helped the researchers to understand on how the participants interpret advertisements' messages.

The participants are between ages of 21 to 25 years old, and were identified as first-time voters. The participants were divided into three focus groups, 6 participants to each group, making a total of 18 participants. Each group was then identified with 3 males and 3 females comprising three Malaysian ethnic groups, namely, the Malay, Chinese and Indian. The 3 focus groups represented the rural, semi-urban and urban identifications.

Before the interaction begun, each respondent were given 7 minutes to observe 21 print advertisements; 14 being advertisements from the BN, and, 7 advertisements from the PR. The print advertisements are based upon those published during 2 weeks of the campaigning period, dated from April 21st to May 4th 2013. For the BN advertisements, those published in the newspapers, whereas the PR advertisements were from the newspapers and the social media page. The PR has fewer means to publish in the traditional medium, and they have more in the social media.

Data was collected using both voice recorder and shorthand method. A voice recorder was used to record the interview process and collect any missed responses from the participants. The voice recorder was placed in a surreptitious position so as not to be fully viewed by the participants in order to reduce self-consciousness that may arise during the interaction. Shorthand method was used in the form of writing, throughout the interaction of participants. The interviewers allowed the participants to be relaxed, and interference was kept minimal as to allow participants to elicit more honest responses as the interaction went on. Each focus group took around one and a half to two hours.

FINDINGS

The media blitz used creative input and planned integrated campaign. The BN uses the soft sell, as most of the advertisements are about 'feel good' factors of everyday things touching on education, better services, improving the police force, anti-corruption, implementation of schemes that look after the interest of rural dwellers, low-income earners and the middle class, a better economy and efficient governance. The opposition advertisements focused on issues, such as, corruption, cronyism, free education for all levels, improving the police force and manifestos.

Enhancing Engagement

All participants agreed that political messages (in advertising) remain unpopular, but play a significant role in delivering its communication to promote candidates, and to inform voters of issues. However, the effectiveness of advertisements was seen to differ across the groups. The rural group participants mentioned that advertising was not able to persuade them completely, as they would opt to do information seeking after they read on issues presented in the advertisements. Somehow, they were very cynical in believing the content of advertisements from certain parties as due to pre-existing storage of information.

As for the semi-urban and urban participants, they pointed themselves as not bias, as messages through advertisements would be turn into research, and the findings they came across would be shared with family and friends. The semi-urban groups added up that the advertisements actually set the easiest means to compare and weigh issues from both side of the political coalition parties.

The rural group participants frequently chose to skip the political advertisements but are still aware of what is going on and would retrieve information from the social media and word-of-mouth. Differently, the semi-urban and urban participants mostly chose to read or glance through the content of the advertisements. The urban group mentioned that advertisements' content provide instant information, and the easiest medium to choose which party is more credible, trustworthy and more believable.

Best Preferred Advertisements
Although the rural group participants have been cynical on political advertising and politics in general, they preferred the Barisan Nasional's advertisements. One respondent said." *The issues pointed are very unique, creative and strategized to win the non-Malays and moderate Muslims*." Most respondents tend to agree that Barisan Nasional's advertisements are creative and unique. However, their responds to Pakatan Rakyat's advertisements more engaging and promote deep thinking. Most rural participants are attracted to the layout, design and color combinations of the opposition party. It seems that the Pakatan Rakyat's advertisements have put effort in designing communication materials to straightly talk to young voters, unlike the Barisan Nasional's. One participant responded, "*It directly to me by having the conversational style between two young voters.*"

Whereas for semi-urban group, they are very careful in their judgments, as they would see neutrally to both side of the parties, and they seems to believe advertisements after they have done research on the issues presented. A participant said, "*It makes me as voter to study the opposition and ruling party's manifesto, weigh them before making decision on whom to vote.*" Another participant declares, "*It motivates me to analyze their past manifesto and how many have been fulfilled.*" Repeatedly said, they enjoyed getting both sides of issues which will later aid them to decide on their own which party is more trustable and believable. Some of the participants have strong emotional and psychological attachments of being governed by the ruling party (Barisan Nasional) for 57 years or so. One participant said, *"It (Barisan Nasional) shows tremendous effort to help public. As most of the promises have been fulfilled, the advertisements are believable and trustable*". Most participants are more attracted to advertisements that promote peace, stability, progress, pride and developments, hails to Barisan Nasional.

