

Selangor: Evolution of Voting Trends (Part 1)

Selangor, a crown jewel for then Pakatan Rakyat and now Pakatan Harapan, experienced big voting changes from GE13 to GE15. GE13 to GE15 voting patterns have shown both homogeneity and heterogeneity of voting blocks in Selangor. In this article, we will examine Selangor voting patterns from multiple lenses: ethnicity, urbanization, Felda presence, early voting and impact of third forces.

Selangor has 56 state constituencies with an ethnic composition of slight Malay majority presence. In GE13, 50% of electors are Malays, 34% are Chinese, 14% are Indians, 0.3% are Orang Asli and remaining 1.7% are Others, Bumiputera Sabah and Sarawak. In GE14, Malay presence grew close to 52%, Chinese was 32%, Indians was close to 14%, 0.3% is Orang Asli and remaining 1.3% are Others, Bumiputera, Sabah and Sarawak. With the introduction of Undi18, Selangor composition got slightly mixed. Malay presence was reduced to 51%, Chinese was slightly below of 32%, Indians remain around 14%, Orang Asli presence grew to 0.4% and presence of Others (including Bumiputera Sabah and Sarawak) expanded to slightly over 3%. An examination of polling district ethnic demographics (refer to Figure 1) of GE13 to GE15 shown that GE13 to GE14 indicates a pattern an increase of Malay majority areas but Undi18 implementation resulted in an increase for mixed area (reducing homogenous areas).

