



TRENDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

# SCRUTINIZING THE DAP'S SUCCESS IN THE 2023 MALAYSIAN STATE ELECTIONS

Ong Kian Ming

**ISEAS**  
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## FOREWORD

The economic, political, strategic and cultural dynamism in Southeast Asia has gained added relevance in recent years with the spectacular rise of giant economies in East and South Asia. This has drawn greater attention to the region and to the enhanced role it now plays in international relations and global economics.

The sustained effort made by Southeast Asian nations since 1967 towards a peaceful and gradual integration of their economies has had indubitable success, and perhaps as a consequence of this, most of these countries are undergoing deep political and social changes domestically and are constructing innovative solutions to meet new international challenges. Big Power tensions continue to be played out in the neighbourhood despite the tradition of neutrality exercised by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

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# Scrutinizing the DAP's Success in the 2023 Malaysian State Elections

By Ong Kian Ming

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Following the formation of the Unity Government in December 2022, two of its component coalitions, Pakatan Harapan (PH) and Barisan Nasional (BN), jointly campaigned during the state government elections held in August 2023. A key question arising from this cooperation between PH and the BN lead party, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), was the extent to which it would strengthen the appeal of both coalitions, especially among Malay voters.
- Using granular polling station and polling stream data for forty-seven seats contested by the PH member Democratic Action Party (DAP), this paper explores the effect of this relationship on voter support. This *Trends in Southeast Asia* finds that, contrary to expectations, DAP actually gained voter support from campaigning with UMNO.
- DAP gained an average 5 per cent increase in the level of support from 2022 to 2023, with an 8 per cent increase in Malay support and a 2 per cent increase in Chinese support.
- DAP would probably still have won at least forty-one of these state seats without transferring BN/UMNO votes, but working with UMNO allowed the DAP to win by comfortable margins some of what would usually be marginal seats for the party.
- The increase in support for the DAP was highest in Negeri Sembilan, at 6.7 per cent, followed by Selangor at 5.2 per cent Penang at 4.3 per cent and finally Kedah at 1.4 per cent.
- In general, DAP gained the largest transfer of Malay votes from older voters who show stronger allegiance to BN. These findings



show that UMNO's grassroots outreach is still somewhat effective among older voters but much less so among younger voters.

- The average support for PN in these DAP-contested seats increased from 13.1 per cent in GE2022 to 19.2 per cent in the 2023 state elections. Clearly, more of the Malay votes that previously supported the BN went to the Perikatan Nasional (PN) than to PH. The calculations in this article show that four out of five Malay voters who previously supported BN in these seats voted for PN in the 2023 state elections.
- Going forward, the DAP's stranglehold over these seats may well become weaker, due to demographic changes, and if turnout and support for PH and the DAP should decrease among non-Malay voters.

# Scrutinizing the DAP's Success in the 2023 Malaysian State Elections

By Ong Kian Ming<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

State elections were held concurrently in six states—Kedah, Penang, Kelantan, Terengganu, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan—in Malaysia on 12 August 2023. These six states were run by Pakatan Harapan (PH)—Penang, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan—and the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS)—Kedah, Kelantan and Terengganu—governments. Although state government elections are usually held simultaneously with general elections, the leaders of these states decided not to hold their polls concurrently with the general elections which were held on 19 November 2022.

These six state elections were important politically for the following reasons. Firstly, this was the first serious electoral test for the unity government where seats would have to be allocated between PH and Barisan Nasional (BN) and these former bitter political rivals would have to campaign together for the first time in history.

Secondly, the opposition Perikatan Nasional (PN) government wanted to use these state elections to prove that they had an overwhelming level of support from among the Malay community and use these state election results to destabilize and possibly unseat the unity government.

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<sup>1</sup> Ong Kian Ming is Senior Visiting Fellow at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. He was a former Member of Parliament representing the DAP and former Malaysian Deputy Minister of International Trade and Industry (MITI). He is the current Program Director for Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) at Taylor's University, a private university in Malaysia.

In this article, the following questions will be asked and answered using granular election data from the state seats in which the DAP contested.<sup>2</sup> Results from each polling “stream” or classroom where votes were cast and tabulated were used together with ethnic composition and age breakdowns for each polling “stream” to arrive at the analysis presented here. For example, support for the DAP was calculated for each polling stream in terms of the percentage of votes won and this was regressed against the share of Malay voters in each polling stream to arrive at estimates of the percentage of support for the DAP among Malay voters. For the analysis of voting patterns by age, polling streams with a majority of one ethnic group were selected and the voting patterns of the older polling streams were compared to the voting patterns of the younger polling streams. This could be done as voters are allocated polling streams according to their age.

The important questions to ask, pertaining to the DAP seats, are the following:

- (i) To what extent did DAP gain (or lose) from campaigning together with UMNO?
- (ii) Where did the DAP gain (or lose) their support in terms of region, race, and age?
- (iii) What were the factors which explain the changes in support for the DAP between the general election in 2022 and the state elections in 2023?

To answer these questions, granular data at the polling stream were used to arrive at estimates for turnout and voting by race and age. This article also complements other work published by ISEAS on the 2023

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<sup>2</sup> The author, in addition to his academic and research affiliations, is also the treasurer of DAP Selangor and conducts electoral analysis for the party, which is why he had access to the data for DAP state seats. The analysis could not be extended to the other state seats as the official gazetted results from the Election Commission (EC) has not been published and made publicly available at the time of writing.

state elections including an analysis of the election results for Selangor by Lee Hwok-Aun,<sup>3</sup> for Penang by Francis Hutchinson,<sup>4</sup> and for Negeri Sembilan by Kevin Zhang and James Chin.<sup>5</sup>

The sections for this article are as follows:

- (i) State Seats Contested by the DAP
- (ii) Results in individual DAP state seats
- (iii) Voting by Race and Age in DAP state seats
- (iv) Other Research Questions and Conclusion

## **STATE SEATS CONTESTED BY THE DAP**

The DAP contested in a total of forty-seven state seats in the 2023 state elections (Table 1). These were the same state seats which it contested in the 14th general elections in 2018, with the exception of N22 Dusun Tua, a DAP seat that was allocated to UMNO instead.<sup>6</sup> The majority of the

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<sup>3</sup> Lee, Hwok-Aun, “Selangor’s 2023 State Election: Pakatan-BN’s Defense, Perikatan’s Breakthrough”, *ISEAS Perspective*, no. 2023/79, 3 October 2023, <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/2023-79-selangors-2023-state-election-pakatan-bns-defense-perikatans-breakthrough-by-lee-hwok-aun/>

<sup>4</sup> Francis E. Hutchinson, “The August Poll in Penang: A Perspective on Pakatan, Its Partners and Its Prospects”, *ISEAS Perspective*, no. 2023/93, 23 November 2023, <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/2023-93-the-august-poll-in-penang-a-perspective-on-pakatan-its-partners-and-its-prospects-by-francis-e-hutchinson/>

<sup>5</sup> Kevin Zhang and James Chin, “Negeri Sembilan Emerges as PH-BN’s Steadiest Stronghold”, *ISEAS Perspective*, no. 2023/90, 8 November 2023, <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/2023-90-negeri-sembilan-emerges-as-ph-bns-steadiest-stronghold-by-kevin-zhang-and-james-chin/>

<sup>6</sup> In exchange for giving up the N22 Dusun Tua state seat, DAP was given an additional “exco” seat in the state government of Selangor and maintained the position of the Selangor speaker. In addition, DAP had to “sacrifice” two state seats in Selangor where the party had been given the responsibility of being “caretakers”, namely N24 Semenyih and N44 Selat Klang. N24 Semenyih was won by UMNO in a by-election in 2019 while N44 Selat Klang was won by BERSATU in 2018.

**Table 1: Allocation of DAP Seats by State (2023 State Elections)**

State	2022 GE	2023 State Elections	Changes	Comments
Kedah	2	2	0	
Penang	19	19	0	
Kelantan	0	0	0	
Terengganu	0	0	0	
Selangor	16	15	-1	N22 Dusun Tua was allocated to UMNO
Negeri Sembilan	11	11	0	

*Source:* Election Commission. Maps of these seats are found in Appendix 2, and were drafted by Rebecca Neo.

state seats which were contested by PH in 2018 but which were allocated to UMNO to contest in 2023 were conceded by Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), the party of Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim.

In terms of candidate selection, DAP maintained most of the incumbents from the 2018 general election—at which federal and state elections were held simultaneously on the Peninsula—in the 2023 state elections.

Of the forty-seven candidates, thirty (64 per cent) were incumbents, another three candidates were formerly state representatives now shifted to another constituency. This means that thirty-three out of forty-seven candidates or 70 per cent were from the existing pool of state representatives. Only fourteen or 30 per cent were totally new candidates with no prior record of being an elected representative.

Of the fourteen totally new candidates, seven were in Penang, six in Selangor and one in Negeri Sembilan. The new candidates in Penang were fielded because of internal party dynamics where several incumbents aligned to Chief Minister Chow Kon Yeow were dropped in favour of candidates aligned to former Chief Minister and chairman of

the DAP, Lim Guan Eng. This internal party tussle was widely reported in the media.<sup>7</sup> In Selangor, the reasons were more varied including incumbents leaving the party (Teratai and Sungai Pelek), incumbent retirement (Bandar Baru Klang), incumbent shifting to parliament seat (Kota Kemuning), incumbents stepping aside in exchange for other non-elected positions (Banting and Seri Kembangan) and an incumbent passing away (Balakong). The lack of incumbent turnover in Negeri Sembilan is reflective of the preference of the state chairman and party secretary general, Anthony Loke, to have continuity and stability in the state candidate lineup. The advantages (or lack thereof) will be discussed in another section below.

### **The Results: Summary Diagnostics**

DAP won forty-six out of forty-seven state seats it contested, losing only the Derga state seat, a 61 per cent Malay majority state seat in Kedah, to a BERSATU Malay candidate.

Table 2 shows the Average Turnout and Votes in the 2023 state elections and the 2022 general elections for the 47 DAP seats in the four states.<sup>8</sup> The 2022 results were calculated using polling station data from the parliamentary seats but separated according to the individual state seats in each parliament seat (minus the early and postal votes because these votes could not be accurately allocated to individual state seats).

Turnout in the state elections was lower than in the general elections, as expected, declining 6.9 per cent from 73.9 per cent in 2022 to 67.0 per cent in 2023. But this was still higher than the turnout experienced in the Johor state elections in January 2022 which was 54.9 per cent. The

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<sup>7</sup> Examples include: <https://www.nst.com.my/news/politics/2023/07/935948/names-proposed-state-dap-not-fielded-state-election-chow-nsttv>, <https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/673193>, <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2023/07/28/state-polls-ramasamy-says-still-with-dap-but-disagrees-with-penang-candidate-selection>

<sup>8</sup> These calculations exclude postal and early votes.

***Table 2: Summary of Turnout and Votes for DAP seats by State for the 2023 State Elections***

State	Average GE2022		Average PRN2023		Change (2022 vs 2023)	
	% Turnout	% Votes	% Turnout	% Votes	Turnout %	Votes %
Kedah	68.4	53.2	64.3	54.7	-4.1	1.4
Penang	72.5	79.4	67.8	83.8	-4.7	4.3
Selangor	76.0	72.7	68.2	77.9	-7.8	5.2
Negeri Sembilan	74.6	69.5	64.3	76.2	-10.2	6.7
Total	73.9	73.8	67.0	78.9	-6.9	5.0

Source: Election Commission; author’s analysis.

decrease in the turnout rate in the DAP seats was the highest in Negeri Sembilan (-10.2 per cent) followed by Selangor (-7.8 per cent), Penang (-4.7 per cent) and finally Kedah (-4.1 per cent).<sup>9</sup>

Further survey analysis is needed to explain the differential rates of turnout and changes in turnout by state. One hypothesis is that the far larger number of voters increases in urban areas in Selangor and Negeri Sembilan including voters who were not interested in the political process (for those over 21) and younger voters who are harder to activate in larger urban populations where the power-gap distance is larger compared to smaller seats and areas in Penang and Kedah. There may be a difference in absolute change in turnout between the non-Malay majority seats which DAP contested and the Malay majority seats which

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<sup>9</sup> Turnout and voting figures are expressed using the % sign for ease of expression. Technically speaking, turnout and voting are meant to be interpreted in percentage point terms rather than in % terms. For example, turnout of 79.6 means that 79.6 percentage points of eligible voters turned out to cast their vote. I use 79.6% as a more intuitive way of reading and understanding the turnout and voting figures.

the other parties contested. This will have to be tested when the data from the other seats are made available.