The urban group pointed out very interestingly, the advertisements they are mostly attracted are those that is with thorough percentages, figures, numbers and sources. They appreciated very much of this kind of advertisements, because they feel they can trust, believe, and, credibility of the party for printing facts rather than slanderous words or claims. One participant puts it, "*very engaging, comprehensive and believable because the use of figures, percentages and sources. It provides facts, claims that were substantiate with sources*", relating

likes to the Barisan Nasional's advertisements. One participant likes the Pakatan Rakyat's advertisement referring to the one with headline, *Towards New Malaysia*, as it is very simple, engaging, lesser words but more apparent meaning. No attack or counter-attack elements. Some participants who are drawn to Barisan Nasional's advertisements, with emotional and psychological attachments to the party as being "product" of Barisan Nasional's ruling. As a conclusion, urban participants sort out substantiate claims like having figures, numbers and sources; good argument on issues and with a sense of comfort, pride and other positive emotional attachments.

Subtle and Subliminal Messages
The participants we asked to identify subtle and subliminal messages in the advertisements showed to them. Interestingly, the rural group is unable to understand the meaning of subtle and subliminal messages. Even upon explanations by the facilitator, they failed to identify any. The semi-urban group shows the same response, except for one participant who identifies the advertisement with headline *Stability, Progress and Unity".* The participant pointed out, "*…the happy faces, multi-racial public shouldering one another, the positioning of technology such as Ipad as an evident of savvy generation, clearly show to me the social development under the Barisan Nasional's governance."*

As for the urban group, they are fully aware of subtle and subliminal messages that are injected in most of the advertisements. The group identifies advertisements with headlines, among others; *Towards New Malaysia (Pakatan Rakyat), Malaysian Business Owners Think Twice Before Voting for Opposition (Barisan Nasional), DAP Will Turn Johor into Another Kelantan (Barisan Nasional), and, Unclean Electoral Roll Might be Matter of Perception (Pakatan Rakyat)*. Most of the participants agreed and commented, "*mostly, the subtle and subliminal messages in the advertisements, subconsciously infusing fear, and subjective claims."*

Preferred Issue and Element
Preferences are make by the three groups of participants, based upon 8 issues and elements given to them. They ranked 5 preferred issues and elements as shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Preferred Issue and Element of Groups Category

Group Category	Rural Group	Semi – Urban Group	Urban Group
Rank of Preferred Issue and Element	1. National Growth & Development 2. Issues 3. Racial Stability 4. Manifesto 5. Candidate's Characteristics	1. Racial Stability 2. Issues 3. National Growth & Development 4. Manifesto 5. Candidate's Characteristics	1. National Growth & Development 2. Racial Stability 3. Issues 4. Manifesto 5. Candidate's characteristics

The five top preferences see national growth and development, racial stability, issues, manifesto and candidate's characteristics. Those rejected are attack, counter-attack and entertainment. Across the groups, the 3 top preferences are national growth & development, racial stability and issues. The same ranking are given, across the groups, namely to manifesto and candidate's characteristics. The finding shows first-time voters prefer serious issues and elements where advertising is concerned. The findings basically show that the first-time voters are concerned with performance of the political parties, how it favors racial stability and issues involved, that are taking place of the political parties. In other words, the three groups have high awareness on the political scenario in Malaysia, and issues are to be proven by performances.

As for the elements of content, the participants wanted truthful information to be passed by the advertisements. Less like to 'feeling good' advertisement, the participants preferred content that can trigger them to think, evaluate and given more freedom to choose between the two political coalitions. Too abundant information would also bore them, thus interesting graphics, design and layout play a vital role to attract likes.

