

# **URBAN VOTERS' PREFERENCE OF ISSUES IN THE GENERAL ELECTION: CASE STUDY OF SHAH ALAM PARLIAMENTARY**

Irwana Nooridayu Muhamad Hakimi<sup>1</sup> dan Prof. Madya Dr. Shaharuddin Badaruddin<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Faculty of Administrative Science and Policy Studies, Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Malaysia  
[irwananooridayu@yahoo.com](mailto:irwananooridayu@yahoo.com)

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Administrative Science and Policy Studies, Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Malaysia  
[pmsahar@salam.uitm.edu.my](mailto:pmsahar@salam.uitm.edu.my)

## **ABSTRACT**

Elections are important national events. It can also be regarded as the most critical contest at the national level and in the electoral system for every country. Currently, Malaysia is moving towards the 13<sup>th</sup> General Election which will be held in the year 2012. Elections after the Independence were held for 12 times from 1959 until 2008. From Independent Day in 1957, Selangor has been one of the strongholds for Barisan Nasional (BN) except in the 1969's election. It was when The Alliance (known as Barisan Nasional today) held only 14 out of 24 seats in Selangor. Unfortunately for the first time during 12<sup>th</sup> General Election in 2008, Barisan Nasional (BN) was not able to continue their good performance since they only won 5 from 22 parliamentary seats in Selangor. This has caused a negative impact on Barisan Nasional (BN) at the State Legislative Assembly level because it only won 20 from 56 seats. In the 2008's General Election, history was created in Selangor when Barisan Nasional (BN) was defeated by the opposition parties. Abdul Aziz B. Shamsuddin who represented Barisan Nasional in Shah Alam parliamentary area lost to Khalid B. Abd Samad who belonged to Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS). A study by Adam & Ferber (1980), finds that the voting trend of one particular area has a strong influence on the effectiveness of issues delivered by a political party to the voters. Campbell et al. (1960) agree that political parties, current political issues and the candidate that are up for the election are the central factors that determine citizens' vote choices. Therefore, this paper intends to determine the factor that influence Malay urban voters' preference in an election from perspective of issues that happening around the people in Shah Alam parliamentary area. The areas are Kota Anggerik (N40) and Batu Tiga (N41) and the focus is on Malay urban voters. In collecting data process, cross-sectional survey to test the hypotheses and questionnaires been distributed to 324 Malay urban voters in Shah Alam.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Elections are important national events. It can also be regarded as the most critical contest at the national level and in the electoral system for every country. Elections after the Independence were held for 12 times from 1959 until 2008. Elections in Malaysia are conducted for in the environment, where voters have the freedom to vote for their political parties. Elections in Malaysia are held every five years to provide opportunities to those who are qualified as voters to carry out their responsibilities as Malaysian citizens. According to Abdul Rashid and Syed Serajul (2011), election is an organized process in which people choose a person, to a position of public importance such as presidency, or a group of people to represent them in national or state assemblies. In particular, election will provide platform for the citizen to choose the best party to govern the country from their point of view.

The 8 March 2008 General Elections, 12<sup>th</sup> in Malaysia's general elections history since, history was again created as the election turned to be nightmare for Barisan Nasional (BN). In the event, BN government arguably suffered its worst defeat with the loss of its two-third majority of seats including the loss of five states which are Perak, Pulau Pinang, Kelantan, Kedah and Selangor (Pandian, 2010). Majority of seats in the Federal Territory also being won by the opposition in order to make thing worst for Barisan Nasional (Pandian, 2010). The 2008 witnessed the behavior and perception of the voters in experiencing a sudden and dramatic change. This phenomenon, had been regarded as unpredictable "tsunami" that happened to national political landscape.

A study by Adam & Ferber (1980) in Mohd, Fuad et.al.(2009), finds that the voting trend of one particular area has a strong influence the on the effectiveness of issues delivered by a political party to the voters. Campbell et al. (1960) in Schmitt (2005) agree that political parties, current political issues and the candidate that are up for the election are the central factors that determine citizens' vote choices.

Therefore, this paper intends to determine the factor that influence Malay urban voters' preference in an election from perspective of issues that happening around the people in Shah Alam parliamentary area. Shah Alam is the focus area of the study since Shah Alam where Barisan Nasional (BN) always wins its biggest majority. Besides that, the statistic shows that the changes in percentage of vote for the opposition parties' candidates in the Parliament from 1995 to 2008 in Selangor have increased by 21.4% which is high (Saravanamuttu, 2008). This paper intends to determine the factor that influence urban voters' preference in an election from perspective of issues that happening around the people in Shah Alam parliamentary area.