More importantly, the proportion of votes won by the DAP increased from 73.8 per cent in 2022 to 78.9 per cent in 2023, an increase of 5.0 per cent. At this preliminary level of analysis, this shows that the DAP did benefit from campaigning together with the BN (or at the very least, it did not suffer any backlash) in the 2023 state elections. The increase in support for the DAP was highest in Negeri Sembilan at 6.7 per cent followed by Selangor at 5.2 per cent, Penang at 4.3 per cent, and finally Kedah at 1.4 per cent.

The highest increase registered in NS is likely a reflection of the relatively strong support base of UMNO among Malay voters while the lowest increase registered in Kedah reflects the significant loss of UMNO support among Malay voters in Kedah and a resurgent PAS and BERSATU under the PN ticket in the four northern states of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Terengganu.

The questions of interest here are how much of the 5 per cent increase in DAP's support was due to the cooperation between PH and BN under the unity government, and how much of it came from Malay and non-Malay voters.

Having explored the overall effect of the PH-BN tie-up on DAP seats at the macro level, the next section will dive down to the seat level to explain the sources of this increase in support.

## **RESULTS IN INDIVIDUAL DAP-HELD SEATS**

The summary diagnostics in Table 2 need to be analysed together with the seat-by-seat results from 2022 and 2023 in order for individual seat variations to be more apparent and interesting. Table 3 shows the proportion of votes won by the DAP and PN in the 2023 state elections and also by the DAP, PN and BN in the 2022 general elections in the forty-seven DAP-contested state seats. The DAP increased its share of votes in 44 of the state seats. Of the remaining 3 seats, it lost 2.3 per cent in Derga in Kedah, 7.0 per cent in Perai in Penang and 1.6 per cent in Temiang in Negeri Sembilan.



**Table 3: Seat-by-Seat Analysis for DAP Seats (PRN 2023 vs GE 2022)**

State	Code and Name	PRN 2023		GE2022			PRN 2023 vs GE15		BN Transfer to PH (%)
		DAP Vote %	PN Vote %	DAP Vote %	PN Vote %	BN Vote %	DAP Vote %	PN Vote %	
Kh	N11 Derga	42.5	56.5	44.8	43.1	10.3	-2.3	13.5	-14.8
Kh	N13 Kota Darulaman	66.8	33.2	61.6	23.5	9.8	5.2	9.7	35.0
Pg	N7 Sungai Puyu	90.6	9.4	83.6	3.6	10.6	7.0	5.8	54.6
Pg	N8 Bagan Jermal	85.5	15.2	80.1	8.0	10.0	5.4	7.2	42.8
Pg	N9 Bagan Dalam	71.6	20.0	65.6	19.4	11.2	6.0	0.6	91.3
Pg	N13 Berapit	94.5	5.5	90.9	3.5	4.7	3.6	1.9	65.1
Pg	N15 Padang Lallang	87.1	11.1	84.8	8.4	6.3	2.3	2.7	46.2
Pg	N16 Perai	74.8	10.5	81.8	7.8	8.1	-7.0	2.7	-72.0
Pg	N19 Jawi	80.7	19.3	75.9	14.6	7.4	4.8	4.7	50.3
Pg	N22 Tanjung Bungah	73.3	23.9	69.0	16.9	11.3	4.3	7.0	38.2

Pg	N23 Air Putih	87.1	7.6	86.6	5.4	6.2	0.6	2.1	20.7
Pg	N25 Pulau Tikus	87.7	10.6	82.0	8.2	7.3	5.7	2.5	69.8
Pg	N26 Padang Kota	88.3	11.7	80.6	9.4	8.8	7.7	2.3	77.4
Pg	N27 Pengkalan Kota	94.7	5.3	89.2	3.4	6.4	5.5	1.9	74.5
Pg	N28 Komtar	91.4	8.6	85.7	5.4	8.1	5.8	3.1	64.7
Pg	N29 Datuk Keramat	75.0	25.0	67.7	17.6	11.9	7.3	7.4	49.7
Pg	N30 Sungai Pinang	65.2	31.4	60.0	23.8	13.1	5.2	7.5	40.6
Pg	N31 Batu Lanchang	92.5	7.5	87.0	6.1	4.6	5.5	1.4	80.0
Pg	N32 Seri Delima	80.5	19.5	76.3	12.0	11.0	4.2	7.4	36.2
Pg	N33 Air Itam	79.7	20.3	74.4	13.8	11.0	5.3	6.5	44.7
Pg	N34 Paya Terubong	91.6	8.4	88.3	6.1	5.1	3.4	2.3	59.8
Sgor	N4 Sekinchan	62.5	37.5	51.5	23.1	24.0	11.1	14.3	43.6

*continued on next page*

**Table 3 — cont'd**

State	Code and Name	PRN 2023		GE2022			PRN 2023 vs GE15		BN Transfer to PH (%)
		DAP Vote %	PN Vote %	DAP Vote %	PN Vote %	BN Vote %	DAP Vote %	PN Vote %	
Sgor	N6 Kuala Kubu Baharu	55.7	37.9	48.1	27.4	21.2	7.5	10.5	41.6
Sgor	N22 Teratai	80.2	19.8	72.7	15.2	7.1	7.5	4.6	61.7
Sgor	N27 Balakong	76.5	23.5	68.9	19.9	9.1	7.6	3.6	67.8
Sgor	N28 Seri Kembangan	89.5	7.7	86.9	4.5	6.4	2.6	3.2	44.7
Sgor	N30 Kinrara	81.5	18.5	76.0	14.1	9.3	5.5	4.4	55.4
Sgor	N31 Subang Jaya	81.3	12.4	80.1	11.2	8.4	1.2	1.2	50.0
Sgor	N34 Bukit Gasing	87.4	8.3	84.2	5.2	7.0	3.1	3.2	49.9
Sgor	N35 Kampung Tunku	90.9	9.1	87.5	5.6	6.4	3.4	3.5	49.4
Sgor	N36 Bandar Utama	85.6	9.1	85.2	7.2	7.1	0.3	1.9	14.1
Sgor	N45 Bandar Baru Klang	87.2	12.8	81.2	8.9	7.1	6.0	3.9	60.3

Sgor	N47 Pandamaran	86.0	11.3	80.4	8.2	8.3	5.6	3.2	63.8
Sgor	N50 Kota Kemuning	70.1	28.8	64.4	24.5	8.7	5.7	4.3	56.6
Sgor	N52 Banting	80.7	15.0	75.4	13.3	9.3	5.3	1.7	75.6
Sgor	N56 Sungai Pelek	53.3	46.0	47.6	30.8	18.4	5.7	15.2	27.4
NS	N1 Chemmah	61.9	38.1	43.3	14.7	40.4	18.5	23.4	44.2
NS	N8 Bahau	78.2	21.8	66.1	12.4	19.8	12.1	9.5	56.0
NS	N10 Nilai	66.8	28.1	58.8	24.6	14.6	8.0	3.5	69.9
NS	N11 Lobak	94.4	5.6	89.7	2.5	6.5	4.7	3.0	60.8
NS	N12 Temiang	63.7	29.2	65.3	16.3	16.3	-1.6	12.9	-11.2
NS	N21 Bukit Kepayang	81.4	15.7	77.3	11.1	11.1	4.1	4.6	47.3
NS	N22 Rahang	75.3	24.7	74.6	9.9	14.4	0.7	14.8	4.4
NS	N23 Mambau	88.6	10.5	83.4	6.5	9.6	5.2	4.1	56.4
NS	N24 Seremban Jaya	79.9	20.1	74.5	11.3	13.3	5.4	8.8	38.0
NS	N30 Lukut	79.6	20.4	74.0	11.2	13.0	5.6	9.2	38.0
NS	N36 Repah	68.1	31.9	57.7	15.3	24.9	10.4	16.6	38.5

Source: Election Commission; Author's analysis.

The loss of support in Derga can be explained by the “Sanusi” swing of Malay support in favour of the PAS Menteri Besar in the lead-up to the 2023 state elections when his name was riding high at the state and national levels. His appearance on the popular podcast/YouTube channel hosted by Khairy Jamaluddin, the former Health Minister, and Shahril Hamdan, the former economic adviser to then Prime Minister Ismail Sabri, on 11 July 2023 garnered more than a million views<sup>10</sup> on this YouTube channel and probably many more through viral clips, TikTok, and other social media platforms. Even with the cooperation of UMNO, the DAP was not able to garner significant Malay support, losing it by 14 per cent to PN.

The loss of 7 per cent in support in Perai in Penang was barely noticeable since DAP’s vote share was still a very comfortable 74.8 per cent (compared to 81.8 per cent in GE 2022). This loss in support can be explained by the presence of an independent candidate, David Marshel, who was formerly a DAP local councillor in Penang and a proxy candidate for the former Deputy Chief Minister of Penang, P. Ramasamy, who was dropped from the list of candidates and who subsequently resigned from the party. It was surprising that the fall in support was not greater, given that Indians comprised 36 per cent of total voters in this seat and Ramasamy was seen as a popular politician among these voters.

The small fall in support of 1.6 per cent in Temiang in Negeri Sembilan is explained by the presence of a MUDA candidate who managed to win 4.9 per cent of the popular vote.

DAP experienced a larger than 10 per cent increase in support in four state seats. One is located in Selangor—Sekinchan (+11.1 per cent)—and three are in Negeri Sembilan—Chennah (+18.5 per cent), Bahau (+12.1 per cent) and Repah (+10.4 per cent). These four seats share something in common which explains the high increase in DAP support. All featured popular DAP leaders in the state, all have a sizeable Malay voter base of at least 30 per cent and all featured weak PN candidates:

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xGgIQ953THY> (1.6 million views at the time of writing).

- In Sekinchan, the DAP candidate was a five-term incumbent, Ng Suee Lim, who was the speaker prior to the dissolution of the Selangor state assembly. This has the effect of changing the status of Sekinchan from a normally marginal seat for the DAP (51.5 per cent vote share in GE2022) into a relatively safe seat (62.5 per cent vote share in 2023).
- In Chennah in Negeri Sembilan, the candidate was the DAP Secretary General, Anthony Loke, who was also the Minister of Transport at the national level when the state elections were held. This also had the effect of changing the status of this seat from a usually marginal DAP seat (43.3 per cent in GE2022) to a relatively safe DAP seat (61.9 per cent vote share in 2023).
- In Bahau and Repah in Negeri Sembilan, the candidates were Teo Kok Seong and Veerapan Superamaniam, who were both executive councillors from 2018 to 2023 in the state government.