They complained about manifesto's advertisements, even the advertisements gave different 'look'. The participants perceived those advertisements to be too cluttered with words, compacted, not easily comprehendible, confusing of using big words to deliver the message, and, sometimes overlapping with one another.

Using the entertainment attribute and celebrity endorsement were unpopular among the rural participants, but accepted well by the semi-urban and urban groups. But the semi-urban and urban groups expressed caution; only the right celebrity, with right reputation would work for the right time, or else it would be disastrous.

Using top leaders' images to attract attention were not accepted readily by the groups. The rural participants rejected the use of top leaders' image because the negativity about leaders 'report card' and reputation. They seem to repeatedly mention of their pre-existing storage of information about the images. The rural group seems to be easily influence by majority voice.

A different finding were collected from the semi-urban and urban participants as they liked to see pictures of top leaders as it give them the sense of governance, and most likely be the direction of the party in issues solving method. Majority agrees that it depends on the leaders and their popularities. Some names become an instant hit like Khairy Jamaluddin, Rafizi Ramli, Muhyiddin Yassin, and others. Images of candidates too, play and serve as a reminder to supporters, and build loyalty. The urban participants see evolution on using leaders and candidates, saying that it depends on the niche market the advertisements is targeting. If the advertisements are targeting youth, then the young leaders' images would be more relevant, fresh and capable.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATION

Print political advertising is increasingly noticed by first-time voters and is exceptionally essential in delivering information, debating issues, promoting candidates, building supporters, and thus, enhance a political party's image. The first-time voters are increasing and revolving,

and, their numbers seem to be increasing in folds, in the next Malaysia's election 2018. Study by Delli Carpini (2000) showed that among young voters, the first-time voters are the most difficult to persuade because they are very cynical and skeptical as compared to voters of 30 years old. They are more cynical than the older population, less interested in public affairs, less likely to register or to vote, and, significantly less knowledgeable about politics. Several studies found this lack of information about candidates (as the present study shows less preferred), parties, the government and the act of voting is the number one cause of political apathy (Declare Yourself, 2003; National Association of Secretaries of State (NASS), 1999).

All these factors are seen clearly, and, some are embedded, in the findings of this research. Therefore, it strategically implies that information plays a vital role in political advertising messages, particularly the print. These messages not only straight forward, but need to incur emotions, sentiments and elements of persuasion. Facts and proof will improve logical explanation and making-sense to instigate trust.

Most of them are increasingly becoming well-educated, more technological savvy, and, have become world-class social news readers (Normah Mustaffa et al., 2013). They easily engaged to global societies, and are aware of global issues and international news. Due to this wide and advance knowledge of the world, they become cynical when local politics and politicians have done less significant changes in order for the first-time voters to feel empowered as a citizen. Strategically, advertising messages must be parallel to this advancement of the young voters, creating more globalized messages and connecting to local issues and situations. Conceptually speaking, the glocalization of political messages have to be created and delivered in a good sense.

The advertising messages have to be 'soft sell' approach rather than the 'hard sell'. The messages should be tuned not to force them to commit action, but prefer them to make their own judgment at their preferred time and space. Thus, the message should be able to convey truth, rational and intelligent arguments on information and issues. On the other hand, majority of the participants do not really cloud their judgment based upon pre-existing information storage alone. Advertisements do help them to carefully analyze issues and study them before accepting or rejecting certain information, especially on issues.
Ivenger and McGrady (2007) have proposed a model of political advertising campaign, concentrating on campaign phases, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Phases of Political Advertising Campaign

Phases of campaigns	Kind of advertisements	Function
Early	Name Identification Advertisements	Identity
Later	Arguments Advertisements	Ideology
Later Still	Attack Advertisements (Negative Advertisements)	Insult
End of Campaign	Positive Visionary Advertisements	Image