## **VOTING PREFERENCE AND ELECTION**

Voting preferences are determined by voting behaviour of the voters and depend on many factors. It can be divided into long terms influences, medium term influences and short term influence (Smuts, 2010). Voting preferences can be manifested into party identification, issue voting, outcome preference voting, retrospective voting, race as well as ideological orientation. Long term influence is in the underlying influence of race, ethnic and class. Mattes (1995) in Smuts (2010) mentions that to establish a logical reason for voting preference the measurement is based on ethnic, race and class. Generally, in Malaysia since the Independence, a majority of Malay support UMNO and this had been manifested many times in the elections (Abdul Latif, 2004). With regards to Malaysia context, elections, since the Independence, are greatly formulated according to race preferences. However, from the result of the 12th General Election, the Malays-Islam position has been affected. UMNO's performance has deteriorated and PAS seats are the least influential party in the opposition coalition. This has raised fear among the Malays since PKR seems not to focus on Malays (Amer Saifude Ghazali et. al., 2011).

According to Mattes (1995), medium term influences, voting preference can change towards party identification. As discussed by Seekings (1997), he argues that voters usually vote according to their social position. When people vote based on their social circumstances, their social characteristics will influence their political preference. Party identification not only acts as the only influence of voting preferences, but it will

relate with other influence. Party identification also has a psychological aspect as it shows toleration towards people's identification with their respective parties. He also recognizes that party identification often occurs due to race and ethnic orientation. In Malaysia, PAS and UMNO supporters are from the Malays while DAP supporters are mostly Chinese. The tendency to vote for these parties is based on race orientation. Thus, this method of voting is closely related to race and class census theories (Habib & Naidu, 1999). Furthermore, people identify with certain parties that fit their ideological orientation. Malaysia is a country that practices multiparty system and each of these parties has its own ideological orientation. If the ideology and policies are accepted by people, the party has a high chance to win in election. In the 10th General Election, UMNO had lost support from the Malays, as discussed by many researchers. This raises many questions regarding the relevancy of UMNO in the current context, especially in Islam. Support for UMNO seems to be shifted to PAS.

Voting preference is also influenced by short term effects. These include issue voting, election campaigns and candidates that represent different parties (Smuts, 2010). It emphasizes different parties' stand on important issues. Seeking (2007) agrees that issues voting are the most accountable method of voting. In the 2008's General Election, opposition parties seemed to focus more on issues related to people's rights and freedom (Amer Saifude Ghazali et.al, 2011). As a result they won big victory in the General Election. Conversely, BN who was led by Abdullah Ahmad Badawi failed to continue his good performance in 2004. The issues of inter-faith fractures, UMNO's arrogance and the murder of a Mongolian woman, economy scandal, rise cost of living, as well as crime and corruption had undermine the trust of people towards BN (Saravananmuttu, 2008).

The other short term influence is the candidates themselves. The candidates fall under this category because they change from election to election and also because voters pay more attention to them during campaigning periods. Effective candidates can increase votes and strengthen the support of current supporters, whereas ineffective candidates can lose some of that support. For Selangor administration, one of the factors the Barisan Nasional (BN) defeat was the candidate factor (Norhayati, 2008).

From the literature review, it can be said that candidate, issues and political party are the most important factors that influence voters' preference in election. However, the factors may differ for every individual and are based on current political changes.

## **ELECTION IN SHAH ALAM**

Selangor state is one of the developed states in Malaysia. They generate their income mostly from industrial activities, services and agricultural sectors. There are 87.90 percent of Selangor people lives in urban areas and the remaining balance resides in rural areas.

In the 2008's General Election, history was created in Selangor when Barisan Nasional (BN) was defeated by the opposition parties. Abdul Aziz B. Shamsuddin, who represented Barisan Nasional in Shah Alam parliamentary area, lost to Khalid B. Abd Samad who belonged to Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS). Even though Malaysia Chinese Association (MCA), Malaysia Indian Association (MIC) and Gerakan lost their massive

support to Democratic Action Party (DAP) and Keadilan, it was unexpected for UMNO to lose in urban areas that are dominated by Malays, such as Shah Alam, Selangor (Pandian, 2010).