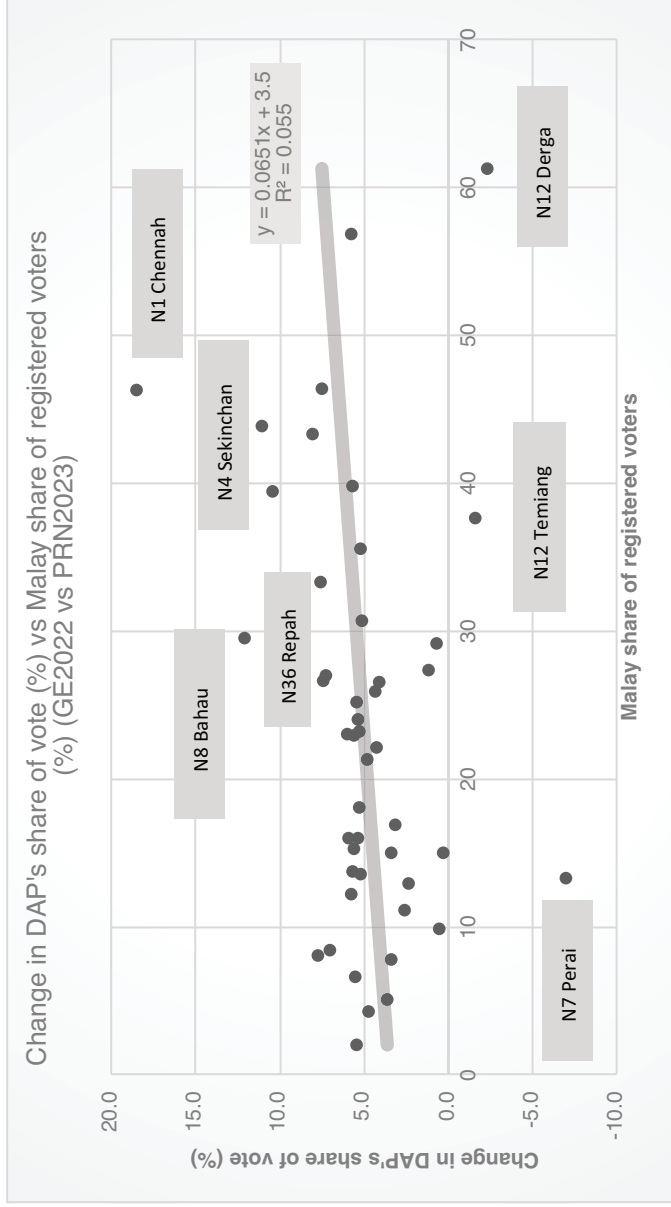
DAP could have won 10 per cent more votes in Nilai which featured Arul Kumar A/L Jambunathan, who was also a member of the state executive council from 2018 to 2022. However, he had to face the additional challenge of an independent candidate, Omar bin Mohd Isa, who is the son of a former Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan, Mohd Isa Abdul Samad, who managed to secure 3.4 per cent of the total vote.

Table 3 also shows the percentage of BN votes that were “transferred” to DAP between the 2022 and the 2023 elections.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The formula for this figure is  $[x / (\text{abs}(x) + \text{abs}(y))]$  where  $x$  is the percentage increase in the vote for DAP and  $y$  is the percentage increase in the vote for PN. Abs is the absolute figure for  $x$  and  $y$ . This figure complements the absolute numbers in the changes in DAP and PN vote share because it shows the areas where the percentage of BN transfers is high even when the absolute value in the percentage increase in DAP support is not as high. For example, support for the DAP only increased by 5.7%, although the percentage of BN transfer is 75.6% due to the low 1.7% increase in support for PN. The average transfer of BN votes to the DAP was 45.9% across all forty-seven seats, which means about 4.5 out of 10 votes that had gone to UMNO were transferred to the DAP between the 2022 and the 2023 state elections, showing the overall benefits to the DAP of campaigning together with BN, specifically UMNO.

**Figure 1: Change in DAP Support (Percentage) vs Malay Share of Registered Voters (GE2022 vs PRN2023), 2023 DAP State Seats**



Source: Election Commission; author's analysis.

Figure 1 shows the bivariate relationship between the change in the proportion cent of votes obtained by the DAP from the 2023 state elections compared with the 2022 general elections versus the proportion of Malay voters in each of the 47 DAP state seats.

There is a small but positive relationship that is statistically significant at the 2 per cent level (with a  $p$ -value of 0.01855). Interpreting the coefficient of the bivariate relationship, a 10 per cent increase in Malay voters means that the change in support for the DAP increases by 0.7 per cent meaning that on average, campaigning with UMNO did help increase the support of the DAP among Malay voters but only by a small percentage overall.

What is more significant is that the average support for PN increased by 6.2 per cent from 13.1 per cent in GE2022 to 19.2 per cent in the 2023 state elections (Table 4). Even the average support was nowhere near sufficient to threaten DAP's stranglehold on these seats with the exception of a small number of Malay majority seats. It is however clear that more of the Malay votes that previously supported BN went to PN than to PH.

Figure 2 shows the change in PN support from the 2022 GE to the 2023 state elections versus the proportion of Malay voters in each of the 47 DAP contested state seats. The contrast between Figures 1 and 2

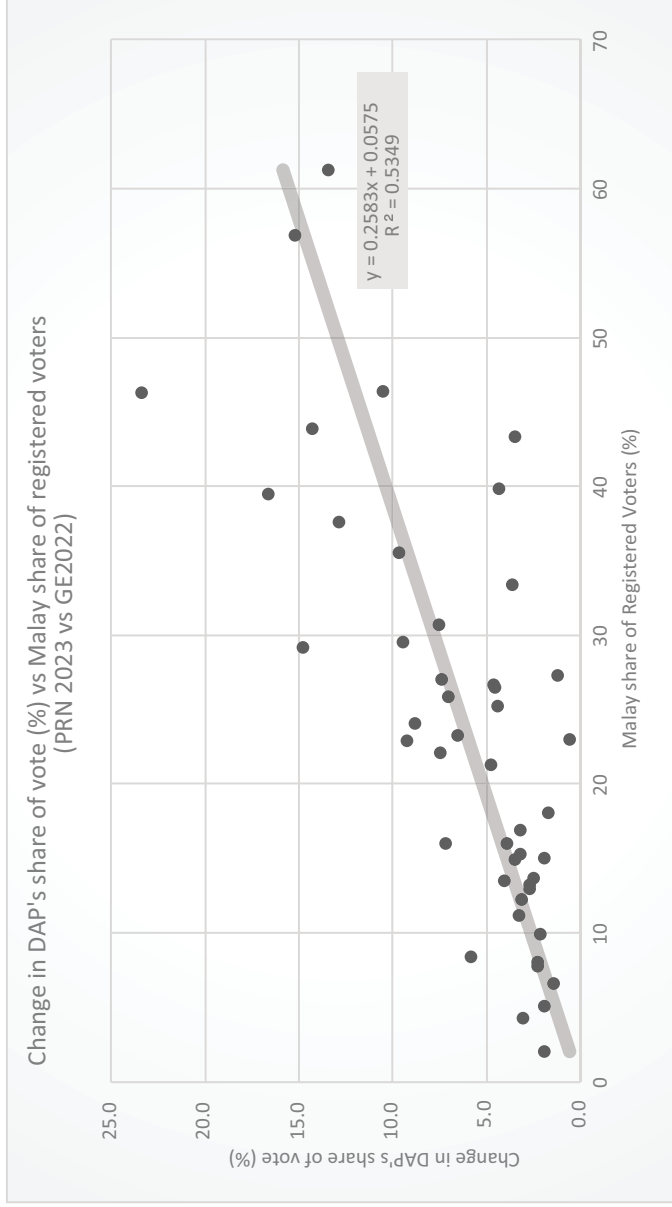
***Table 4: Average and Change in Average Votes for PN in 47 DAP Contested Seats in 2023 State Elections versus 2022 General Elections***

	2022 GE	2023 PRN	Change 2023 vs 2022
<b>PN</b>	<b>% Average Votes</b>		
Kedah	33.3%	44.9%	11.6%
Penang	10.2%	14.3%	4.1%
Selangor	14.6%	19.9%	5.3%
Negeri Sembilan	12.4%	22.4%	10.0%
Average (4 states)	13.1%	19.2%	6.2%

*Source:* Election Commission; Author's analysis.



**Figure 2: Percentage Change in PN Support vs Share of Malay Voters, 2023 DAP State Seats**



Source: Election Commission; author's analysis.

is very clear—for every percentage increase in the Malay share of the voters in a seat, the increase in the proportion of PN votes is much higher than the increase in the PH vote.

If we divide the  $x$  coefficient in Figure 1 with the  $x$  coefficient in Figure 2 (0.2583/0.0651), the ratio would be 3.97 to 1. This means that for every *one* BN Malay vote which went to PH, *four* other BN Malay votes went to PN. In other words, 80 per cent of the Malay voters who voted for BN in GE2022 cast their votes for PN in the 2023 state elections versus 20 per cent of those voting for PH in the 2023 state elections!

### **Voting along Ethnic Lines in DAP-Held Seats**

A more accurate method of estimating the changes in DAP's support as a result of changes in voting patterns among the Malay and Chinese voters would be to use granular data from each ballot where the votes were cast, then counted and tabulated. Each voter is assigned to a polling stream (from the Malay term *saluran*), typically a school classroom, and casts a ballot paper into the ballot box placed within the room. Voters are sorted into streams based on age; the oldest go to stream 1, the next oldest to stream 2, and so on. After voting closes, the ballots are counted and certified within that room, and hence the election results data are tabulated by stream. The data are anonymous but can be analysed based on the imputed ethnic and age composition of the stream. A full description of the methodology is provided in Appendix 3.

Table 5 shows the average Malay and Chinese support for DAP in four states where DAP fielded candidates, using the polling stream data in each state seat. (The average Indian support for PH was not able to be calculated with a high degree of accuracy because of the relatively low proportion of Indian voters in each state seat)

DAP's support among Chinese voters increased slightly from 96 to 98 per cent, while the average Malay support increased from 18 per cent in 2022 to 26 per cent in 2023. The average level of Malay support for the DAP in Penang of 18 per cent is still relatively low given that the DAP had controlled state government from 2008 to 2023, especially when compared to DAP's average Malay support in Selangor which was 25 per cent in 2023 and which increased to 32 per cent in 2023. The increase in

**Table 5: Average Malay and Chinese Voting for DAP by State (2023 State Elections versus 2022 GE)**

	Avg Voting PH				Avg Voting	
	GE 2022		PRN 2023		PRN2023 vs GE15	
PH	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese
Kedah	13%	94%	10%	99%	-3%	5%
Penang	13%	96%	18%	99%	5%	2%
Selangor	25%	97%	32%	98%	7%	1%
Negeri Sembilan	18%	97%	31%	98%	13%	2%
Total Average	19%	96%	26%	98%	8%	2%

Source: Election Commission; Author’s analysis.

DAP’s average Malay support in Negeri Sembilan was 13 per cent, up from 18 per cent in 2022 to 31 per cent in 2023, a reflection of the relative strength of UMNO in the state.

Table 6 shows the change in DAP support among Malay and Chinese voters from GE2022 to PRN2023 in each of the 47 DAP contested state seats. Voting support among Malay and Chinese voters was only calculated for seats with 20 per cent or more of Malay or Chinese voters.

Other than the two state seats in Kedah where DAP’s Malay support dropped by 4.4 per cent (Derga) and 1.8 per cent (Kota Darulaman), the only other seat where DAP’s Malay support dropped was in N9 Bagan Jermal. This is likely because this seat featured an independent candidate, Satees A/L Muniandy, who was the former incumbent and who resigned from the party to contest as an independent after he was dropped as a candidate by the DAP.