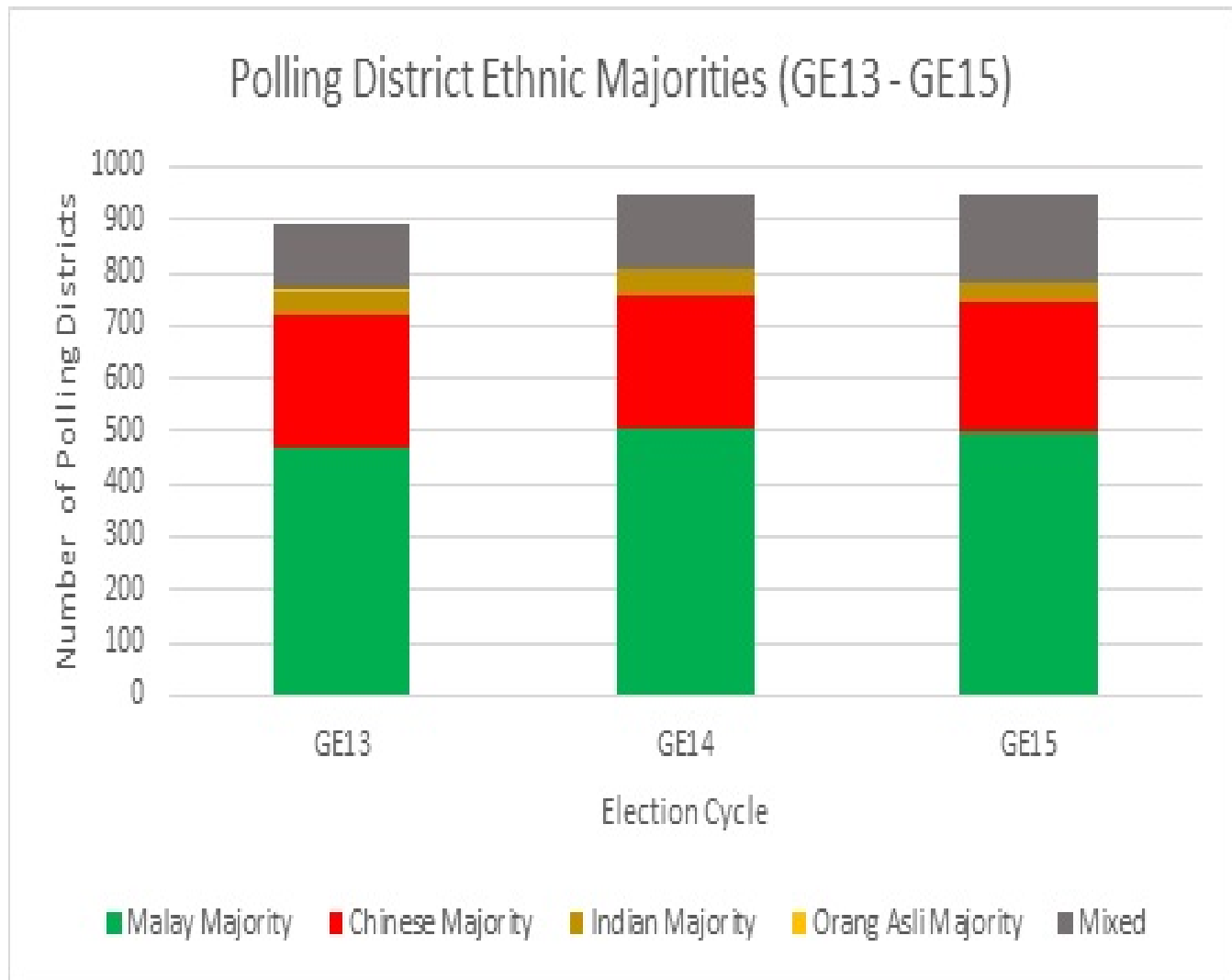


Figure 1: Distribution of Polling District Ethnic Majorities of Selangor (GE13 to GE15)

In terms of voter type, while not discounting importance of police and military voters, more than 98% of voters of Selangor was from Ordinary Voting category in GE13 and GE14. With the introduction of Undi18, military and police share shrank less than 1% of the electorate. However, Undi18 and more inclusive approach by EC to include overseas Malaysians for postal

vote resulted in postal vote expansion in size and share (despite share police and military shrank).

In terms of overall voting pattern, then Pakatan Rakyat (PR) won 44 out of 56 DUN constituencies in GE13 and its successor, Pakatan Harapan (PH) won 51 out of 56 DUN constituencies in GE14. If we were to look at Ordinary Vote, in GE13 (at DUN level), PR won 44 seats and using GE13 Parliamentary Ordinary Vote, PR won 45 seats. This is an indication of split voting and impact of infighting of opposition in two DUN seats. For GE14, using Ordinary Vote only, PH won 52 DUN seats. This is an indication of importance of postal vote and early voting for some seats (H won Hulu Bernam (DUN level) but with addition of postal and early voting, Barisan Nasional (BN) won the seat by 20 votes). GE15 witness dramatic turn of events where PH + Muda would have won by 41 out 56 seats (below two-thirds majority) in the Ordinary Voter Category. Perikatan Nasional (PN) won 14 DUN seats using GE15 results and most of these seats won by PN with less than 50%. Even if BN and PH parties were to instruct all their base to support each other, Padang Serai and Tioman by-elections after GE15 shown the reciprocity was one sided. Hence, it will be an uphill challenge for PH and BN to win those 14 DUN seats.

Malay Voting Pattern: Moving away from Barisan Nasional

GE13

GE14

GE15

Barisan Nasional

12

4

1

Pakatan Rakyat/Pakatan Harapan (including MUDA)

22

32

22

Gagasan Sejahtera

N/A

1

N/A

Perikatan Nasional

N/A

N/A

14

As Malay voters constitute slight majority of the State electorate scene, they represent a spectrum of voting preferences (going beyond the conception of being hard core voting block for one party). In GE13, 34 out 56 DUN seats were Malay Majority. After the redelineation of 2018, the number of Malay Majority seats increased to 37 (same for GE15). Undi 18 resulted in more mixing of the constituencies and this could explain the reason on why the number of more homogenous Malay majority seats declined (refer to Figure 2).