To compare, the achievement of opposition parties were much more better in 2008 General Election. This can be seen through the seats won by BN and opposition parties in Selangor which illustrated in Table 1.

From Table 1, without a doubt the event in the 1990's General Election proves that Shah Alam is the area where the majority of voters came from. In 1990, Rakibah Bt Hj. Abd. Manap from Barisan Nasional (BN) defeated Rahmah Bt Osman from S46 by and managed to win the majority of votes, which is 16,638 votes. The result from the 1995's General Election shows that Barisan Nasional defeated the opposition parties by winning Shah Alam Parliamentary seat with majority of 4,071 votes. For the State Legislative Assembly seats, Barisan Nasional (BN) was able to win over Batu Tiga, Sungai Renggam and Kota Raya with majority votes of 11,041, 16,105 and 10,182 respectively. Unfortunately, in 1999, the opposition parties were able to get a breakthrough after Anwar Ibrahim was detained under the Internal Security Act (ISA). The result of this election allowed PAS to win in Sungai Besar, Sungai Burung, Gombak Setia and Kajang. From the result for the 11th General Election in 2004, the credibility of Barisan Nasional (BN) as a political party improved, as it was able to hold Shah Alam's parliamentary votes. The result for State Legislative Assembly also brought satisfaction to Barisan Nasional (BN) leaders since Kota Anggerik and Batu Tiga also belonged to them. However, Barisan Nasional's (BN) enjoyment in ruling Selangor did not last long as the party was hit by a political tsunami. In the 2008's General Election, Abdul Aziz B. Shamsuddin, who represented Barisan Nasional in Shah Alam area, lost to Khalid B. Abd Samad, from Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), with 9,314 majority votes. Ahmad Nawawi Bin M. Zin, who represented Kota Anggerik State Legislative area, had lost to Yaakob Bin Sapari from Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) with majority 2,200 votes. Batu Tiga state legislative areas, which were represented by Salamon Bin Selamat, lost to Rodziah Binti Ismail from (PKR) with 3,563 majority votes.

Shah Alam is the focus area of the study since Shah Alam where Barisan Nasional (BN) always wins its biggest majority. Besides that, the statistic shows that the changes in percentage of vote for the opposition parties' candidates in the Parliament from 1995 to 2008 in Selangor have increased by 21.4% which is high (Saravanamuttu, 2008). Shah Alam parliament areas (P108) consist of the State Legislative Assembly (SLA) areas under Shah Alam. The areas are Kota Anggerik (N40) and Batu Tiga (N41) and the focus is on urban voters.

## FINDINGS

### Findings based on questionnaires analysis

Table 2: Voters' Consideration on National Issues

No.	Issues	Mean Score	Std. Deviation
1.	Democracy	4.2994	.78287
2.	Malay Leadership	4.2963	1.00395
3.	Religious	4.1975	1.07801
4.	1 Malaysia	4.0957	1.04398
5.	Bersih	3.5926	1.11314
6.	Lynas	3.7006	.89712
7.	Hindraf	3.2963	1.09821
8.	PAS and DAP coalition	2.6975	1.18604

In Malaysia, campaign was made in order to deliver the messages regarding various issues that happen in our country. Based on Table 2 above, the main concern of Malay voters in Shah Alam is democracy issue, as indicated by mean 4.2994. Obviously in Shah Alam, it has huge number of people who has high education level. Consequently, it affects the level of awareness of the voters regarding democracy issue. Democracy issues can be seen through the existence of various laws illustrated by Sedition Act, Internal Security Act as well as Printing Presses and Publication Act are important to keep an eye for racial harmony. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of all these laws being questioned since they are used to impede the citizen's rights to political freedom and freedom of speech. This issue has been widely discussed by the voters in Shah Alam area during the election process. Unquestionably, it is very important for the government to put more effort in order to solve this issue as Shah Alam areas consist of high education level of people and their thinking skills is different. As a matter of fact, the old patterns of politics for instance racial politics and development politics had been replaced by new politics. Above all, active participation of the youth and the middle class level in Malaysia is the main factor in promoting new politics which encourage the protection of the common good as the main concern for the country.