There were nine seats with more than 10 per cent increase in Malay support namely Air Itam (+10.5 per cent) in Penang, Sekinchan (+21.6 per cent) and Kuala Kubu Baru (+10.3 per cent) in Selangor and Chennah (+24.5 per cent), Bahau (+21.6 per cent), Nilai (+13.1 per cent), Mambau (+10.3 per cent), Seremban Jaya (+16.0 per cent) and Repah

**Table 6: Change in DAP Support among Malay and Chinese Voters, PRN 2023 vs GE 2022**

State	Seat Code	Seat Name	Voting PH— GE 2022		Voting PH—PRN 2023		PRN2023 vs GE15— Voting	
			Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese
KDH	N11	Derga	16.4%	95.9%	12.0%	99.0%	-4.4%	3.1%
KDH	N13	Kota Darulaman	10.0%	91.8%	8.2%	99.0%	-1.8%	7.2%
PG	N7	Sungai Puyu	N.A.	94.6%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	4.4%
PG	N8	Bagan Jermal	N.A.	97.0%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	2.0%
PG	N9	Bagan Dalam	9.9%	99.0%	6.6%	99.0%	-3.4%	0.0%
PG	N13	Berapit	N.A.	94.8%	N.A.	98.8%	N.A.	4.0%
PG	N15	Padang Lallang	N.A.	98.7%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	0.3%
PG	N16	Perai	N.A.	98.8%	N.A.	98.4%	N.A.	-0.5%
PG	N19	Jawi	13.0%	96.2%	13.0%	99.0%	0.1%	2.8%
PG	N22	Tanjong Bungah	12.8%	99.0%	20.3%	99.0%	7.6%	0.0%
PG	N23	Air Putih	N.A.	94.0%	N.A.	94.3%	N.A.	0.3%
PG	N25	Pulau Tikus	N.A.	96.8%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	2.2%
PG	N26	Padang Kota	N.A.	94.0%	N.A.	98.3%	N.A.	4.3%

*continued on next page*

**Table 6 — cont'd**

State	Seat Code	Seat Name	Voting PH— GE 2022		Voting PH—PRN 2023		PRN2023 vs GE15— Voting	
			Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese
PG	N27	Pengkalan Kota	N.A.	90.8%	N.A.	97.8%	N.A.	7.0%
PG	N28	Komtar	N.A.	95.2%	N.A.	99.5%	N.A.	4.3%
PG	N29	Datuk Keramat	16.9%	98.9%	23.8%	99.0%	6.9%	0.1%
PG	N30	Sungai Pinang	10.0%	96.6%	17.9%	99.0%	7.9%	2.4%
PG	N31	Batu Lanchang	N.A.	93.7%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	5.3%
PG	N32	Seri Delima	15.8%	99.0%	22.8%	99.0%	7.1%	0.0%
PG	N33	Air Itam	11.3%	99.0%	21.7%	99.0%	10.5%	0.0%
PG	N34	Paya Terubong	N.A.	94.9%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	4.1%
SGR	N4	Sekinchan	7.3%	89.2%	29.0%	92.0%	21.6%	2.8%
SGR	N6	Kuala Kubu Baharu	11.8%	94.7%	22.1%	98.2%	10.3%	3.5%
SGR	N22	Teratai	29.9%	94.1%	33.4%	99.0%	3.5%	4.9%
SGR	N27	Balakang	28.5%	96.4%	37.9%	99.0%	9.4%	2.6%
SGR	N28	Seri Kembangan	38.3%	N.A.	N.A.	95.5%	N.A.	0.7%
SGR	N30	Kinrara	25.0%	99.0%	31.5%	99.0%	6.5%	0.0%
SGR	N31	Subang Jaya	43.8%	99.0%	47.3%	98.7%	3.5%	-0.3%
SGR	N34	Bukit Gasing	N.A.	95.2%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	3.8%

SGR	N35	Kampung Tunku	N.A.	97.2%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	1.8%
SGR	N36	Bandar Utama	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	98.0%	N.A.	-1.0%
SGR	N45	Bandar Baru Klang	N.A.	96.7%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	2.3%
SGR	N47	Pandamaran	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	0.0%
SGR	N50	Kota Kemuning	24.3%	99.0%	31.7%	99.0%	7.4%	0.0%
SGR	N52	Banting	N.A.	93.9%	N.A.	95.0%	N.A.	1.1%
SGR	N56	Sungai Pelek	20.5%	99.0%	25.1%	99.0%	4.7%	0.0%
NS	N1	Chennah	6.8%	84.3%	31.3%	92.6%	24.5%	8.3%
NS	N8	Bahau	14.7%	99.0%	36.3%	99.0%	21.6%	0.0%
NS	N10	Nilai	20.1%	99.0%	33.2%	99.0%	13.1%	0.0%
NS	N11	Lobak	N.A.	94.5%	N.A.	98.9%	N.A.	4.4%
NS	N12	Temiang	19.0%	94.6%	21.5%	98.3%	2.5%	3.7%
NS	N21	Bukit Kepayang	29.6%	99.0%	36.9%	99.0%	7.3%	0.0%
NS	N22	Rahang	26.9%	99.0%	34.6%	99.0%	7.6%	0.0%
NS	N23	Mambau	N.A.	99.0%	N.A.	99.0%	10.3%	0.0%
NS	N24	Seremban Jaya	12.4%	99.0%	28.4%	99.0%	16.0%	0.0%
NS	N30	Lukut	19.3%	98.7%	25.1%	99.0%	5.8%	0.3%
NS	N36	Repah	9.5%	99.0%	29.8%	99.0%	20.3%	0.0%

Source: Election Commission; Author's analysis.

(+20.3 per cent) in Negeri Sembilan. These are seats where cooperation with and the lack of competition from BN/UMNO have helped DAP the most. The benefits of cooperation have been from a relatively strong BN/UMNO grassroots which still have traction among some segments of the voter population (see below); the lack of competition was due to PN fielding weaker candidates who were not from PAS or BERSATU.

## **VOTING BY RACE AND AGE IN DAP SEATS**

The fact that the votes are tabulated according to polling streams which are in turn allocated by age groups also allows for the analysis of voting patterns by race and age group. For example, it is possible to focus on polling stations which are 70 per cent and above of one race—usually Malay or Chinese—and examine the voting patterns of the oldest to the youngest *salurans*. For example, one may hypothesize that older Malay voters were more likely to transfer their votes from UMNO to DAP compared to younger Malay voters because of the stronger ties among Malay voters to the UMNO grassroots leaders and local network. Older UMNO members would be more likely to feel a stronger sense of obligation and gratitude to the party and hence, more likely to listen to the party leadership and vote for parties in the Unity Government, even if it meant voting for the DAP.

The following analysis focuses on seats with significant shifts in the vote for the DAP among the Malay and Indian voters and polling stations with Malay majority and a high percentage of Indian voters.

### **Malay Voters—Race and Age**

#### *Derga, Kedah*

Derga in Kedah is a 60 per cent Malay-majority seat which DAP won with 50.4 per cent of the vote in GE14, with PAS gaining 26.7 per cent and BN 22.0 per cent. Using the GE15 results, PH won 44.8 per cent of the vote in Derga, just slightly ahead of the 43.1 per cent won by PN with BN winning 10.3 per cent of the vote. For DAP to retain Derga, it had to attract at least half of the vote which went to the BN in GE15. In the end, the swing in support of PN and the popular Kedah MB, Muhammad

Sanusi bin Md Nor, was too big and PN won this seat with 56.7 per cent of the vote. DAP candidate Tan Kok Yew managed to win only 42.3 per cent of the vote, less than what PH obtained in GE15.

Table 7 shows the change in the proportion of votes obtained by PH and PN in the 2023 state elections compared to GE15 in two Malay majority polling stations that had seven polling streams each. The results show that there was some transfer of BN votes to PH among the older polling streams (*saluran* 1 and 2) but that as the polling streams became younger and the proportion of Malay voters increased, not only were there no transfer of BN votes to PH, there were some PH voters that transferred their votes to PN! For example, in *saluran* 7 in the Alor Segamat polling station, PH saw its vote share reduced from 35.0 per cent in GE15 to 30.8 per cent in the state elections, a fall of 4.2 per cent! This trend was also observed in other polling stations and polling streams in N11 Derga, Kedah.

### *Sekinchan, Selangor*

Sekinchan in Selangor is a DAP seat that in the past had been considered a marginal seat because even though it was a slight Chinese-majority seat (51.6 per cent Chinese in the 2023 state elections), it has a significant Malay voter base (43.9 per cent in 2023) and MCA at one point in time, had a very strong presence and hence, support from the Chinese community in this seat. Sekinchan experienced a significant increase in Malay support of 22 per cent, from 7 per cent in 2022 to 29 per cent in 2023 (see Table 6).

The results by polling stream in the Sungai Leman Kampung Darat polling station (98 per cent Malay voters) in Sekinchan which are shown in Table 8 answer this question. Even though the increase in support for PN is by a lesser *margin* (around 20 per cent) among younger voters (*salurans* 5–6) compared to older voters (24 to 28 per cent in *salurans* 1–4), the increase in support for DAP was more balanced among the younger *salurans* (14 to 20 per cent in *salurans* 3–6). For example, DAP experienced a 20.1 per cent increase in support in *saluran* 6 compared to a 19.6 per cent increase for PN in the same *saluran*. The average BN transfer to DAP in this seat was 46 per cent.



**Table 7: Derga—Change in the Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE2022)**

Polling Station	Saturan	Avg Age	GE2022			PRN2023			Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)			BN Transfer to PH	Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>		
			PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %	M %		C %	I %	O %
Alor Segamat	1	69.3	40.3	27.8	27.1	48.1	48.5	7.8	20.6	27.5	57.1	35.8	6.4	0.7	
Alor Segamat	2	62.6	54.0	24.3	18.3	57.9	40.1	3.9	15.8	19.8	46.7	44.0	8.2	1.1	
Alor Segamat	3	51.8	49.1	35.6	12.8	49.9	49.4	0.8	13.8	5.5	52.8	38.6	7.1	1.5	
Alor Segamat	4	41.1	37.8	48.9	10.9	38.4	61.3	0.6	12.4	4.8	66.1	27.9	5.5	0.5	
Alor Segamat	5	33.7	36.7	54.6	7.9	33.5	64.6	-3.2	10.0	-24.3	69.1	25.2	5.3	0.3	
Alor Segamat	6	27.7	42.2	46.5	10.9	32.6	66.3	-9.6	19.8	-32.6	71.7	24.7	3.4	0.2	
Alor Segamat	7	21.4	35.0	55.6	8.4	30.8	68.5	-4.2	12.8	-24.4	75.4	18.9	5.5	0.2	
Taman Nuri	1	66.8	36.0	34.4	27.1	39.8	59.2	3.8	24.8	13.4	73.8	20.4	4.9	0.9	
Taman Nuri	2	62.2	33.3	45.1	17.6	38.2	59.8	4.8	14.7	24.7	78.0	18.0	3.1	0.9	
Taman Nuri	3	48.5	35.2	50.5	12.2	32.5	66.7	-2.7	16.1	-14.5	71.3	23.7	4.1	0.9	
Taman Nuri	4	39.9	28.6	61.1	8.6	24.4	74.7	-4.2	13.6	-23.6	79.6	17.0	3.3	0.1	
Taman Nuri	5	34.9	23.0	62.7	12.9	19.7	79.3	-3.3	16.6	-16.7	84.4	12.9	2.7	0.0	
Taman Nuri	6	29.2	27.2	62.1	9.3	24.5	74.3	-2.6	12.2	-17.8	85.0	12.7	1.8	0.4	
Taman Nuri	7	22.3	25.2	64.9	7.7	23.2	75.7	-2.0	10.8	-15.9	86.3	11.7	2.1	0.0	

Note: a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).