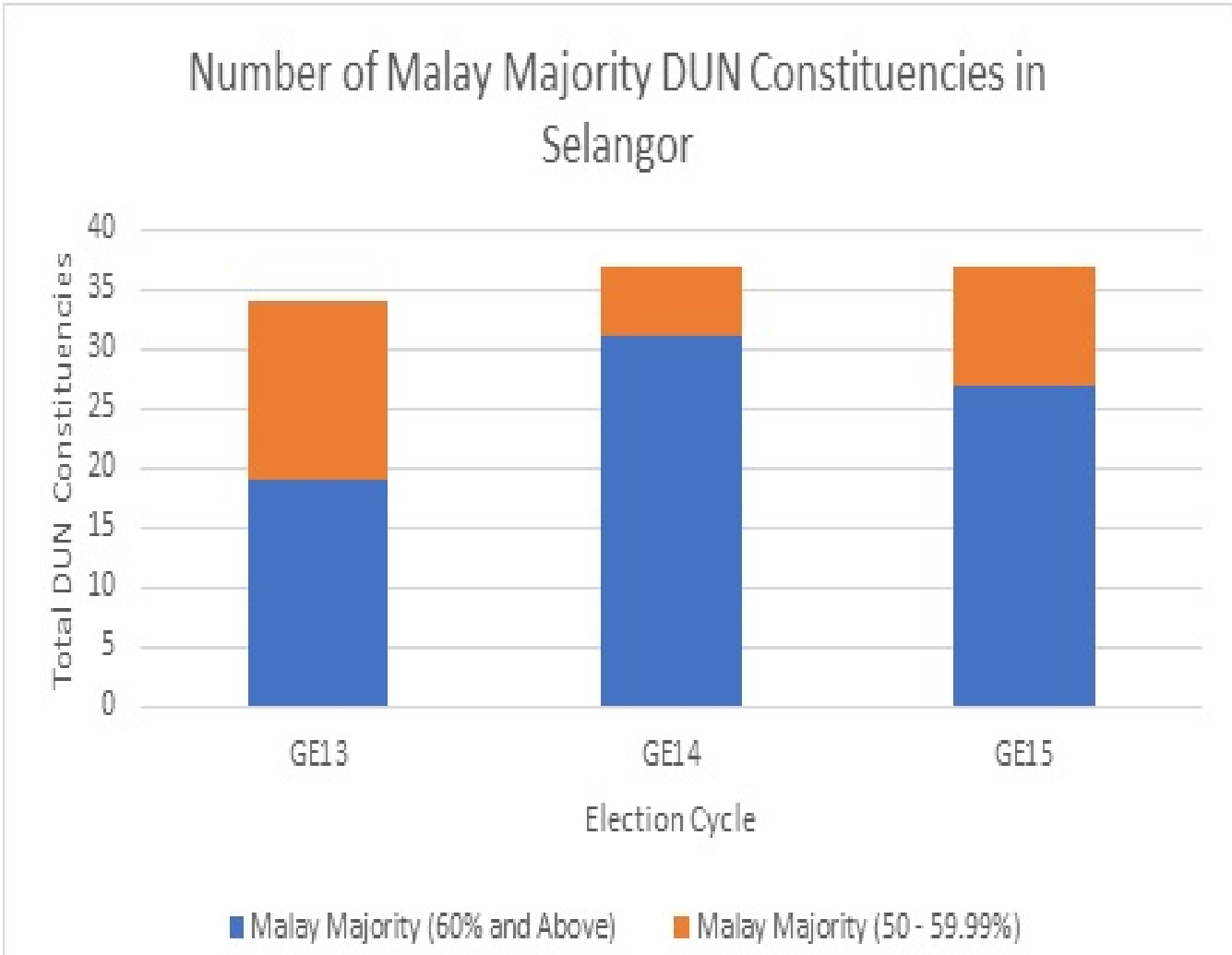


Figure 2: Number of Malay Majority DUN Constituencies in Selangor (2013-2018) (Source: Election Commission of Malaysia, 2018)

