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Understanding The Selangor Sentiment Facing The 14th General Election

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ABSTRACT

Research and qualitative data shows that the BN, especially UMNO Selangor is in a situation of not being able to beat the PR on the 14th general election. The report exposes weaknesses that at the stage of maintaining the existing 12 seats won by UMNO now is difficult to maintain. This situation shows that the BN is at a very difficult level to achieve the level of reclaiming the state that is under the power of PR. "Selangor Sentiment" be an indication that people in the state of Selangor have the impression that under the administration of PR, the State is in a better position than when it was under the previous BN power. Therefore, this study disclose secret of voting pattern according to race, age and 18 voting districts of DUN Bangi. DUN Bangi is town and urban area located in most strategic area where its distance is very near with Putrajaya, Kajang, Puchong, Serdang and Dengkil. Most of its residents are highly educated and vote according to rationality. Besides, this study is also for investigate main reasons of UMNO loss while PAS won at DUN Bangi but UMNO/BN are still received votes/supports from Malay voters that nearly balance with PAS at parliamentary level. Hence, the methods used were interview 50 respondents from the whole of DUN Bangi, current DUN Bangi elected representative and UMNO Bangi Coordinator. Furthermore, multiple regression analysis used to know percentage of voted BN and PR in every polling centres and localities according races. Delimitation constituency prediction already done through knowledge and strong evidence based on GE-13 voting pattern and coming voting pattern soon. Result shows 8-14% of Malay voters in every polling centre and locality made cross-voting which they voted MCA at parliamentary level while voted PAS at DUN level. 84-92% of the rest Malay voters voted according to sentiment at both level. Chinese voters hate BN by voting PR at both levels but Indian voters' behaviour is different at certain polling centres where they follow Chinese voting action and another certain they follow Malay voting action depend in issues influenced them.

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INTRODUCTION

Selangor sentiment generally means that, "Sentiment of majority of Selangor residents/ voters tend to support Pakatan Rakyat Selangor to maintain their power of state government due to a lot of aid that were given by them like giving 20 m^2 free water per cubic meter, RM 100 appreciation token to those who enter university, 'jom shopping' with elderly people and their economic and financial management is better than Barisan Nasional who ruled fore about 50 years until 2008.

This sentiment surged the whole of Selangor residents which caused nearly all Selangorians /voters to still vote PR with many Malay voters who supported BN during 2008 election changed vote to PR last election. Hence, BN/UMNO was left with only 12 seats in the state. BN received more votes from Malays at parliamentary level but gave vote to PR at state seats (DUN) because of PR's good policy that brought more benefits towards them and also the sentiment of 'supporting PAS but not DAP (Selangorkini 2013).

We all know Selangor state in Malaysia is having a severe political crisis after its Menteri Besar (Chief Minister), Tan Sri Abdul Khalid, was sacked from his party, Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR). But do you really know what's happening after more than 10 days seeing the issue hit the headlines in major media? Well, if you are confused on what's happening and what's actually kicked start the "drama", do not worry much, apparently you are not alone here. According to an opinion-based sentiment analysis carrier out by PoliTweet on 2,062 Twitter

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users, 988 users tweeted that they have no opinion on the recent crisis in Selangor. The analysis also found that the 48 per cent of the users surveyed were confused about what triggered the political crisis in Selangor, with many shooting questions, hoping to understand the crisis better via Twitter. Apart from making jokes on the crisis, these users also wanted it to end as soon as possible.

Understanding The National Sentiment:

In Malaysia, the sentiment nowadays that most people /voters choose their favorite party, and seldom the selection is based on the candidate. Not just that, national issues that attract urban voters /mostly non-Malay voters/young voters are democracy, corruption, leakages and weaknesses of the government's financial management to improve, economy issues, no racism, criminal and living cost. While for the sub-urban/rural/older and adult voters, most of them hope on development and money from government. That sentiment caused BN to lose most urban areas and won rural/semi town areas while PR won most of urban areas (Mohd Agus 2013).