**Table 8: N4 Sekinchan—Change in Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE2022)**

Polling Station	Saturan	Avg Age	GE2022			PRN2023			Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)		BN Transfer to PH	Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>		
			PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %	PN %	PH %	M %		C %	I %	O %
Sungai Leman Kampung Darat	1	62.6	6.7	33.6	57.3	39.2	60.8	32.6	27.1	54.6	97.8	1.3	0.7	0.2
Sungai Leman Kampung Darat	2	55.8	8.8	36.6	52.7	35.3	64.7	26.5	28.1	48.5	99.1	0.2	0.2	0.4
Sungai Leman Kampung Darat	3	45.4	5.9	46.8	46.4	26.0	74.0	20.1	27.2	42.5	98.7	0.7	0.6	0.0
Sungai Leman Kampung Darat	4	35.4	8.3	53.4	38.1	22.3	77.7	14.0	24.3	36.6	98.7	0.3	0.1	0.9
Sungai Leman Kampung Darat	5	28.9	11.0	53.1	34.8	26.9	73.1	15.9	20.0	44.3	99.3	0.0	0.6	0.1
Sungai Leman Kampung Darat	6	22.6	6.3	54.1	39.3	26.3	73.7	20.1	19.6	50.6	99.9	0.0	0.0	0.1

*Note:* a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).

### *Chennah, Negeri Sembilan*

Chennah in Negeri Sembilan, contested by DAP Secretary-General Anthony Loke went from a marginal DAP seat (43.4 per cent of the vote in GE15 compared to 40.4 per cent for BN) to a safe DAP seat with 65 per cent of the vote in 2023. This was due to the increase in Malay support of 25 per cent and also a smaller increase in Chinese support of 8 per cent in this former MCA stronghold (see Table 6).

The results in the almost 100 per cent Kampung Sungai Buloh polling station show that the increase in support for the DAP was much higher in the older *saluran* (31.5 per cent increase) compared to the younger *saluran* (18.6 per cent). However, the benefits of campaigning with UMNO were felt in both *salurans* in this polling station (see Table 9).

At the same time, DAP also benefited significantly from the increase in votes from the small Orang Asli community in Kampung Chennah. DAP's support increased by 34.9 per cent, 37.3 per cent and 45.1 per cent respectively in the first, second and third polling streams in this polling station with Orang Asli voters constituting 19.8 per cent, 33.5 per cent and 27.4 per cent (see Table 9). The average vote transfer in these 5 polling stations was 50.5 per cent.

### *N8 Bahau, Negeri Sembilan*

N8 Bahau in Negeri Sembilan also experienced a significant increase for DAP in Malay support of almost 22 per cent from 15 per cent in 2022 to 36 per cent in 2023. The results by polling stream in the Kuala Jempol polling station which is almost 100 per cent Malay (see Table 10) show that the largest increase in Malay support was from the older *salurans* (28.7 per cent and 19.1 per cent increase in *salurans* 1 and 2 respectively compared to 11.8 per cent and 14.7 per cent increase in *salurans* 3 and 4 respectively). But what is interesting is that the ratio of increase in votes between PH and PN increased in *saluran* 4! This ratio, which is obtained by dividing the increase in per cent of votes by PH and the increase in per cent of votes by PN, was 0.75 in *saluran* 1, 0.61 in *saluran* 2, 0.45 in *saluran* 3 and 0.88 in *saluran* 4! This means that PH/BN was more competitive in winning the votes that went to BN among the youngest *saluran* compared to the older *salurans*! The average BN vote transfer

**Table 9: Chennai—Change in Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE15)**

Polling Station	Saturan	Avg Age	PRN2023		GE15			Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)		BN Transfer to PH	Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>			
			PH %	PN %	PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %		M %	C %	I %	O %
Kampong Sungai Buloh	1	59.4	49.2	50.8	17.7	26.4	55.0	31.5	24.3	56.4	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0
Kampong Sungai Buloh	2	30.3	34.0	66.0	15.4	38.3	45.2	18.6	27.7	40.2	100	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kampong Chennai	1	62.8	63.8	36.2	28.8	5.5	61.8	34.9	30.7	53.2	47.3	32.2	0.7	19.8
Kampong Chennai	2	42.3	48.3	51.7	10.9	11.6	75.4	37.3	40.1	48.2	54.6	11.5	0.3	33.5
Kampong Chennai	3	26.1	52.5	47.5	7.4	9.6	81.5	45.1	38.0	54.3	56.1	7.0	9.5	27.4

Note: a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).

**Table 10: N8 Bahau—Change in Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE15)**

Polling Station	Saturan	Avg Age	PRN2023		GE15			Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)			BN Transfer to PH	Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>			
			PH %	PN %	PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %	M %		C %	I %	O %	
Kuala Jempol	1	67.0	39.7	60.3	11.0	21.8	64.5	28.7	38.5	42.7	99.3	0.5	0.0	0.2	
Kuala Jempol	2	51.1	33.5	66.5	14.4	35.3	49.9	19.1	31.3	37.9	99.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	
Kuala Jempol	3	36.5	23.1	76.9	11.3	49.3	35.8	11.8	27.6	29.9	99.7	0.0	0.2	0.2	
Kuala Jempol	4	23.7	34.3	65.7	19.6	49.1	29.2	14.7	16.7	46.8	99.3	0.3	0.3	0.0	

Note: a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).

in Kuala Jempol was 39.4 per cent, with the highest vote transfer taking place in the youngest *saluran* 4 at 46.8 per cent!

### *N36 Repah, Negeri Sembilan*

DAP's vote share increased in N36 Repah from 58 per cent in 2022 to 68 per cent in 2023 largely because of the increase in Malay support from 10 per cent in 2022 to 30 per cent in 2023. This can be seen in Table 11. DAP experienced double-digit increases in support in the Keru (99 per cent Malay), Tebong (90 per cent Malay), and Kampung Asahan (73 per cent Malay) polling stations. The increase was higher in the older polling stream in the younger polling stream (as was the ratio of increase in DAP support versus increase in PN support). The average transfer from BN to DAP was 36.9 per cent in these 6 polling streams across the three polling stations.

### *N56 Sungai Pelek in Selangor*

N56 Sungai Pelek located in the state of Selangor is an interesting case study to illustrate the benefits of DAP campaigning with UMNO. N56 Sungai Pelek is a seat with the second highest percentage of Malay voters (57 per cent Malay) which DAP contested after N11 Derga in Kedah (61 per cent Malay). DAP fielded a Chinese candidate—Lwi Kian Keong, a local councillor—against a BERSATU candidate—Suhaimi bin Mohd Ghazali, a former UMNO Selangor Youth Chief.<sup>12</sup> On paper, this should have been a very difficult seat for DAP to retain. Based on the GE15 results, PH won 47.6 per cent of the vote followed by PN with 30.8 per cent of the vote and BN with 18.4 per cent of the vote. If PN were to win a large majority of the BN/UMNO vote from GE15 and if a reduced turnout among non-Malays were to further reduce DAP's share of votes, then DAP would have lost this seat.

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<sup>12</sup> There was an independent candidate by the name of Nageswaran A/L Ravi who managed to win 230 votes (0.7%).

**Table 11: N36 Repah—Change in Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE15)**

Polling Station	Saluran	Avg Age	PRN2023		GE15			Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)		BN Transfer to PH	Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>			
			PH %	PN %	PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %		M %	C %	I %	O %
Keru	1	59.5	36.5	63.5	8.2	20.4	68.7	28.3	43.2	39.6	98.0	1.1	0.7	0.2
	2	31.9	24.1	75.9	7.3	37.1	54.0	16.8	38.8	30.2	99.1	0.4	0.4	0.0
Tebong	1	58.9	46.8	53.2	18.5	17.3	60.7	28.3	35.9	44.0	91.6	2.2	1.6	4.7
	2	31.0	37.2	62.8	20.6	32.8	43.9	16.7	30.0	35.8	89.9	2.2	2.6	5.4
Kampong Asahan	1	57.4	52.0	48.0	31.3	21.5	44.4	20.7	26.6	43.8	73.7	14.7	11.7	0.0
	2	28.8	37.9	62.1	28.6	37.9	32.9	9.3	24.2	27.8	72.2	13.8	13.8	0.2

Note: a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).

In the end, DAP retained this seat with 53.3 per cent of the vote while PN gained only 46.0 per cent of the vote. It was a close fight with DAP winning by a majority of 1,458 votes only.

The polling stream results in four Malay majority polling stations—Jenderam Hulu (96 per cent Malay), Salak (98 per cent Malay), Taman Seroja (92 per cent Malay) and Taman Mawar (96 per cent Malay) are instructive. The increase in DAP's vote share was positive and highest among the oldest polling streams (1 and 2). For example, in the Salak polling station, DAP experienced a 19.5 per cent increase and a 16.0 per cent increase in the proportion of votes in polling streams 1 and 2, with an average age of 62.2 and 53.5 respectively. But for the younger polling streams, not only was there no increase in DAP's vote share, but in some of these polling streams, the share of DAP votes actually decreased, because some PH younger voters may have shifted their votes to PN rather than vote for the DAP + UMNO combination. Data for Sungai Pelek show that UMNO's strength in seats like these is mostly from older voters. UMNO and to a lesser extent, PH, has very little traction among younger Malay voters (Table 12).

This was also partly confirmed by the author's own observations during the campaign in Sungai Pelek. The popular Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry (MITI), Tengku Zafrul, went to campaign for the DAP candidate in this seat in his capacity as a member of the UMNO Supreme Council and UMNO Selangor Treasurer. His presence was important in bringing together a few local UMNO factions to campaign for the DAP candidate. This may have made the difference in UMNO's local outreach efforts to their traditional base—the older Malay voters.<sup>13</sup>

To summarize, the positive effects for the DAP from campaigning with UMNO were mostly felt in the older Malay majority voting streams in Selangor and Negeri Sembilan, especially in areas where UMNO's electoral machinery was still relatively intact. Working with the BN was

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<sup>13</sup> “Sungai Pelek Good Example of Harapan-BN Cooperation”, letter by Dr Ong Kian Ming published on 22 August 2023, <https://www.malaysiakini.com/letters/676512>



**Table 12: N56 Sungai Pelek—Change in Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE15)**

Polling Station	Saturan	PRN2023		GE15			Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)			BN Transfer to PH	Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>				Avg Age
		PH %	PN %	PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %	M %		C %	I %	O %		
Jenderam Hulu	1	36.8	62.9	22.4	29.6	41.4	14.5	33.3	30.3	80.7	1.8	16.2	1.3	64.93	
Jenderam Hulu	2	25.0	74.8	19.6	48.1	29.0	5.4	26.7	16.9	96.3	0.6	2.6	0.5	51.68	
Jenderam Hulu	3	24.7	75.3	19.1	57.6	20.2	5.6	17.7	24.1	97.4	0.2	1.6	0.9	38.11	
Jenderam Hulu	4	29.3	70.3	25.0	53.3	18.9	4.2	17.0	19.9	99.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	28.18	
Jenderam Hulu	5	26.1	73.9	29.3	50.8	17.7	-3.2	23.1	-12.2	99.5	0.0	0.3	0.2	21.40	
Salak	1	32.1	67.5	12.6	35.1	45.2	19.5	32.4	37.6	97.1	0.0	1.8	1.1	64.7	
Salak	2	29.0	70.5	12.9	39.5	43.0	16.0	31.0	34.1	97.6	1.1	1.3	0.0	62.1	
Salak	3	27.5	72.1	16.7	46.2	34.5	10.9	25.9	29.6	96.6	1.2	1.2	1.0	53.5	
Salak	4	23.9	76.1	16.9	57.6	21.5	7.0	18.4	27.5	96.4	1.3	0.9	1.3	45.6	
Salak	5	20.6	79.4	14.9	58.7	21.7	5.7	20.8	21.4	98.8	0.1	0.4	0.6	39.8	
Salak	6	14.4	85.2	14.9	57.7	23.5	-0.6	27.5	-2.1	99.4	0.3	0.0	0.3	34.6	
Salak	7	24.9	75.1	23.2	51.0	22.3	1.7	24.1	6.6	99.7	0.0	0.0	0.3	29.4	
Salak	8	29.5	70.5	28.6	50.4	17.4	0.9	20.0	4.5	99.1	0.0	0.4	0.4	25.4	
Salak	9	27.7	72.3	28.5	53.3	15.4	-0.8	19.1	- 4.0	99.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	22.2	