(Source: Ivenger & McGrady, 2007)

Based upon the research finding, this model may not be able to adapt completely in the situation of Malaysian Election Advertising campaigns. Certain phases need to be relocated and deleted. The finding suggests that the early phase of campaign should be a positive visionary advertising together with the name identification. Later phase should follow the arguments advertisements, and the end of the campaign should come back to positive visionary advertisements. Attack advertisement (negative advertisements) should be deleted. Thus, it concludes that the model should be tested in different cultures; masculine and feminine cultures and followed by countries that have multi-racial culture, like Malaysia.

The research finding suggested some differences from the three focus groups, but, it somehow portrays some common denominators for strategic implications of future campaigns. The strategic implications can be summarized as follows:

1. Political advertising campaign in Malaysia has to acknowledge the differences of geographical, demographics, psychological and behaviors of the youth and first-time voters. Thus, targeting and segmentation of the audience play a vital role in advertising campaign planning.

2. On a general scale, young voters are attracted to see print political advertisements that are unique, creative and well - strategized. The design of the advertisements comes first, than the content. Despite the layout, the content of the advertisements need to give truthful information, having the ability to trigger their minds to delve deeper in an issue, encourage deep thinking, credible content with facts, figures, sources and references, and, should focus on issues related directly to their life. The issues should be credible, believable and trustworthy.

3. Message on issues should have a tendency to make them compare and weigh, and triggers deep thinking. There is a tendency of third party to be involved; as they would share and discuss with family and friends.

4. Advertising copy should be simple, lesser words, and, engaging with more apparent meaning. Young and first-time voters like more graphics and images, colorful and simplified words advertisements. This seems to be almost similar to the finding of Fauziah Ahmad et al. (2011) on their study on youth and mediated logo images.

5. Advertisements with subtle and subliminal messages should be carefully strategized, as some first-time voters might not understand and could not apprehend the intended messages to be delivered.

6. First-time voters are against attacks and counter-attacks strategies. Most of them prefer facts rather than slanderous words or claims. They seem to be serious when it comes to political messages where entertainment appeal seems less like.

7. The first-time voters prefer neutral topics such as promoting peace, stability, progress, pride, racial unity and development. Issues and solutions should focus on plaguing issues in Malaysia, such as, corruption, cronyism, standard of living, rising prices, job opportunities, and so on. The advertisements must convey truthful, rational and intelligent arguments when handling issues.

8. The advertisers (political parties) must always bear in mind that they should not looked down on the youth and first-time voters, as they are getting more adverse in their political information, and, they are well informed on global issues. Making local issues parallel to global issues would be an acceptable strategy for them.

9. As for party's manifesto, there must be items that related to youth agenda. Why manifestos seem to be the lesser preferred, the research found that, most participants complained that they are too complicated, overlapping and not easily comprehendible. It is also scarce to see youth agendas.

10. All advertisements, including online, must be coherent with one another. There must be a connectivity and consistency in delivering information through advertisements, or else it could eradicate the credibility of the political parties. Online advertising through the social media is seen to be a good platform to target niche market (Mohd Helmi A.R. & Mohd Nizam O., 2001), such as the first-time voters. This is because they spent more time online, rather than engaging in the traditional medium.

CONCLUSION

The next Malaysian General Election might come in 2018, or even earlier. Therefore, it is important to transform strategically on engaging the first-time voters, or generally, the young voters. This study has given an insight on championing political advertising campaign to young voters. Ultimately, this research might assist practitioners and strategists to plan their political advertising campaign for the coming election. If advertisements could generally engage, communicate but not persuade, there will be a lack of understanding on the style, trend and development of political advertising to suit young voters. Without improving accordingly, first-time or young voters will only grew more apart, and bridge a wider gap between politics and themselves. Thus, it is not good for the future of the nation. This research may help creators and political parties to see several insights on weaknesses and strengths of the past General Election 2013. It is vital to transform strategically of their advertising campaigns for the coming 14th Malaysian General Election 2018, or even sooner.

