12th General Elections
Observations on Issues, Voting Directions and Implications

SIRD Presentation 12 March 2007
Overview

Pre-election Issues

Factors Impacting Campaign

Results

Outcomes and Implications
Issues leading to the election

Cost of living and crime
Affected all segments of society, especially urban areas

Ethnic Equality Issues
Treatment by government had come to the fore, especially among ethnic Indians
- Dissonance between leadership and community
- Missed opportunities to address the issue

The Economy
- Sentiments over the economy at a macro level remained positive but very low among Chinese and Indians

Leadership
Approval rating of the Prime Minister remained at low levels going into the elections
- Overall, voters still saw that the situation in the country remained at peace but context has significantly changed over the past month.
Factors leading the change

Issues affected all segments but...

Satisfaction with government service delivery was key

Ethnicity was a key factor – non-Malays were more keen on change but Malay swing was smaller but significant

Urban / rural divide also a key factor
Issues
Generally speaking, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way things are going in the country at present?

NOTE: “Very satisfied” & “somewhat satisfied” aggregated.
What in your view, is the most important problem affecting Malaysia today? (23-27 Feb 2008)

- Price hike & rising cost of living: 27%
- Lack of job opportunities: 4%
- Unfavorable economic condition: 3%

- Crime & public safety: 9%
- Kidnapping of children: 4%

- Social ills among youth (e.g: loitering, rempit, drug, crime etc): 7%
- Influx of illegal immigrants: 4%

- Ethnic affairs & unequal treatment: 9%
- Disunity among races: 5%
- Hindraf issue: 2%

- Issue within national education system: 2%
- Corruption (e.g: government officials & police): 2%
- Weak government administration & national leaders: 3%
- Others: 3%
- No problem: 4%
- Don't know: 10%
- No response: 3%

Economy: 34%
Crime: 13%
Ethnic issues: 16%
What in your view, is the most important problem affecting Malaysia today?
Across Ethnic Groups
What in your view, is the most important problem affecting Malaysia today? (23-27 Feb 2008)
What in your view, is the most important problem affecting Malaysia today? (23-27 Feb 2008)

- **Price hike & rising cost of living**:
  - Very satisfied: 4%
  - Somewhat satisfied: 21%
  - Somewhat dissatisfied: 48%
  - Very dissatisfied: 25%
  - Don't know: 2%
  - No response: 2%

- **Crime & public safety**:
  - Very satisfied: 5%
  - Somewhat satisfied: 25%
  - Somewhat dissatisfied: 52%
  - Very dissatisfied: 15%
  - Don't know: 2%

- **Ethnic affairs & unequal treatment**:
  - Very satisfied: 4%
  - Somewhat satisfied: 16%
  - Somewhat dissatisfied: 54%
  - Very dissatisfied: 24%

- **Social ills among youth (e.g: loitering, rempit, drug, crime etc)**:
  - Very satisfied: 6%
  - Somewhat satisfied: 23%
  - Somewhat dissatisfied: 54%
  - Very dissatisfied: 17%

- **Disunity among races**:
  - Very satisfied: 19%
  - Somewhat satisfied: 37%
  - Somewhat dissatisfied: 36%
  - Very dissatisfied: 8%

- **Kidnapping of children**:
  - Very satisfied: 15%
  - Somewhat satisfied: 43%
  - Somewhat dissatisfied: 38%
  - Very dissatisfied: 3%
Issues
Malays: Importance versus Satisfaction with the government 23-27 February 2008

More important

Morality of leaders
Firm and competent leadership
Economic development
Uplifting Islam
Rights of own race
Protecting language & culture
Quality of education
Fair treatment by government

Less important

Prices of consumer goods
Social problems
Corruption
Crime

Less satisfied

More satisfied

Chart 11
Issues Indian: Importance versus Satisfaction with the government
23-27 February 2008

- More important
- More satisfied
- Less satisfied
- Less important

- Corruption
- Prices of consumer goods
- Firm & competent leadership
- Morality of leaders
- Social problems
- Crime
- Protecting freedom of religion
- Protecting language & culture
- Rights of own race
- Fair treatment by government
- Economic development
- Quality of education
- Economic development
Prices of consumer items and services
% stating conditions as favorable

- Peninsula M'sia
- Malay
- Chinese
- Indian

Chart 15
Indian community marginalization
How strongly do you agree with the view that ethnic Indians are marginalized and unfairly treated by the government?
In your view, who do you think is responsible for the marginalization of ethnic Indians in Malaysia? (23-27 Feb 2008)

**All**
- The ethnic Indian community itself: 37%
- The community’s political leaders: 26%
- The government in general: 18%
- Other races in the country: 26%
- The British colonial administration: 1%
- Others: 4%
- Don't know: 2%
- No response: 1%

**Indians**
- The ethnic Indian community itself: 43%
- The community’s political leaders: 21%
- The government in general: 28%
- Other races in the country: 2%
- The British colonial administration: 2%
- Others: 1%
- Don't know: 1%
- No response: 1%
The government has recently made pledges to the Indian community such as to halt demolition of temples and to provide greater economic and educational opportunities. How strongly are you satisfied or dissatisfied with those measures?
Malay perceptions of UMNO/BN

Now, I am going to read two statements to you. After you hear each one, please tell me which one is closer to your opinion.