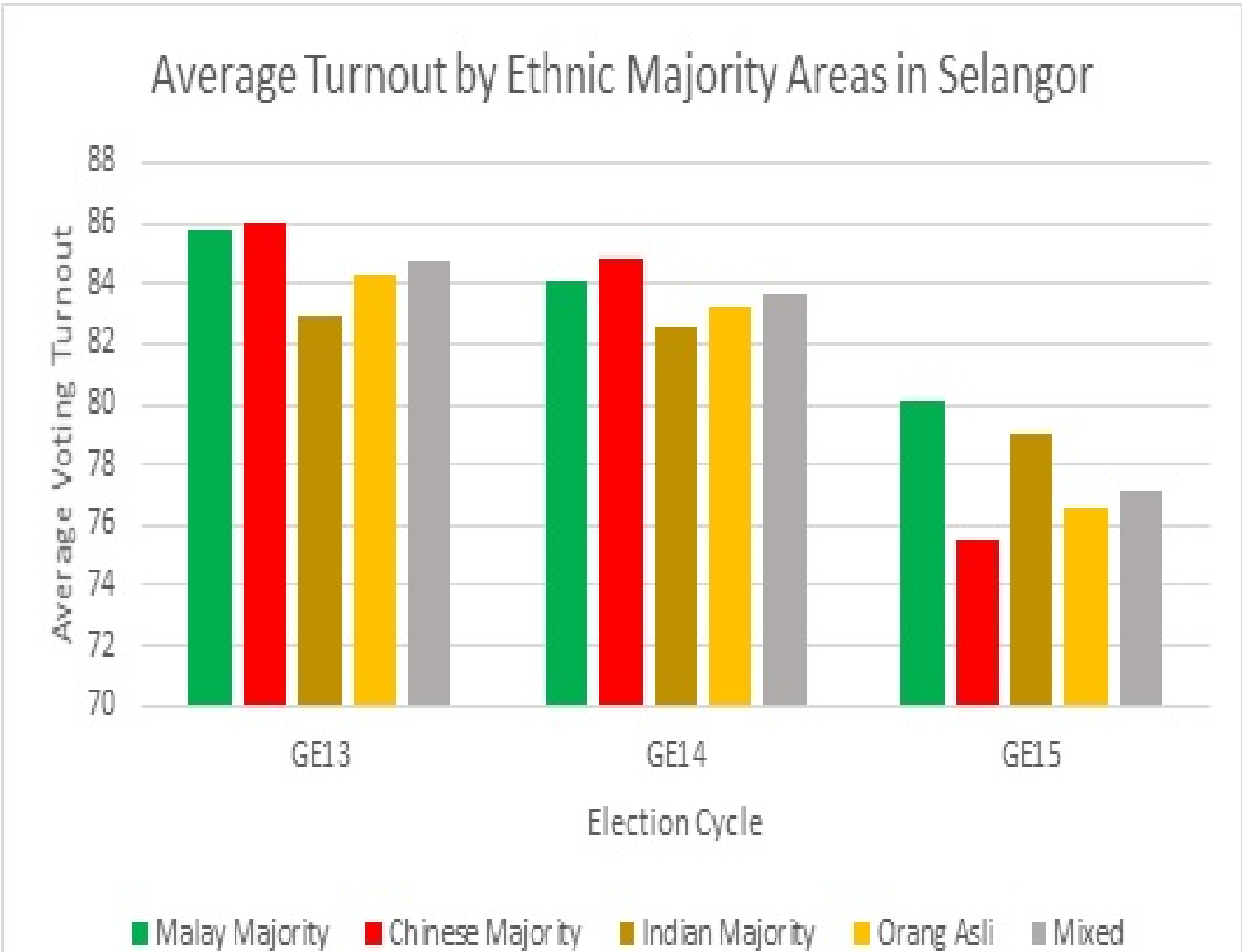
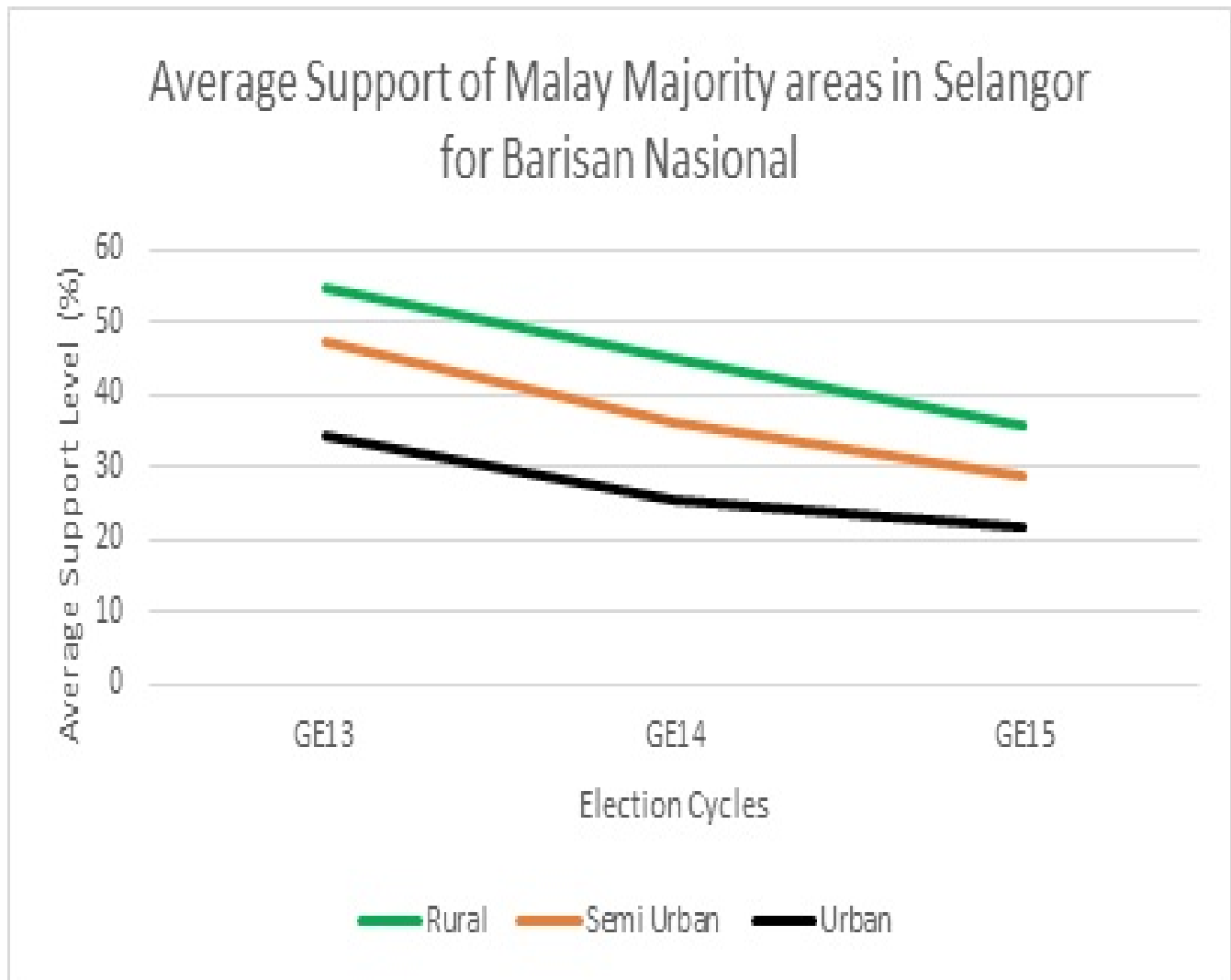
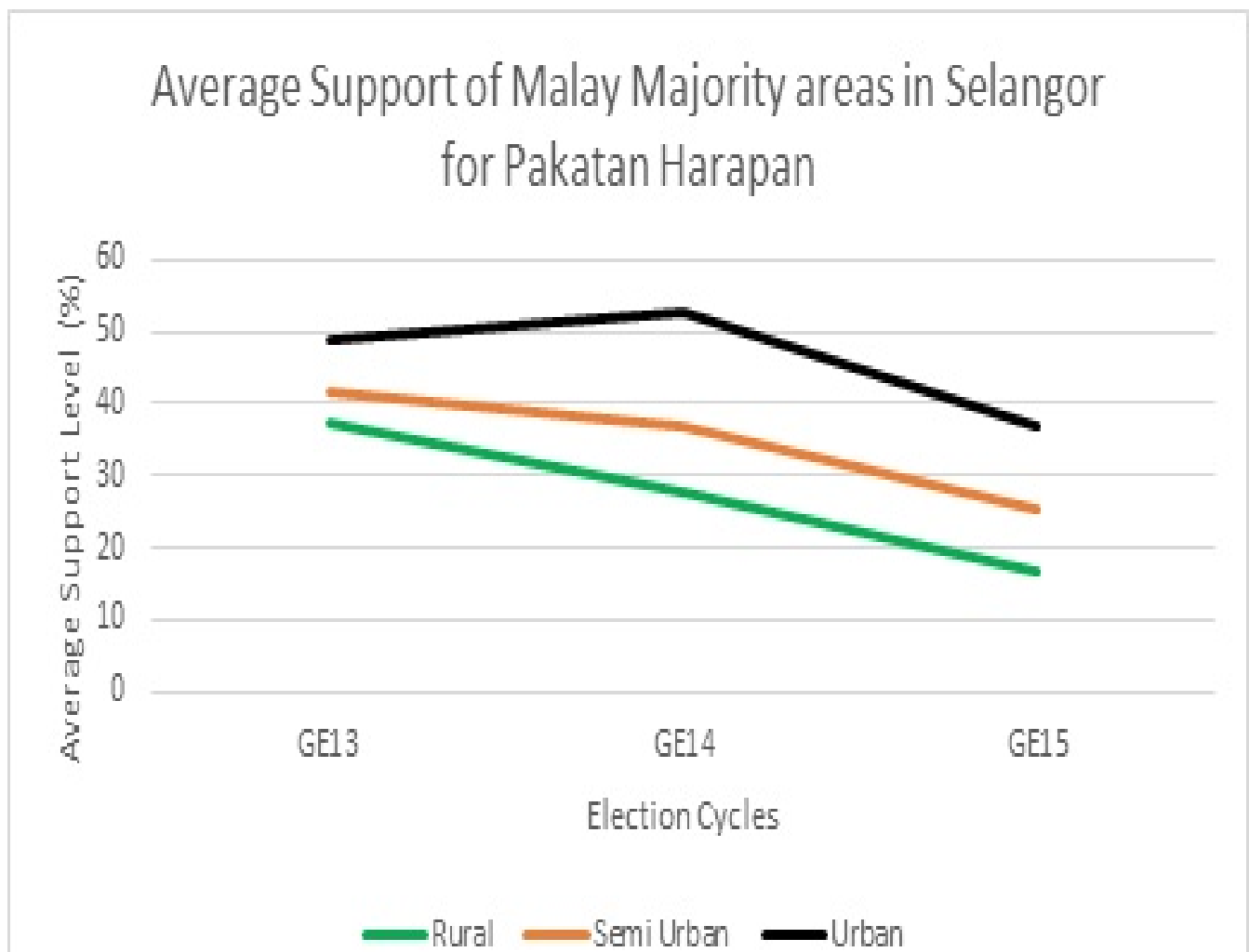


Figure 9: Average voting turnout by Ethnic Majority areas for GE13, GE14 and GE15. Source: PRN 2023, based on data from the Election Commission of Malaysia (EC).





Malay majority areas in Selangor have been showing a decline in support for Pakatan Harapan in the recent election cycles. This is likely due to the increasing influence of the opposition parties in the region.