Salak	10	28.7	71.3	25.3	55.9	15.7	3.4	15.4	18.1	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	19.2
Taman Seroja	1	40.6	59.4	31.6	41.6	22.4	9.0	17.9	33.4	88.2	4.2	5.8	1.8	59.7
Taman Seroja	2	28.2	71.6	22.3	53.4	19.3	5.9	18.2	24.4	90.6	2.5	4.9	2.1	48.2
Taman Seroja	3	26.2	73.4	29.1	51.7	12.5	-2.8	21.7	-11.6	90.4	3.2	5.7	0.7	36.2
Taman Seroja	4	34.7	64.9	36.0	44.9	14.5	-1.3	20.1	-6.1	94.6	1.8	3.5	0.1	29.3
Taman Seroja	5	36.1	63.7	40.6	43.1	12.3	-4.5	20.6	-18.0	95.4	1.7	2.9	0.0	24.4
Taman Seroja	6	27.4	72.0	31.6	55.1	10.0	-4.2	16.9	-19.7	94.9	1.0	3.9	0.3	20.0
Taman Mawar	1	35.5	64.5	34.4	40.7	18.1	1.0	23.8	4.2	94.0	0.9	4.7	0.4	56.3
Taman Mawar	2	19.8	79.8	19.7	63.1	12.6	0.1	16.7	0.5	95.5	0.7	2.8	1.0	41.5
Taman Mawar	3	30.2	69.8	40.3	40.1	13.0	-10.0	29.7	-25.3	97.8	0.3	1.8	0.0	28.0
Taman Mawar	4	41.0	58.4	38.2	46.3	11.5	2.7	12.1	18.3	97.3	0.5	2.2	0.0	20.8

Note: a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).

also helpful in winning a large percentage of Orang Asli votes in one particular state seat in Negeri Sembilan.

### **Indian Voters—Race and Age**

The difficulty of analysing the voting preferences of Indian voters will be illustrated in this section. There are very few polling stations where the majority of voters are from the Indian community even in seats with a significant proportion of Indian voters, i.e., more than 25 per cent. Furthermore, variations in the percentage of voters from other communities in the polling streams—younger polling streams have more Malay voters—make it more difficult to discern the voting patterns among Indian voters by polling streams. With these caveats in mind, let us examine a few seats with a sizeable percentage of Indian voters.

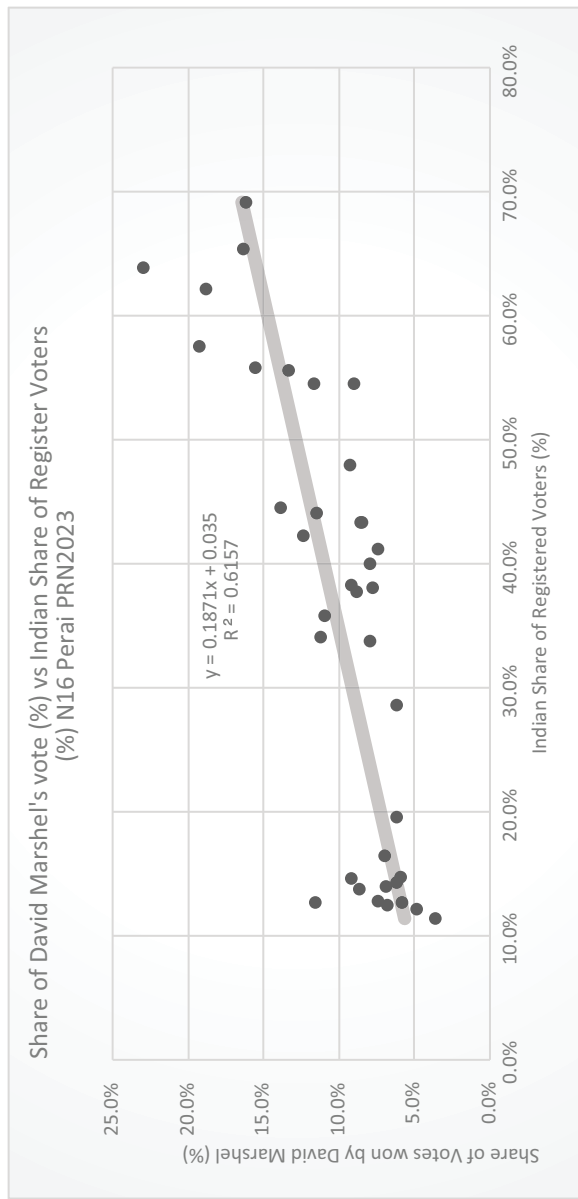
#### *N16 Perai in Penang*

N16 Perai in Penang is the DAP seat with the highest percentage of Indian voters, standing at 35.6 per cent in the 2023 elections (13.3 per cent Malay and 49.9 per cent Chinese). This seat was previously contested by P. Ramasamy, the charismatic and outspoken Deputy Chief Minister of Penang. The decision by the DAP not to field him as a candidate prompted Ramasamy to subsequently resign from the party. One of his close associates, David Marshel A/L Pakianathan, a former DAP local councillor, also resigned from the DAP and contested as an independent candidate in N16 Perai.

DAP's vote share fell by 7 per cent from 81.8 per cent in 2022 to 74.8 per cent in 2023. The fall in DAP's vote share was reflected in the 7 per cent of votes won by the independent candidate, David Marshel. Figure 3 shows that David Marshel's vote share increased as the percentage of voters from the Indian community in a polling stream increased. The estimated share of Indian votes won by David Marshel was 22 per cent, a small but not insignificant percentage. The fact that he did not manage to make a significant dent into DAP's overall vote share was because he won negligible support from the Malay and Chinese voters.

Table 13 shows that there were no discernible patterns or trends in terms of support for the independent candidate among different age

**Figure 3: David Marshal's Share of Vote versus Percentage of Indian Voters in N16 Perai (PRN 2023)**



Source: Election Commission; author's analysis.

**Table 13: N16 Perai—Change in Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE15)**

Polling Station	Saturan	PRN2023						GE15						Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)						Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>			Avg Age
		PH %	PN %	MUDA %	IND %	PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %	MUDA %	IND %	PH %	PN %	MUDA %	IND %	M %	C %	O %				
Taman Indrawasih	1	-1.7	2.4	3.9	12.4	74.7	4.5	15.1	-1.7	2.4	3.9	12.4	9.1	47.8	42.2	0.9	70.9						
Taman Indrawasih	2	5.6	1.2	0.9	7.5	78.9	4.0	13.0	5.6	1.2	0.9	7.5	10.4	46.9	41.1	1.6	69.3						
Taman Indrawasih	3	0.8	2.3	1.1	8.5	81.0	4.0	12.7	0.8	2.3	1.1	8.5	11.8	44.4	43.3	0.4	63.4						
Taman Indrawasih	4	-0.3	1.7	1.7	8.0	84.4	4.5	9.9	-0.3	1.7	1.7	8.0	9.6	50.4	40.0	0.0	58.4						
Taman Indrawasih	5	-1.9	1.3	1.0	9.3	82.1	6.4	9.0	-1.9	1.3	1.0	9.3	9.8	41.9	47.9	0.4	52.4						
Taman Indrawasih	6	-9.9	5.7	1.6	11.5	82.9	7.0	9.4	-9.9	5.7	1.6	11.5	14.0	41.6	44.1	0.3	45.1						
Taman Indrawasih	7	-7.7	2.6	1.7	11.0	77.3	14.2	6.1	-7.7	2.6	1.7	11.0	23.3	40.8	35.8	0.1	38.6						
Taman Indrawasih	8	-6.3	1.3	30.4	11.2	74.0	15.7	8.5	-6.3	1.3	30.4	11.2	24.1	41.6	34.0	0.3	33.4						
Taman Indrawasih	9	-9.5	7.0	2.2	8.0	81.2	11.2	6.7	-9.5	7.0	2.2	8.0	24.8	41.4	33.7	0.1	27.7						
Taman Indrawasih	10	-9.4	5.4	2.3	9.2	77.9	12.6	7.6	-9.4	5.4	2.3	9.2	23.0	38.5	38.2	0.3	21.4						
Perai	1	73.5	11.5	3.4	9.0	76.7	4.8	13.2	-3.1	6.7	3.4	9.0	13.1	31.3	54.4	1.1	74.5						
Perai	2	75.1	8.6	0.9	11.7	78.2	6.9	12.1	-3.1	1.7	0.9	11.7	14.2	30.2	54.4	1.1	63.1						
Perai	3	78.3	10.6	0.7	8.5	83.8	5.4	9.3	-5.5	5.2	0.7	8.5	14.6	40.4	43.3	1.7	53.3						

Perai	4	65.9	18.9	1.3	13.9	81.7	9.0	8.8	-15.8	9.9	1.3	13.9	22.8	32.0	44.5	0.7	39.8
Perai	5	54.9	32.2	1.5	8.9	65.4	27.9	4.7	-10.5	4.3	1.5	8.9	38.2	24.2	37.7	0.0	24.4
Taman Supreme	1	69.1	7.0	2.1	13.3	75.7	5.8	11.3	-6.6	1.2	2.1	13.3	10.2	32.4	55.6	1.8	71.5
Taman Supreme	2	69.0	7.4	3.6	16.4	77.8	3.1	12.8	-8.7	4.3	3.6	16.4	10.2	23.6	65.3	0.9	64.9
Taman Supreme	3	68.1	9.1	1.6	16.2	67.2	5.2	12.6	0.9	3.9	1.6	16.2	10.7	18.7	69.1	1.6	57.0
Taman Supreme	4	63.7	13.4	2.6	18.9	77.6	7.2	12.5	-14.0	6.2	2.6	18.9	14.0	23.0	62.2	0.9	47.8
Taman Supreme	5	39.9	12.4	2.2	23.0	75.4	11.2	12.5	-35.5	1.2	2.2	23.0	19.3	16.4	63.9	0.3	39.5
Taman Supreme	6	56.6	22.8	0.8	19.3	72.3	15.0	11.2	-15.8	7.8	0.8	19.3	24.7	16.6	57.5	1.2	31.6
Taman Supreme	7	51.2	25.2	2.7	15.6	63.3	21.6	13.8	-12.1	3.6	2.7	15.6	32.0	12.3	55.8	0.0	22.7

Note: a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).

groups of Indian voters. The highest proportion of votes for David Marshal in the Taman Indrawasih (40 per cent Indian) came from the oldest polling stream (*saluran* 1) with 12.4 per cent of the vote but in the Perai polling station (47 per cent Indian), the highest support for David Marshal was in the fourth polling stream with 13.9 per cent of votes, while in the Taman Supreme polling station (61 per cent Indian), the highest support was in the 5th polling stream with 23.0 per cent of votes.

It would probably be accurate to say the appeal of David Marshal as an independent candidate, acting as a proxy for the former Deputy Chief Minister, P. Ramasamy, was not targeted or focused on one particular segment of the Indian voters in Perai but had a more diffused effect, depending on the locality and the kind of constituency service that had been given by Ramasamy and his team in this state constituency.

### *N6 Kuala Kubu Baru in Selangor*

N6 Kuala Kubu Baru was one of those marginal DAP state seats with a plurality of Malay voters (46.4 per cent) and a sizeable minority of Indian voters (18.0 per cent) with some orang Asli voters (5.0 per cent) and Chinese voters (30.6 per cent) in 2023.

PH won 48.1 per cent of votes according to the 2022 GE15 results, with PN winning 27.4 per cent and BN winning 21.2 per cent. In the 2023 state elections, DAP increased its share of votes by 7.5 per cent to 55.7 per cent while the PN increased its share of votes by 10.5 per cent to 37.9 per cent.