BIODATA

Mohd Helmi Abd Rahim is a Senior Lecturer and a Researcher at the Media Impact and Creative Industry Research Center, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
Nazrin Shahnaz Peer Mohamed is a graduate student in International Marketing, at the University of Sussex, Brighton, England.
Novel Lyndon is an Associate Professor and a Researcher at the Social, Environment and Development Sustainability Research Centre, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Unversiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

REFERENCE

Declare yourself (2003) Major national survey shows increased promise, new strategies for increasing youth vote, retrieved from *http://www.declare yourself.org/press/pressroom.ht*

Carpini D. (2000) Gen.com: Youth, civic engagement, and the new information environment, *Political Communication,* 17, 341 – 349

Fauziah Ahmad, Tika Nuraeni, Chang Peng Kee & Mohd Helmi Abd Rahim (2011), Pemediaan produk dan penggunaan logo STARBUCKS COFFEE, *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 27, 1, 73 - 90

Free Malaysia Today (2013) Candidate centered campaigns explains attacks, retrieved from *https://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/opinion/2013/04/30/candidate-centered-campaigns-explains-attacks/*

Freedman, F., Franz, P.J. & Goldstein S. (2004) Measuring media exposure and the effects of negative campaign ads, *American Journal of Political Science*, 43(4), 1189 – 1208

Feldman, J. (2001) Bayesian contour integration, *Perception & Psychophysics*, 63(7), 1171 -1182

Iyenger, S., McGrady, J.A. (2007) *Media Politics*, New York: W.W. Norton

Munira, S., (2012) Political advertising, retrieved from *http://www.slidesshare.net/munirahsulaiman/political-advertising-1083575*

McGinnis, J., (1969) *The selling of the President*, New York: Simon & Shuster

Mohd Helmi Abd Rahim & Mohd Nizam Osman (2001), Internet advertising: problems and prospects in Malaysia, *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 17, 159 - 173

National Association of Secretaries of State (1999), New millennium survey: American youth attitudes on politics, citizenship, government, and voting, retrieved from *http://www.stateofthevote.org/survey/*

Nawab, M. (2013) The youth vote in GE 13, kingmakers in making? Retrieved from *http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/perspective/RSIS0652013.pdf*

Niffenegger, P.B. (1989) Strategies for success from the political marketers, *Journal of Consumer Marketing,* 6, 45 – 51

Ng, J. (2013) Malaysian TV, newspapers favor ruling party, study finds, retrieved from *http://pilihanraya.info/malaysian-tv-newspapers-favor-ruling-party-study-finds*

Normah Mustaffa, Wan Amizah Wan Mahmud, Fauziah Ahmad, Maizatul Haizan Mahbob & Mohd Helmi Abd Rahim (2013), Kebergantungan internet dan aktiviti online remaja di Lembah Kelang, *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 29, 1,199 - 212

Raby, R. (2010) Public selves inequality and interruptions. The creation of meaning in focus group with teens, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 9(1), 1 – 15

Rafter, K. (2009) Political advertisement: the regulatory position and the public view, retrieved from *http://www.bai.ie/wordpress/wp-RegPositionPublicView PK.pdf*

The Star (May, 2013) GE13: 4A's – political ads have freedom of expression but identity of advertiser be clear, retrieved from *http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2013/5/6/nation/13072191 & sec=nation*

The Malaysian Times (April,2013) Both parties expected to push hard for youth vote in GE, retrieved from *http://users/sam/documentary.thesis%20reference2/2.203%20million%20young%20voters%20may%call%20the%20shots%20in%20GE%2013%20%the%Malaysian%20Times.webarchive*

Valentino, N.A., Hutchings, V.L. & Williams, D. (2004) The impact of political advertising on knowledge, internet information seeking, seeking, and candidate preference, *Journal of Communication,* 54(2), 337 - 354