Malay leadership issue falls in second place as indicated by score mean 4.2963. To be exact Malay leadership issue also becomes a priority and can influence voters in an election in Shah Alam. Shah Alam is one of the areas that have a high number of Malay registered voters which is 68.42 percent. Following that is Chinese voters 15.33 percent and Indian voters 15.3 percent (Suruhanjaya Pilihanraya, 2011). Since the Independence, Malays cannot be separated with UMNO and PAS since these parties are led by Malays. These parties are the prime mover to generate the awareness among the Malays on politics. Their struggling in political environment had leads to many changes in line with globalization. UMNO was born from the spirit of the Malays in order to protect their identity that was threatened before the Independence (Abdul Latiff, 2004). Malay revival is an action to protect Malays' ownership rights. To ensure the interests of the Malays are protected, UMNO's leadership is controlled by elite people. UMNO get many support in their early movement on several reasons. Their national spirit had strong influence with Malay politics. Its role as protector to Malay society is the factor the influence people to support UMNO. This statement is supported by Mohd. Ibrahim (2004), who states that

Malays look at the party they support as the party that represents aspirations, needs and their political goals. The implied value that they feel right, proper or required to be disclosed is already embedded in the party they support. If the party deviates from the rights and demand of the Malays, voters, probably, will look for other parties that can fulfill their needs and political demands. In Selangor, even though its majority population is Malay but the number of seats for Exco positions does not reflect the composition of Malay population. The total percentage of Malay residents in Selangor is 56 percent but the number of seats of appointed Malay ExcOs is less than 40 percent. Malay residents in Selangor had made a request to increase the seats for Malay ExcOs but their demand was ignored (Norhayati, 2008). This increases the Malays voters' dissatisfaction towards the state government of Selangor administration. Looking at the efforts made by UMNO leaders in Selangor, Malay voters ended up voting for PAS as they tried to find another solution from the new state government on this matter. This issue should be concern of all candidates and political parties to compete in Shah Alam areas as number of Malay people in this area is high.

Another leadership issue at national level that affected the voting trends among Malay voters in the 2008's General Election is when the non Malays actively voiced out their dissatisfaction regarding Malay leaders, Malay culture and Islam (Norhayati, 2008). It shows that in order to make decision to vote, voters in Shah Alam prefer to consider the Malay leadership aspect in the political party. In the case of Tengku Mahkota of Kelantan, the presidents of MCA and DAP had criticized him who tried to protect the special rights of the Malays, as stated in the Federal Constitution (Norhayati, 2008). MCA also accused that the issue of the act of kissing the unsheathed keris at one UMNO's general assembly by Hishammuddin Hussien was the reason for the defeat of Barisan Nasional (BN) in the 2008's General Election. The issue of the keris was misinterpreted by the non- Malays. In the end, Hishammuddin Hussin had made an official apology even though a keris is a symbol of strength, for centuries in the Malay heritage. This issue had caused dissatisfaction among the Malays, as a keris is a part of the Malay culture and there was no need for Hishammuddin Hussien to apologize for his act. DAP president had also opposed the establishment of an Islamic country and received murder threats from Muslims in Johor (Norhayati, 2008).

Religious issue is in the third place with the score mean is 4.1975. Religious issue has a close relationship with Malay leadership issues as Malays strongly associated with Islam religion. The result shows that, political parties that involves in this election should do something that can bring good benefits to the Malays people in Shah Alam area. It will help to influence Shah Alam voters' preference on any party and candidate in the election.

Next issue prefer by Shah Alam's voters in election is 1 Malaysia issue. 1 Malaysia is an on-going programme created by Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak on 16 September 2010. The programme will involve cabinet, government agencies, and civil servants which stressed on ethnic harmony, national unity, and efficient governance. As a result of BN lost in 2008's General Election, 1 Malaysia is try to provide an idea on how to harmonize citizens of different races in the country without changing the identity of these races. Under current Prime Minister administration, 1 Malaysia had gone through many stages. Programmes such as Bantuan Rakyat 1Malaysia (BR1M) for citizen had been implemented to assist citizen in Malaysia including Selangor. Currently, in this coming January 2013, Bantuan Rakyat 1 Malaysia (BR1M) 2.0 will take immediate effect in Malaysia. Consequently, it will benefit 4.3 million households and 2.7 million single as well

as unmarried individuals ("Lots of goodies," 2012). Based on the active promotion of 1 Malaysia concept and programmes, it is possible for BN to gain back Selangor as long as government provide assistance for Selangor citizen. Instead of BR1M, Kedai Rakyat 1 Malaysia (KR1M), Perumahan Rakyat 1 Malaysia (PR1MA), 1 Malaysia People's Tution program and many others to assist citizen. From researchers' point of view, all these programmes would be able to put BN right back on track if it effectively implemented.