Table 14 shows the results from three polling stations with a sizeable Indian voter population—Lembah Beringin (46 per cent), Ladang Nigel Gardner (60 per cent), and Jalan Kuala Kali (29 per cent). The difficulty faced in these three polling stations is that changes in support for DAP from 2022 to 2023 come from not only the Indian voters but also the Malay voters who form a larger proportion of the voting population at the younger polling stations. For example, the proportion of Malay voters in the Jalan Kuala Kali polling station increases from 24 per cent in the first *saluran* to 52 per cent in the sixth *saluran*.

A tentative conclusion from Table 14 is that the older polling streams experienced higher increases in support for the DAP (using the PH/PN

**Table 14: N6 Kuala Kubu Bahru—Change in Proportion of the Vote for PH and PN (PRN 2023 vs GE15)**

Polling Station	Saturan	PRN2023		GE15			Change (PRN2023 vs GE15)			BN Transfer to PH	Share of Registered Voters <sup>a</sup>				Avg Age
		PH %	PN %	PH %	PN %	BN %	PH %	PN %	M %		C %	I %	O %		
Lembah Beringin	1	69	13	54	2	32	15	10	59.0	16	6	74	4	68.0	
Lembah Beringin	2	65	23	55	11	29	10	12	46.1	26	2	60	12	45.9	
Lembah Beringin	3	54	36	36	20	38	18	16	53.0	64	0	32	3	26.0	
Ladang Nigel Gardner	1	58	23	42	11	39	16	13	55.6	29	17	53	1	68.7	
Ladang Nigel Gardner	2	55	24	52	9	37	3	15	15.2	28	5	67	0	40.9	
Jalan Kuala Kali	1	76	17	54	10	29	22	7	75.6	24	42	34	1	65.8	
Jalan Kuala Kali	2	65	28	54	21	20	11	7	62.2	35	37	27	0	56.9	
Jalan Kuala Kali	3	65	30	60	24	14	5	6	44.2	32	35	32	1	45.2	
Jalan Kuala Kali	4	57	38	58	28	13	-1	10	-5.9	42	27	31	1	35.4	
Jalan Kuala Kali	5	56	39	56	33	9	0	6	-0.6	49	25	26	0	27.5	
Jalan Kuala Kali	6	54	41	49	38	11	5	3	60.7	52	21	27	0	21.2	

Note: a. Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others (including Orang Asli).



ratio) compared to the younger polling streams. For example, in *saluran* 1 (average age of 69) in the Ladang Nigel Gardner polling station (53 per cent Indian), the increase in DAP support was 16 per cent (PH/PN ratio of 1.25) compared to only a 3 per cent increase in *saluran* 2 (average age of 41 with a PH/PN ratio of 0.18). For *saluran* 1 in the Jalan Kuala Kali polling station (34 per cent Indian), the increase in DAP support was 22 per cent (with a PH/PN ratio of 3.09) compared to a 0 per cent increase (PH/PN ratio of zero) for *saluran* 5 (average age of 28).

## **OTHER RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONCLUSION**

The analysis conducted in this paper should be extended to examine the benefits of campaigning with UMNO in PKR and Amanah seats and the benefits of campaigning with PH in UMNO seats.

The working hypothesis is that UMNO would have increased their share of non-Malay support by campaigning with PH but this would not have been sufficient to compensate for the loss of Malay support to PN in most seats, with the exception of certain seats with significant non-Malay votes in Selangor and Negeri Sembilan. Among non-Malay voters, the increase in support for UMNO may be higher in the older polling streams.

For PKR and Amanah, their already high share of non-Malay votes coupled with small increases in Malay support from campaigning with UMNO would have allowed them to retain many of the ethnically mixed seats in Penang, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan but would not have been sufficient to hold off the increase in Malay support for PN in previously competitive seats in Kedah and parts of Selangor, especially in the younger polling streams.

This paper began by asking three questions: To what extent did DAP gain (or lose) from campaigning with UMNO in the 2023 state elections; where did these gains (or losses) come from and; what are the main explanations for these changes?

The analysis shown in this paper has answered the questions in the following manner:

DAP gained on average a 5 per cent increase in the level of support from 2022 to 2023 with an 8 per cent increase in Malay support and a 2 per cent increase in Chinese support. On average, about 4.5 out of 10 votes from the BN/UMNO were transferred to DAP. DAP would probably still have won at least forty-one of forty-seven state seats without the transfer of BN/UMNO votes. Working with UMNO allowed the DAP to win some of what would usually be marginal seats by comfortable margins (Sekinchan, Kuala Kubu Baru and Sungai Pelek in Selangor, Chennah and Repah in Negeri Sembilan).

Generally speaking, DAP gained the largest transfer of Malay votes in older polling streams where the allegiance to BN is still stronger compared to the younger polling streams. The gains in the Malay support are accentuated in state seats with sizeable Malay support where a strong DAP incumbent who was formerly an office bearer in the state or federal government was contesting (Sekinchan in Selangor; Chennah, Bahau, Nilai and Repah in Negeri Sembilan).

These findings show that UMNO's grassroots outreach is still somewhat effective among older voters but does not have the same kind of effect among younger voters.

Moving forward, DAP will have to evaluate if continuing to work with UMNO will yield the same or perhaps even declining returns especially if UMNO's reputation and support at the national level continues to decline because of the trust deficit among the Malay community with regards to UMNO's current leadership. The need to do that will be stronger if UMNO also fails to field quality candidates that can help other PH component parties including the DAP to arrest the low support for the unity government among Malay voters.

**Appendix 1: List of DAP Candidates for the 2023 State Elections (Incumbents, Shifted, New)**

<b>State</b>	<b>Seat Code</b>	<b>Seat Name</b>	<b>2023 PRN Candidate</b>	<b>2022 GE14 Candidate</b>	<b>Comments</b>
KDH	N11	Derga	Tan Kok Yew	Tan Kok Yew	Maintain incumbent
KDH	N13	Kota Darulaman	Teh Swee Leong	Teh Swee Leong	Maintain incumbent
PG	N7	Sungai Puyu	Phee Syn Tze	Phee Boon Poh	New candidate
PG	N8	Bagan Jermal	Chee Yeoh Keen	Soon Lip Chee	New candidate
PG	N9	Bagan Dalam	Kumaran A/L Krishnan	Satees A/L Muniandy	New candidate. Incumbent resigned from the party.
PG	N13	Berapit	Heng Lee Lee	Heng Lee Lee	Maintain incumbent
PG	N15	Padang Lallang	Gooi Zi Sen	Chong Eng	Shifted from the N27 Pengkalen Kota state seat.
PG	N16	Perai	Sundarajoo A/L Somu	P.Ramasamy A/L Palanisamy	New candidate. Incumbent resigned from the party.
PG	N19	Jawi	H'ng Mooi Lye	H'ng Mooi Lye	Maintain incumbent
PG	N22	Tanjong Bungah	Zairil Khir Johari	Zairil Khir Johari	Maintain incumbent
PG	N23	Air Putih	Lim Guan Eng	Lim Guan Eng	Maintain incumbent

PG	N25	Pulau Tikus	Woo Sze Zeng	Lee Chun Kit	New candidate
PG	N26	Padang Kota	Chow Kon Yeow	Chow Kon Yeow	Maintain incumbent
PG	N27	Pengkalan Kota	Wong Yuee Harnng	Gooi Zi Sen	New candidate
PG	N28	Komtar	Teh Lai Heng	Teh Lai Heng	Maintain incumbent
PG	N29	Datuk Keramat	Jagdeep Singh Deo A/L Karpal Singh	Jagdeep Singh Deo A/L Karpal Singh	Maintain incumbent
PG	N30	Sungai Pinang	Lim Siew Khim	Lim Siew Khim	Maintain incumbent
PG	N31	Batu Lanchang	Ong Ah Teong	Ong Ah Teong	Maintain incumbent
PG	N32	Seri Delima	Tan Hooi Peng	Syerleena Binti Abdul Rashid	New candidate. Incumbent shifted to Bukit Bendera parliament seat.
PG	N33	Air Itam	Joseph Ng Soon Siang	Joseph Ng Soon Siang	Maintain incumbent
PG	N34	Paya Terubong	Wong Hon Wai	Yeoh Soon Hin	Shifted from the Bukit Bendera parliament seat.
SGR	N4	Sekinchan	Ng Suee Lim	Ng Suee Lim	Maintain incumbent
SGR	N6	Kuala Kubu Baharu	Lee Kee Hiong	Lee Kee Hiong	Maintain incumbent

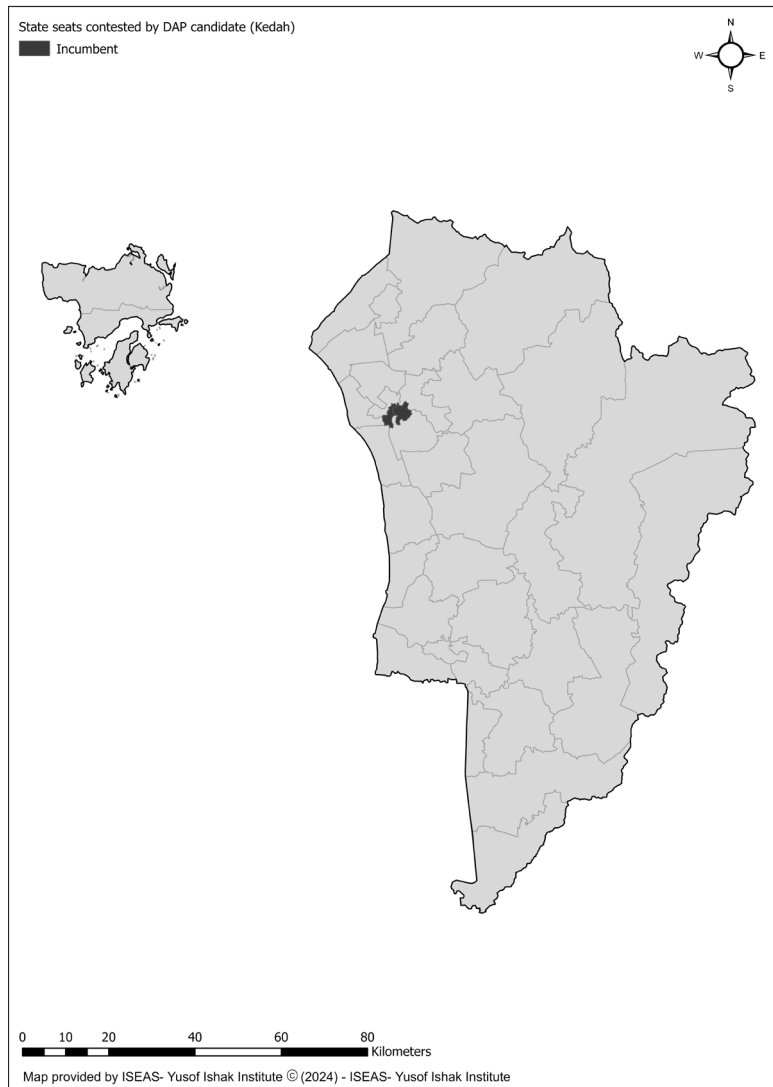
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*Appendix 1 — contd*

<b>State</b>	<b>Seat Code</b>	<b>Seat Name</b>	<b>2023 PRN Candidate</b>	<b>2022 GE14 Candidate</b>	<b>Comments</b>
SGR	N22	Teratai	Yew Jia Haur	Lai Wai Chong	New candidate. Incumbent resigned from the party.
SGR	N27	Balakong	Ong Chun Wei	Ng Tien Chee	New candidate
SGR	N28	Seri Kembangan	Wong Siew Ki	Ean Yong Hian Wah	Shifted from the N27 Balakong state seat.
SGR	N30	Kinrara	Ng Sze Han	Ng Sze Han	Maintain incumbent
SGR	N31	Subang Jaya	Michelle Ng Mei Sze	Michelle Ng Mei Sze	Maintain incumbent
SGR	N34	Bukit Gasing	Rajiv Rishyakaran	Rajiv A/L Rishyakaran	Maintain incumbent
SGR	N35	Kampung Tunku	Lim Yi Wei	Lim Yi Wei	Maintain incumbent
SGR	N36	Bandar Utama	Jamaliah Binti Jamaluddin	Jamaliah Binti Jamaluddin	Maintain incumbent
SGR	N45	Bandar Baru Klang	Quah Peng Fei	Teng Chang Khim	New candidate
SGR	N47	Pandamaran	Leong Tuck Chee	Leong Tuck Chee	Maintain incumbent
SGR	N50	Kota Kemuning	Preakas A/L Sampunathan	Ganabatrau A/L Veraman	New candidate. Incumbent shift to Klang parliament seat.