National sentiment is divided in two scenarios: Urban/Chinese Tsunami and party sentiment. This term is based on last election where Chinese, urban and urban younger voters voted PR while Malay, some Indian, rural/semi-urban and adult/older voters supported BN. This is first scenario. Majority of Kluang (Junaidi Awang Besar 2013) residents/respondents (71.2% and 59.1%) prefered to choose party that gave priority towards his/her people and fight for transparency, fairness, anti-corruption and human rights. This also applied to Kuala Lumpur residents where majority of them (voters) chose to vote PR because of the BN's corruption, PKFZ scandal and non-transparency in administrative matters. They wanted to change the government after BN's ruling of 50 years.

Mohd Agus (2013) mentioned that now, people in Malaysia give priority to vote party rather than candidate because of party's policy. For example, BN's policy on transformation programmes like 'Projek Perumahan 1Malaysia', 'Bantuan RM500 1Malaysia', 'Kedai Rakyat 1Malaysia' and so on was actually a good policy but due to weaknesses in the government to handle high corruption and administration had caused the basic cost of living for most people to rise which caused the majority (moderate salary group) to be loaded with rising prices and increasing debt in their economy. PR was the most chosen party that obtained 51% popularity vote because of PR's policy on fighting against corruption and racial issues, forming a new and clean democracy, abolishing toll taxes, PTPTN , with many helping in such as when Selangor government introduced 'Merakyatkan Selangor'. This reflects that democracy and administrative policy are more in favour than demonstration policy (BN policy).

Majority of urban and mixed area groups chose PR while sub town and village area s with a majority of Malay chose BN even though their candidate did not show good character to win the election. This was proven when Bangi was won by PR and Dusun Tua fell to PAS due to further moving votes of Chinese and some Malay voters which more dominated.

This made younger voters did not refer to this source again , when they moved on to internet and media social. Fuad (2012) stated that internet gives high and impactful significance towards the votes on upcoming election. This was proven during the 12^{th} election where BN lost 5 states towards PR and Bangi area also. Younger voters who live at sub town or village will give their votes to BN while for those who live in urban area voted PR because their policy was mostly attractive and their high expectation towards changing the new political landscape from race political type.

Majority of older voters supported BN because only BN contributed many things and good towards our country. 'Dulu, Kini dan Selamanya'. This slogan is suitable to senior voters. They only referred to newspaper and television that shows all publicity and good government action. This was proven in Sg Ramal Dalam where some polling centres showed BN won at Voting Channel 1 & 2 while PR won voting channel 3 and above.

Mohd Agus (2013) elaborated that Malay and Indian voters normally their voting pattern is separated where the urban and elite group will vote PR while sub town and village areas will vote BN. This was proven at Malay polling centres in Semenyih where BN received full support from Malay and Indian voters while PR received full votes from various races in Bangi area. Malay voters who voted BN because of their high sentiment among them that if PR forms government action, DAP will govern our country.

Chinese voters solidly supportted PR because they hate UMNO for its racism and assumed MCA, GERAKAN and SUPP (Chinese party) as 'dogs' and unable to influence UMNO in fighting for Chinese. Junaidi (2013) Therefore, 'realignment' scenario caused 87% Chinese to support any party include PAS in 12^{th} & 13^{th} election. This was proven to PR when PAS or PKR won in all Chinese majority areas at any state seats that have Chinese polling centre/area. They really hoped that PR is able to change new political landscape, ways of administration, eradicate all corruptions and reformed the policy. Chinese voters with majority living in urban town and cities like Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur were mostly influenced to vote PR due to their high accessibility to internet and social media .

The second scenario is party sentiment. When Chinese candidate DAP competed with MCA Chinese and inside the Malay polling centres, some Malay voters voted MCA because of the sentiment

of 'don't give vote to DAP as Islam fighter'. But when UMNO Malay fought with PAS Malay, some Malay voters voted PAS as they despised UMNO who ruled the government. It was proven when 6 Bangi polling centres were won by MCA for Serdang Parlimentary, yet these polling centres also voted PAS for Bangi seat. It also happened at Kajang state seat. Many Malay voters voted for PAS at Hulu Langat parliamentary but voted BN for state seat.