However, issues related to Bersih, Lynas, Hindraf, Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) and Democratic Action Party (DAP) coalition are more or less not become main preferences for voters in Shah Alam. Bersih is stand for Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections. It is a coalition of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which seeks to reform the current electoral system in Malaysia to ensure free, clean and fair elections. The first Bersih rally was held on 10 November 2007 followed by second Bersih rally in Kuala Lumpur which was held on 9 July 2011 (Keng, 2010). The third Bersih rally was held in April 28 Both of these rallies demands for electoral reforms such as the uses of indelible ink in elections, reform of postal voting, reform in financing rules to ensure transparency and many others (Keng, 2010). After second rally been held, in 28 April 2012, the third Bersih rally was held in Kuala Lumpur and it also demand for clean and fair election. Findings shows that, even though Bersih issue in one of the significant issues in election, but voters in Shah Alam in not really interested to make this issue as their priority in election. The next national issue that not able to raised voters' preference in Shah Alam is Hindraf rally. It was held on 25 November 2007 in Kuala Lumpur (Saravanamuttu, 2008). The purpose of this rally was to deliver over a 100,000 signature memorandum to the British High Commission. It was petition for the Queen to appoint a Queen's Counsel to represent poor Malaysian Indians (Saravanamuttu, 2008). The rally is just a wake up for the government to take action to overcome problems face by the Indian society. From researcher observation, this issue is not influence Shah Alam Malay voters' preferences as it much more related with Indian society whereas majority of voters in Shah Alam are Malays. Compared with democracy and Malays leadership issues, it strongly indicates that Hindraf issue did not raised voters concern in election.

Another issue at national level did not attract Malay voters' preferences in Shah Alam is regarding Lynas Corporation. From the findings, it shows the score mean for this issue is 3.7006. Lynas Corporation, Ltd. is an Australian rare earths mining company who operate in Kuantan, Pahang (Keith, 2011). Even though, this issue raised concern of people regarding welfare and health of the people in Kuantan (The Star, 17 March 2012), but it does not directly affect people in Shah Alam. Hence, it does not have big influences towards Shah Alam voters' preference.

**Table 3: Voters' Consideration on Local Issues**

No.	Issues	Mean Score	Std. Deviation
1.	Consumer Price	4.2006	.97961
2.	Water	4.0000	.89373
3.	PKNS	3.0988	1.22264
4.	Hasan Ali Dismissal	3.0031	1.34578
5.	Solid Waste Management	2.6019	1.01938

Table 3 indicates local issues that influence Malay voters' preferences in an election in Shah Alam. From the table, consumer price issues are the main concern of the Malay urban voters' preferences in an election. This is stated in the table as the mean=4.2006 indicates a high consideration in consumer price. During 2008's General Election, BN was not success in overcoming the problems of increase in petrol price (Muhamad Nadzri, 2009). Thus, it affect cost of living of the citizen. Findings from previous research done by Mohd Fuad (2009) demonstrate that voters chose opposition parties because of their dissatisfaction concerning efforts taken by government to overcome increase in commodity prices. In accord with the price increases it will affect the economic activities of the people in Shah Alam since it is considered as an urban area and there are a high number of people from the middle income group (Latif, 2004). From the finding in table 1, government should focus more on reducing consumer price by giving financial or price reduction assistance. Looking at the current condition, government is trying hard to protect citizen welfare by offering various assistance and aid especially under 1 Malaysia programmes. Broadly speaking, this issue will give great impact on numbers of votes of competing political parties in Shah Alam.