**Statement 1**
Umno and the BN say they have brought much progress but after 50 years, Malays are still the poorest of all the main races in the country.

- **Strongly agree**: 16%
- **Somewhat agree**: 25%

**Statement 2**
Umno and the BN say they have brought much progress for 50 years, Malays have much to thank them for the increase in wealth that they have enjoyed.

- **Strongly agree**: 22%
- **Somewhat agree**: 28%
I am going to read two statements to you. After you hear each one, please tell me which one is closer to your opinion.

UMNO and the BN say that they are fighting for Malay rights but spend more time making money for themselves and giving contracts to friends and family members.

UMNO and the BN say that they are fighting for Malay rights and voting for the opposition will only weaken Malays politically.
Malay perceptions of UMNO/BN
I am going to read two statements to you. After you hear each one, please tell me which one is closer to your opinion.

It is important for Malays to be united under UMNO for the survival of the race.

- Strongly agree: 24%
- Somewhat agree: 26%

Malay opposition such as PAS should be given room to balance the powers of UMNO.

- Strongly agree: 19%
- Somewhat agree: 18%
Fuel Price Increase
Do you believe or do not believe that the government will raise the price of fuel after the upcoming elections?

- Yes: 79%
- No: 8%
- Don't know: 13%
In your view, do you think it is appropriate that the government raise the price of fuel?

- Yes: 75%
- No: 20%
- Don't know: 4%
- No response: 1%
Voting Intentions
If elections were to be held tomorrow, which party would you vote for the parliament?
Adjusted
If elections were to be held tomorrow, which party would you vote for the parliament?

Chart 26

[Graph showing estimated support for BN and Opposition from Oct 06 to 5 - 7 Mar 08]
### Campaign Events / Voting Intention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Estimated Support for BN (%)</th>
<th>Estimated Support for Opposition (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 – 22 Feb</td>
<td>Lobbying for candidacy begins</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 – 27 Feb</td>
<td>Lobbying degenerates to infighting</td>
<td>57.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Feb – 4 Mar</td>
<td>BN/UMNO machinery in some places paralyzed</td>
<td>53.9%</td>
<td>48.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 7 Mar</td>
<td>Indelible ink canceled</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>48.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Lobbying for candidacy begins
- Lobbying degenerates to infighting
- BN wins seats
- BN/UMNO machinery in some places paralyzed
- PM visits crisis areas
- Indelible ink canceled
- Attacks on Anwar

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Merdeka Center
Election Results
Analysis of the Election Results

**Vote share - Nationwide**

- **BN**: 50.59%
- **PKR**: 18.45%
- **PAS**: 14.05%
- **DAP**: 13.72%
- **Independent**: 6%
- **Spoilt votes**: 2.16%

Total Opposition: 47.25%

But, BN popular vote in Peninsular Malaysia is <50%

Source: NST
Analysis of the Election Results

Popular Votes in DUN

- **Penang**: BN 40.3%, BA 58.1%
- **Perak**: BN 46.2%, BA 51.4%
- **Selangor**: BN 43.0%, BA 55.2%
- **Kelantan**: BN 43.0%, BA 55.6%
Analysis of the Election Results

Popular Votes in DUN vs Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BA-Parl</th>
<th>BA-State</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Penang</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perak</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selangor</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelantan</td>
<td>53.7%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 31
## Ethnic Representation in Perak, Penang and Selangor State Govts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2004</th>
<th></th>
<th>2008</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perak</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69.2%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penang</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selangor</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Factors

Pre-Election

- Issues – Cost of living, Crime and Ethnic Issues
- Lackluster leadership

After Dissolution

- Internal Strife and Infighting – Paralysis
- BN Communications Strategy – Dissonance
- Opposition Communications Discipline
Factors

Campaign Period

- Communications apparatus – hammer vs needles
- Fear of Election Irregularity
- Anwar Factor
Key things to look at

Immediate

- Consolidation and cooperation – address ethnic concerns
- Introducing the new working model
- Establishing mechanisms to meet expectations

Medium term

- Operationalizing the Post – NEP model
- Delivering on promises
Key things to look at

Other observations

- BA Governments - time frame: 2 – 3 years
- Moderating expectations to cater to central needs
- Move towards 2 party system
- Future directions for BN/UMNO – more democratic or more autocratic?
Issues
Importance versus Satisfaction with the government
23-27 February 2008

More important
Rights of the Malays/Chinese/Indians
Firm & competent leadership
Fair treatment
Morality of leaders
Economic development
Uplifting Islam/Protecting freedom of religion
Quality of education

Less important
Prices of consumer goods
Crime
Social problems
Corruption

Less satisfied

More satisfied

Less important

Chart 40
Q2A. I am going to read you a list of items mentioned in the media as affecting the country, how favourable or unfavourable would you say is the situation with respect to: The economy

NOTE: “Very favourable” & “somewhat favourable” aggregated.
As an oil producing country, Malaysia profits each time oil prices rise. Which of the following views are closest to yours?

- The government is actually able to reduce fuel prices because Malaysia is a producer
- The government is not able to stop the rise in fuel prices due to pressure from world markets
- Don't know
- No response

50% 50% 5% 1%