SeGR	N52	Banting	Papparaidu A/L Veraman	Lau Weng San	New candidate. Incumbent made speaker of Selangor state assembly.
SGR	N56	Sungai Pelek	Lwi Kian Keong	Liu Tian Khiew	New candidate. Incumbent resigned from the party.
NS	N1	Chennah	Loke Siew Fook	Loke Siew Fook	Maintain incumbent
NS	N8	Bahau	Teo Kok Seong	Teo Kok Seong	Maintain incumbent
NS	N10	Nilai	Arul Kumar A/L Jambunathan	Arul Kumar A/L Jambunathan	Maintain incumbent
NS	N11	Lobak	Chew Seh Yong	Chew Seh Yong	Maintain incumbent
NS	N12	Temiang	Ng Chin Tsai	Ng Chin Tsai	Maintain incumbent
NS	N21	Bukit Kepayang	Nicole Tan Lee Koon	Tan Lee Koon	Maintain incumbent
NS	N22	Rahang	Siau Meow Kong	Mary Josephine Prittiam Singh	New candidate
NS	N23	Mambau	Yap Yew Weng	Yap Yew Weng	Maintain incumbent
NS	N24	Seremban Jaya	Gunasekaren A/L Palasamy	Gunasekaren A/L Palasamy	Maintain incumbent
NS	N30	Lukut	Choo Ken Hwa	Choo Ken Hwa	Maintain incumbent
NS	N36	Repah	Veerapan A/L Superamaniam	Veerapan A/L Superamaniam	Maintain incumbent

## Appendix 2: Maps of DAP Contested Seats by State



State seats contested by DAP candidate (Negeri Sembilan)

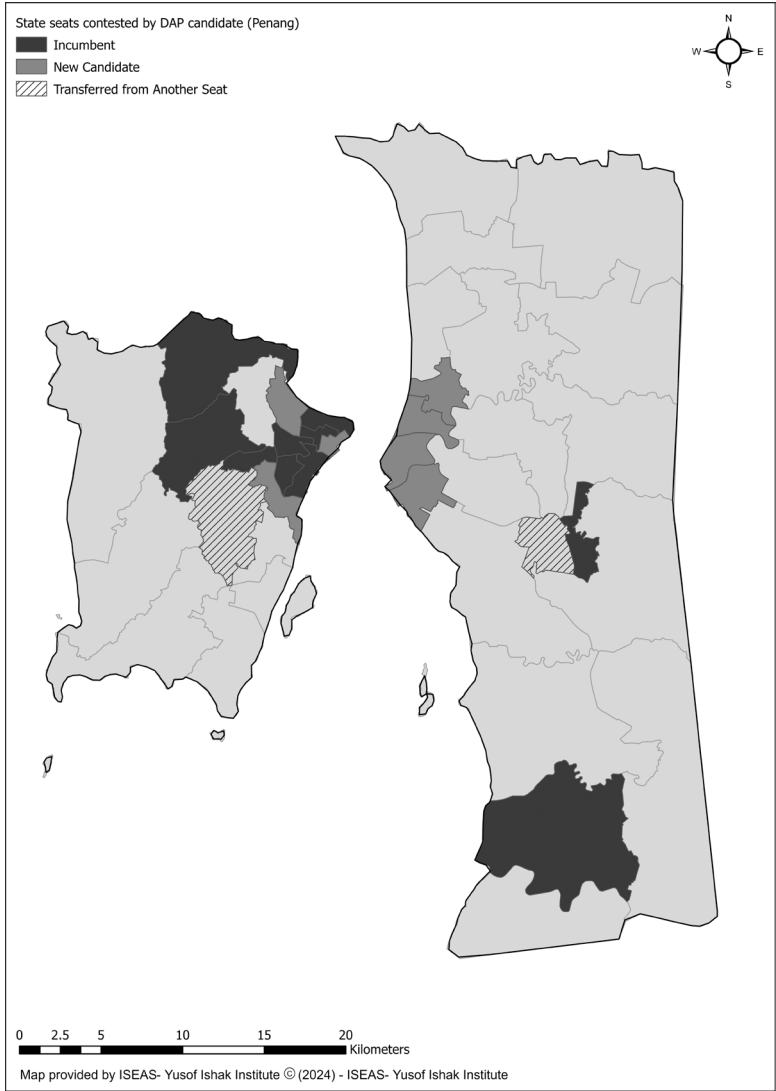
■ Incumbent



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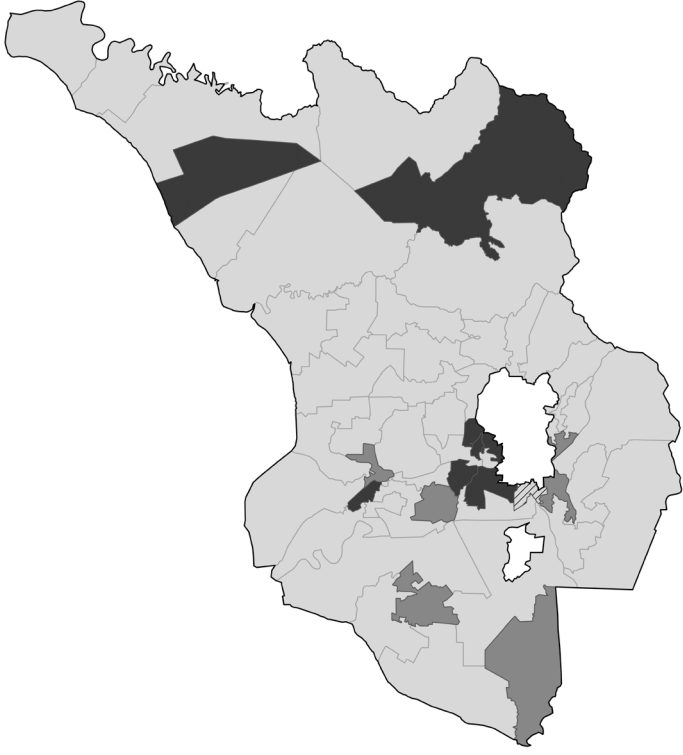
Map provided by ISEAS- Yusof Ishak Institute © (2024) - ISEAS- Yusof Ishak Institute





State seats contested by DAP candidate (Selangor)

- Incumbent
- New candidate
- Transferred from Another Seat



Map provided by ISEAS- Yusof Ishak Institute © (2024) - ISEAS- Yusof Ishak Institute

***Appendix 3: Methodology of Calculating Support by Race in Each State Seat***

The way votes are cast and tabulated in Malaysia is unique. Voters are allocated a specific polling stream or classroom in a specific polling station where they must go to cast a vote. The votes which are cast in these polling streams or classrooms are also tabulated in these classrooms. This provides an excellent opportunity for researchers to conduct a granular analysis of voting patterns at the local level. The official scoresheet or electoral returns shows the number of votes obtained by each party in each of the polling streams in each polling station. (See sample for P102 Bangi, the author’s former parliamentary constituency in Figure A1).

At the same time, copies of the electoral roll for each seat are given to each candidate and the electoral roll for the entire country can be purchased by political parties. The uniqueness of the names of voters from different racial groups allows for the “tagging” of each voter in each seat with a racial identity—Malay, Chinese, Indian and Others—

***Figure A1: Sample Scoresheet for the P102 Bangi Parliamentary Constituency from the 2022 General Elections***

Source: Election Commission.

based on a set of algorithms used to identify the racial group which each voter's name is associated with. A sample of names and their racial identity is shown in Figure A2 using data from the P106 Damansara constituency.

Using this racial tagging, the racial composition of each polling stream can be calculated. The racial composition usually accords with the following categories—Malay, Chinese, Indian and Others—for Peninsular Malaysia. The racial categorizing for East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak) is more complicated.

This racial “tagging” is very accurate in Peninsular Malaysia where the names of citizens are quite distinct from one racial group to another. This kind of tagging is less accurate for Sabah where there is much more intermarriage and mixing of the races and, to a lesser extent, in Sarawak as well.

The polling stream results combined with the racial composition of each polling stream allow us to run a simple bivariate regression to show

**Figure A2: Sample of Names and Their Racial Identity from the P106 Damansara Parliamentary Constituency**

IC No	Name	Part Code	Part Name	Year of Birth	Age	Polling Stream	Polling Station	Race
5DX	KARIM O HARMIN BIN MAD MAHSOR	106	DAMANSARA	1950	72		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	MELAYU
5DX	KADIVELU A/L MURTHY	106	DAMANSARA	1950	72		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	INDIA
5DX	WAN WENG KEONG	106	DAMANSARA	1950	72		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	CHINA
5DX	DING ENG SIM	106	DAMANSARA	1952	70		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	CHINA
5DX	JIM SEW FAH	106	DAMANSARA	1952	70		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	CHINA
5DX	CHONG HOW FATT	106	DAMANSARA	1952	69		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	CHINA
55XX	HAMSAH BINTI SHARIF	106	DAMANSARA	1955	67		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	MELAYU
56XX	WAN RAZALI BIN WAN OTHMAN	106	DAMANSARA	1956	66		SEKOLAH MENENGAH KEBANGSAAN (P) SRI AMAN JALAN 14/49 PETALING JAYA	MELAYU

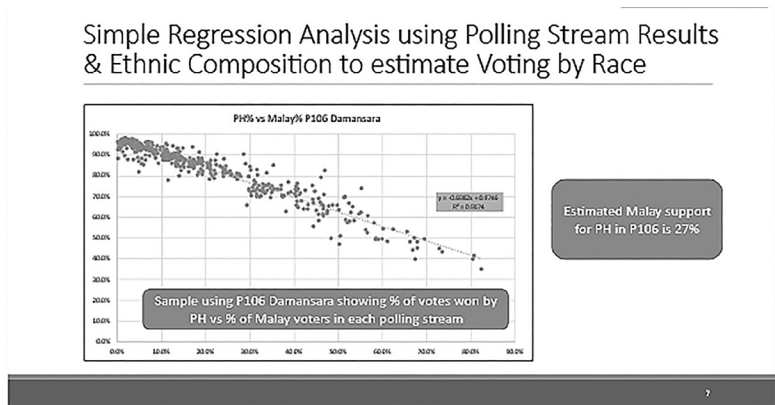
Source: Election Commission; Author's analysis.

the relationship between the percentage of PH/DAP support versus the percentage of Malay voters in each polling stream (see Figure A3).

The equation shown by the trendline which is calculated using the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression method is used to ascertain the estimated percentage of Malay support (and also percentage of Chinese support) in each of the forty-seven DAP contested state seats in the 2023 state elections.

In the P106 Damansara example shown above, the OLS regression equation is  $y = -0.6982x + 0.9746$  and by setting  $x$  equals to 1 (which is a 100 per cent Malay polling station), we obtain a  $y$  of 0.26 or 26 per cent Malay support for PH.

**Figure A3: Simple Regression Analysis Using Support for PH/DAP on the Y axis and the Percentage of Malay Voters in Each Polling Stream on the X Axis**



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