The water issue (mean=4.2006) is the second most important concern for the Malay urban voters in an election. Selangor State Government on March 13, 2008 has announced the implementation of provision of free water to the first 20 cubic meters of domestic water users which use individual meters in Selangor from June 2008 (Selangor Official Portal, n.d). Water issue is highly debated nowadays among Selangor residents as it involves free water manifesto promised by the Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) in the last election. The issue becoming sensitive issue as a result of failure of state government to fulfill what had been manifested in the election ("Rakyat Selangor", 2012). As a result of this problem, state government lead by Chief Minister Khalid Ibrahim and Syarikat Bekalan Air Selangor Sdn Bhd (SYABAS) was sued for RM1.1mil, for allegedly failing to provide water subsidy under the Free Water Scheme promised by the state government by a group of 2,020 consumers in Selangor (Nurbaiti, 2012). Before 2008's General Election, people are attracted to the manifesto regarding free water consumption made by opposition parties. No doubt, they prefer to vote for opposition party as manifesto promised will benefit them and it shows in the table that water issue is one of the main concerns in choosing their representative. As time goes by, many problems has occurs in the coming 2012's General Election regarding Free Water Scheme managed by Selangor government. If government or opposition party able to solve the problem, they will have a chance to rule in Shah Alam, Selangor.

In the third place, the issue occurred related with Perbadanan Kemajuan Negeri Selangor (PKNS) also considered as important issue in General Election in Shah Alam.

The score mean of this issue is 3.0988 indicates it is considered as high priority. PKNS is a state development corporation that involves in property development through the development of the new growth centres, housing, industrial, business and investment. However, the development made by PKNS in several areas has created dissatisfaction among people in Selangor. One of the issues that raised people attention in Shah Alam is the application made by PKNS to turn the PKNS football field in Kelana Jaya from recreational area to commercial area (Hariz Mohd, 2012). However, it received strong objections from the surrounding residents because the development will create traffic congestion and demolish the field's historical value (Foo, 2012). Even though, this issue happened in Kelana Jaya but it affect the Shah Alam people as they are using the same road. If PKNS able to do to develop the field, it might be possible for PKNS to do the same thing in Shah Alam. Thus, the issue will reflect the voting trend of voters in the election.

Equally important in influencing urban voters' preference in election is issue related to Talam Corporation controversy. The controversy happen when PKNS were involved in acquisition of Talam debt amounting to RM392 million ("BN Selangor", 2012). In this case, Talam corporation owe RM392 million from Selangor subsidiary which are Permodalan Negeri Selangor Berhad (PNSB), Kumpulan Hartanah Selangor Berhad (KHSB) dan Universiti Selangor (Unisel) ("BN Selangor", 2012). In order solve this problem, Selangor State Government had launch the debts recovery from Talam Corporation by approved an allocation through additional budget in 2009's State Legislative Assembly. Unfortunately, the issue becoming more controversy even several investigations have been carry out. Yet, no conclusion and decision was made. As a result of different information received by residents such as in Shah Alam, Taman Datuk Harun and Kelana Jaya, they are now asking on the state agency to take over their housing loans amounting to 50 million. The reason of their demand is because they believe that if the state government can find solution by taking over Talam Corporation debts, therefore state government should also help them to solve their debt problems ("PKNS Terima", 2012). Findings shows that, issue regarding PKNS can influence Shah Alam voters' preference in making decision for the General Election. If the current state government lead by Khalid Ibrahim able to solve and clear the problem, probability of voters to elect Pakatan Rakyat (PR) is high.

In contrast, the issue regarding Hasan Ali's dismissal does not give big influence towards Malay voters' preference in an election. As a matter of fact, the issues only become the main concern of political actors who are directly involved in political activities. Hasan Ali, who was a former Selangor executive councillor, was sacked from PAS in January as his actions were deemed detrimental to the party ("Hasan Ali Dismissal", 2012). In this case, Hasan Ali criticised PAS in Utusan Malaysia, Berita Harian and TV3 for purportedly abandoning its Islamist credentials for the sake of political gain. As a result of his action, he was removed as Selangor chief after its general assembly in June 2010 ("Perkasa 'congratulates'", 2012). Finding from this research shows the mean score for Hasan Ali dismissal issue is 3.0031 indicate Shah Alam voters not interested in the issue. It is understandable this issue not become voters' preference since it closely related with the politicians itself.