There are many issues such as 'Hudud issue' that caused DAP to object against PAS to implement it because it was against the agreement as PR also agreed on the same principle. Readers can read Lim Kit Siang and MP Kuala Nerus statements (Malaysiakini 2013) regarding pattern voting if hudud is implemented inat Kelantan. Yet, both news were true because of the implementation of hudud by PAS and DAP did not give any controversiol statement regarding Islam, the Malays who voted PAS-PR because of the protest will move their votes towards UMNO-BN. But, if PAS implemented hudud and Islam concept in the national's principle, most Chinese voters who voted PAS at state seat will move their votes towards BN mostly will happen in Selangor that caused PAS to be able to add their state seats because Chinese voters like in Dusun Tua would not come out to vote like what happened at PRK Teluk Intan 2014 where Malay voters did not vote Dyana Sofea because she fought for the right to enrol in UITM (Universiti Teknologi MARA) for all races and against hudud while 15% Chinese did not vote for her because her mother is PERKASA member.

Based on the scores at state seats and its parliamentary (Ketereh, Tanah Merah and Machang) PKR (Samsu Adabi Manat 2013) lost towards UMNO but at state seats level, most seats were won by PAS. This showed sentiment of party where majority of Kelantan voters voted PAS but did not vote PKR.

Selangor Sentiment And Its Voting Pattern:

A sentiment is a new term and was never named by any of researcher or political analyzer before this. 'Selangor sentiment' is a sentiment where majority of Selangorians has the tendency to vote PR because of two reasons: Selangorkini, the medium newspaper of state government and good govenance by Pakatan Rakyat gave a lot of information to the Selangor residents like 'Hadiah Anak Masuk Universiti', free $20m^2$ per liter of water supply and so on. Readers can read in Selangorkini newspaper regarding the '2015 Budget Presentation' dated 28 November until 5 December 2014 and on the state government's contribution towards Selangorians. Readers were also informed of the government's programs and the voting pattern in Selangor during the 13^{th} general election (Program Kerajaan & Pola Pengundian PRU-13 di Selangor). The newspapers also reported on the drastic drop of Barisan Nasional's state seat from 20 to 12 only especially ain Dusun Tua (one of state seats fell to PR).

The most interesting factor that contributed towards the victory of PR of increasing their state seats from 36 to 44 especially PAS from 8 to 15 (SPR 2013) was free extension of Wi-Fi hotspot locations. UMNO is now in a very weak situation and BN is unable to retain its power in Selangor anymore except if BN could reverse Selangor's sentiment by reversing national sentiment towards PR and therefore BN would be able to get back Selangor mostly on margin state seat won by PR mostly PAS.

Many Malay voters in Selangor actually supported BN but if UMNO vs PAS or UMNO vs PKR (Malay candidates) they might vote PAS/PKR but not DAP because DAP is strongly against hudud in Kelantan. Most Chinese hate BN and vote all parties in PR which strengthen the national sentiment. While, some Indian voters voted PR at both levels because they hated BN which followed the Chinese voters' behaviour. Indians in Perak showed contradicting behaviour where most of them liked BN compared to the voters in Selangor. But, some Indian voters did vote BN at both levels and parliamentary level.

Most mixed seat like Serdang and Kota Raja Parlimentary showed BN gainedmless support from their voters. Based on the article published by Malaysian Insider on the topic 'Nasib politik Selangor GE 13 di hujung jari 40 ribu anak muda' STRATA consulted 31% confirmed voters of PR and 28% voted BN while 41% is fence voters'. Based on Malaysiakini on popular vote at each state and 'Program Kerajaan & Pola Pengundian PRU-13 di Selangor', PR Selangor obtained 1 044 758 (55.36%) while BN Selangor obtained 685 502 (38.94%). Therefore, fence sitter/young voters who actually voted for PR than BN at DUN level. It is proven based on calculation, when out of 721 600 votes including mail votes, early and spoilled votes, only 86 159 (11.94%) voted BN compared 635 441 (88.06%) voters voted PR. Overall, BN won bigger majority at older/adult channel but young channel, BN won a little majority only. This all showed Selangor sentiment made BN mostly UMNO nearly dying while other component parties vanished totally in Selangor politics. We know that at parliamentary level, some Malay voters voted PAS but did not vote DAP/PKR (Chinese candidate).