Local issues related to ineffective solid waste management could not influence the Malay voters' preference in an election, as indicated by mean=2.6019. The issues arise when the Selangor government took over garbage collection and public cleansing responsibilities from concessionaire Alam Flora Sdn Bhd in October 2011 (A.Jalil Hamid, 2012). Before this, Alam Flora was responsible for handled waste collection and disposal

and the collection was scheduled for three times a week. However, after the Selangor government took the task through local authorities, the waste management becoming inefficient (A. Jalil, 2012). After many complaints received by Selangor government, they put an efforts to overcome the problem by appointing 50 new contractors (Low, 2012). Even though, this issue received a lot of attention in electronic and mass media but the respondents it does not influences their voting preference in election.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that urban voters' preference in election will influence the election outcomes. If the issues discussed are closely related with the voters in Selangor, political parties that compete in Shah Alam area able to win the election. Even though national and local issues are regarded as different issues, but it can influence the behavior of voters as it can affect their daily live activities. Issues such as democracy, Malay leadership, consumer price could be main factors to get support from Malay voters. Hence, the competing political parties should manipulate and implement something that benefits Malays in Shah Alam especially when Shah Alam possesses high number of Malay urban voters (Suruhajaya Pilihanraya, 2011).

## REFERENCES

- Abdul Latif Mohd Ibrahim (2004). *Budaya Politik Melayu Bandar: Kajian Kes di Shah Alam*. Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya.
- Abdul Rashid Moten & Syed Serajul Islam (2006). *Introduction to political science* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Thompson Learning
- A.Jalil Hamid. (2012, May 27). Selangor govt must clean up its act. *New Straits Time*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://www.nst.com.my/opinion/columnist/selangor-govt-must-clean-up-its-act-1.88011>
- Amer Saifude Ghazali, Mohammad Redzuan Othman, Zulkarnain Abdul Rahman, Rosmadi Fauzi (2011). Politik Etnik Malaysia: Analisis pasca pilihan Raya Umum ke 12 mengenai sokongan bukan Melayu kepada UMNO dan PAS. *Malaysia Journal of Society and Space*, 2, 18-27
- BN Selangor minta PKNS jelas isu hutang Talam. (2012, Julai 28). *Sinar Harian Online*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://www.sinarharian.com.my/nasional/bn-selangor-minta-pkns-jelas-isu-hutang-talam-1.70939>
- Foo, B. (2012, Jun 29). Move to redevelop PKNS field rejected. *Selangor Times*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://www.selangortimes.com/index.php?section=news&permalink=20120629114719-move-to-redevelop-pkns-field-rejected>
- Habib, A. & Naidu, S. (1999). "Election '99: Was there an Indian and Coloured Vote?" in *Politik on*. 26(2).
- Hariz Mohd. (2012, July 02). 'We can save PKNS field'. *New Straits Times*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://www.nst.com.my/nation/general/we-can-save-pkns-field-1.101166#ixzz2Bfpm4abk>
- Hasan Ali: I still believe in PAS' struggle. (2012, October 6). *Malaysiakini*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/211891>
- Keith, B. (2011, March 8). "Taking a Risk for Rare Earths". *The New York Times*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from.

- <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/09/business/energy-environment/09rare.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>
- Keng, S. K. K. (2010, November 11). Reform or face rallies, Bersih 2.0 warns EC. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/147889>
- Lots of goodies under 1Malaysia aid schemes. (2012, September 29). *The Star Online*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2012/9/29/budget/12100841&sec=budg et>
- Low, C. & Fazleena Aziz. (2012, March 1). Fresh Faces To Collect Garbage. *The Star Online*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://thestar.com.my/metro/story.asp?file=%2F2012%2F3%2F1%2Fcentral%2F10830187&sec=central>
- Mohd Fuad Mat Jali, Junandi Awang Besar & Kamaruddin M. Said (2009). Pemerintahan Pakatan Rakyat (PR): Kajian pungutan pendapat di kalangan kakitangan awam negeri Selangor, Malaysia. *Malaysia Journal of Society and Space*, 5 (44-53).
- Muhamad Nadzri Muhamed Noor (2009). *Politik Malaysia di Persimpangan: Praktik Politik dalam PRU 2008 dan Kontemporari*. Strategic Information and Research Development Centre (SIRD)
- Norhayati Mohd. Salleh (2008). Pilihan Raya ke-12: "Tsunami" Politik Melayu? *JEBAT* 35, 49-64
- Nurbaiti Hamdan. (2012, September 20). 2,000 more sue Selangor over free water. *The Star Online*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2012/9/20/courts/12055666&sec=courts>
- Pandian, S. (2010). Malaysia's 12<sup>th</sup> General Election : An Analysis. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 14(4), 508-523.
- Perkasa 'congratulates' Hasan Ali on being sacked from 'hell'. (2012, January 8). *The Malaysian Insider*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/litee/malaysia/article/perkasa-congratulates-hasan-ali-on-being-sacked-from-hell/>
- PKNS terima 200 lagi tuntutan ambil alih hutang. (2012, October 6). *Utusan Online*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from [http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/Dalam\\_Negeri/20121006/dn\\_14/PKNS-terima-200-lagi-tuntutan-ambil-alih-hutang](http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/Dalam_Negeri/20121006/dn_14/PKNS-terima-200-lagi-tuntutan-ambil-alih-hutang)
- Rakyat Selangor tuntutan janji manifesto bekalan air percuma. (2012, September 10). *Utusan Online*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from [http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/Dalam\\_Negeri/20120910/dn\\_02/Rakyat-Selangor-tuntut-janji-manifesto-bekalan-air-percuma](http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/Dalam_Negeri/20120910/dn_02/Rakyat-Selangor-tuntut-janji-manifesto-bekalan-air-percuma)
- Saravanamuttu, J., Beng, O. K., Chuan, L. H. (2008). March 8: Eclipsing May 13. (Singapore : ISEAS)
- Schmitt, H. (2005). Political Parties, Left-Right-Orientation and the Vote in Germany and France. Retrieved April 13, 2011, from <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/manifestos/schmitt/2005%20PartiesIdeologyandtheVote.pdf>
- Selangor Official Portal. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://mes.selangor.gov.my/modules/content/content.php?page=air-percuma-setiap-bulan>
- Sira Habibu (2012, March 17). Govt nod for PSC to look into Lynas issue, *The Star Online*. Retrieved November 7, 2012, from <http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2012/3/17/nation/10938516&sec=nation>
- Smuts, L. M. (2010). Voting preference in early democratic South Africa: Understanding the theory. Retrieved May 2, 2011, from

[http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=541:voting-preference-in-early-democratic-south-africa-understanding-the-theory&catid=60:conflict-terrorism-discussion-papers&Itemid=265](http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=541:voting-preference-in-early-democratic-south-africa-understanding-the-theory&catid=60:conflict-terrorism-discussion-papers&Itemid=265)

Suruhanjaya pilihanraya Malaysia, Laporan Pilihan Raya Umum 1986.

Selangor State	1986		1990		1995		1999	
	DUN	P	DUN	P	DUN	P	DUN	P
BARISAN NASIONAL								
	35(40)	11(14)	35(42)	10(14)	45(48)	17(17)	42(48)	17(17)
OPPOSITIONS/PAKATAN RAKYAT								
	5 (D)	1 (N) 2 (DAP)	6(D) 1(S46)	3 (D) 1 (S46)	3 (D)	0	4 (P) 1(D) 1(A)	0

Suruhanjaya pilihanraya Malaysia, Laporan Pilihan Raya Umum 1990.

Suruhanjaya pilihanraya Malaysia, Laporan Pilihan Raya Umum 1995.

Suruhanjaya pilihanraya Malaysia, Laporan Pilihan Raya Umum 2000.

Suruhanjaya pilihanraya Malaysia, Laporan Pilihan Raya Umum 2004.

Suruhanjaya pilihanraya Malaysia, Laporan Pilihan Raya Umum 2008.

Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya (SPR) *Daftar Pengundi Antara Suku Tahun* (SKT) 4 2011.

**Table 1: Seats won by BN and Oppositions/Pakatan Rakyat (PR) in Selangor based on State Legislative Assembly (SLA) and Parliament (P) in 1986, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2004 and 2008 general election.**

Source: Suruhanjaya Pilihanraya Malaysia, 1986, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2004, 2008

Note 1: Number in bracket is total seats compete.

Selangor State	2004		2008	
	DUN	P	DUN	P
BARISAN NASIONAL				
	54(56)	22(22)	20(56)	5(22)
OPPOSITIONS/PAKATAN RAKYAT				
	2 (D)	0	8 (P) 13 (D) 15 (PKR)	4 (P) 4 (D) 9 (PKR)

Note 2: D=DAP, P=PAS, A=ADIL (PKR=Parti Keadilan Rakyat) and S46.