Selangor is also known as an exemplary state for Pakatan Rakyat government (Jazlan 2014) for economy, administration, cooperation between three component parties and making their citizens feel secured and have faith in their eligibility to rule the federal government or not. If yes, probably BN will lose its popularity at national level. That's why UMNO/BN Selangor really wanted to take back Selangor as main powerhouse compared to other states.

In conclusion, fence/young voters and majority of Selangorians have given twice huge total votes towards PR that contributed to the highest popular votes over 1 million towards popular votes at whole country. This is due to Selangor sentiment: Good governance/ benefits given and national sentiment.

Voting Action:

Voting action in Malaysia nowadays can be divided into 3 theories: Rational Choice, Party Identification and Sociology. Party Identification is if in the elections, they will vote for the same party without any matters of arising issues. These issues will be seen from the viewpoint of the party and not the average person. To explain the voting behaviour, we look at (Campbell 1950) and the theory applied. For Franklin Jackson, he saw those who identify with the party would take effort to know about the party, internal issues and personalities of the party's candidates. Other factors to be identified are the candidate's age and level of maturity. That is the difference with those who pledge alliance to the party and those who only see from the outside. But, this only used in a few current situations in Malaysia such as:

1. Loyalty of senior voters: Senior voters of most state seats at Kelantan remained loyat to PAS without any issues arising while in other parts of the country, Malay senior voters voted UMNO forever because of its contribution towards a peaceful country and development in the country like fast rapid growth in Kuala Lumpur.
2. Some Chinese voters mostly in Kuala Lumpur where MCA/GERAKAN never won at purely Chinese parliamentary.

In the United States, there were voters who left the party and formed another party. In addition, the average voters, especially young people do not want to declare their alliance to any party and non-partisan. They only fight for student's idealism. They will vote for a party that will give more benefits to them. Thus, how to explain this kind of behavior?

A precise explanation will elaborate the three theoriesmof political voting action (Jemaahsranger 2012) and (Ardiviera 2012) and in relation to the current situation based on other previous article/journal research.

In current context, during 12th general election there was a big swing among non-Malay voters in Peninsular Malaysia and small swing from Malay voters' mostly young voters and Selangorians showing rational choice was more relevant to use today (Junaidi 2013). Therefore, Anthony Downs approach on Rational Choice Theory explains this behaviour. Voters will make political choices as to make economic choices. Here, the issues played a major role in influencing the behaviour of voters. Voters will vote for the party that is able to meet the needs of the electorate. This theory also explains the voters will vote based on a candidate's performance, current issues and candidate images. For Catt (1995), voters will vote based on facts and not emotions.

This showed in Bangi and also to the whole country that they vote their favourite party depending on his/her leadership, state/national issues that he/she is concerned with and good governance performance. Rational choice can be divided into 2 scenarios: if voters hope on development, then BN won but if voters expect on democracy, economy, cost of living and national issues, then PR won. This shown (Shamshinor 2013) when all states' capitals won by PR except Kangar and Johor Bahru.

Finally, sociology theory revolves around household economic status and level of education. It is significant in some situations in Kuala Lumpur based on an article regarding the voting pattern during the 13th General Election in Kuala Lumpur that stated an arising matter on those who lived at Projek Perumahan Rakyat (PPR) and voters of BN who lived in normal housing area but at a low income status voted BN while the elite housing area/rich and middle class voters vote PR. At Bangi state seat where level of education of voters who stay there is highly intellectual and most of them voted PAS-PR.

Strategies And Conclusions:

To be prepared with strategies to control the situation at the national level is to be a matter of great importance. Therefore, if BN wants to obtain 2/3 majority at parliament and take back a number of states' seats, including Selangor, BN can only demolish national sentiment into new national sentiment is exploiting DAP-PKR-PAS situation, change their governance ways into transparent governance (not burden citizen) and maintain 'racial sentiment' towards Malay that they need to vote UMNO if not want to Malaysia rule by DAP (Junaidi 2013). Penang is not included because it is difficult to reclaim that state.

UMNO now is in very weak situation and BN is unable to retain Selangor anymore except if BN reverse Selangor sentiment by applying reversing national sentiment towards PR and therefore BN able to get back Selangor mostly on margin state seat that won by PR mostly PAS.

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