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THE VOTERS' CHOICE AND HOPE IN THE 14TH MALAYSIAN GENERAL ELECTION

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ABSTRACT

The 14th Malaysian General Elections (GE14) result has proven to be a good platform of democracy after the opposition coalition party successfully topple down the ruling coalition party since the first election. This paper discusses a survey conducted four days before GE14 nomination day announcement to measure the voters' views and interests. The main two objectives are (i) to measure the voters' choice of candidates' characteristics; (ii) to examine the issues that are concerned by the voters; and (iii) to discuss voting inclination prior to GE14. The methodology used is a cross-sectional survey conducted from 24 April until 25 April 2018 using Google survey and distributed through WhatsApp and Facebook. This survey received an overwhelming response and managed to gather 1331 respondents. The survey has 21 items in four sections – demography, candidate characteristics, issues and opinion on Malaysian politics. The findings portray the candidate characteristics preference has slightly changed from party-based voting to candidate personality.

Keywords: General Election; Voter; Choice; Issues; Hope.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A general election is an important indicator to measure the democratization maturity process of a country. Indicators such as the frequency of election, transparency, election's expenditure, campaign materials used and results are analysed to determine to what extent the process of a particular election is free from any form of manipulation and abuse of power by the government. Malaysia has gone through fourteen (14) 6general elections since 1957 whereby a coalition of thirteen political parties, Barisan Nasional (BN) won except for the recent GE14 (2018) won by Pakatan Harapan (PH), a coalition of four parties. Pakatan Harapan (PH) is a newly formed coalition established in 2015 consists of Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (BERSATU), People's Justice Party (PKR), Democratic Action Party (DAP), National Trust Party (AMANAH).

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This coalition started and evolved since the year 2004 known as Barisan Alternatif then known as Pakatan Rakyat in 2008. These changes were due to the merger and dissolution of parties within the coalition.

Unlike PH, BN had a formal and stable coalition since its inception in 1973. It was formerly known as Parti Perikatan (1957) consisted of United Malays National Organization (UMNO), Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Malaysian Indian Progress (MIC) then changed to BN in 1974 and expanded its coalition to include Parti Kemajuan Rakyat (PPP), Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (GERAKAN), Parti Bersatu Rakyat Sarawak (SUPP), Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB) and Sabah Alliance Party (Arkib Negara Malaysia, 2019). To date, due to PH victory in securing a majority of Parliament seats and eleven state legislative assemblies, ten of BN's political parties have denounced their support from BN. From a strong government party coalition of 13 political parties since 1973, BN is now known as the alliance of UMNO-PAS, a coalition of Malay Muslims instead of a multiracial coalition and MCA as well as MIC status in BN remain unknown.

The shift of voters' preference from BN to the opposition coalition party can be traced since 1999 when Deputy Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim been sacked by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad due to allegedly involved in immoral conduct. Since 1999, the opposition coalition evolved and witness many love-hate relationships particularly between DAP and PAS. The opposition coalition suddenly gained more influence after Mahathir Mohammad, Muhiyuddin Yassin and few other prominent members of UMNO decided to withdraw their membership and established a new political party called BERSATU in September 2016. As a result, PH won GE14 and broke BN unbeatable record of more than 60 years as elected Malaysian government (Fann, T. 2019).

This article attempts to highlight the voters' preference and issues of concern within four days before the GE14 nomination announcement. A survey has been distributed within the timeframe to identify and analyse the voters' stands prior to GE14 nomination day. As a result, the findings of this survey have reflected the result of GE14.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Voters and The Malaysian General Elections

Voters play a vital role in an election. They determine the validity and strength of the election process. Voters' preference and hope usually determine their decision in voting. Voter turnout is one of the main measurements of the validity of the election results. The Election Commission (EC) has announced the final voter turnout in GE14 was 82.32%, therefore, the EC chairman concluded that the new government has received the people's mandate. It is also indicated that the principle of democracy is mature and preserved in Malaysia. (The Star, 11 May 2018). Table 1 shows Malaysian voter turnout since the GE11 to GE14. The voter turnout indicates the quality and reliability of GE results. GE14 received good participation compared to GE11 and GE12. Therefore, the results are reliable and reflecting the voters' choice.

Table 1: The Malaysian Voters Turnout Since the GE11 to GE14

General Election (GE)/ Year	GE11 (2004)	GE12 (2008)	GE13 (2013)	GE14 (2018)
Registered Voter	9,756,097	10,922,139	13,268,002	14,940,624
Voter Turnout	6,655,348 (73.9%)	7,944,274 (72.74%)	11,226,123 (84.61%)	12,299,514 (82.32%)

Source: New Straits Times (2018) and Election Guide (2019)

Voter turnout in GE13 indicates a shifting of more participatory political culture and one of the main reasons was a vibrant young generation of voters with increased social and economic mobility. (Moniruzzaman Md, 2013). This table also portrays a steady incremental pattern of voters since 2004. It is anticipated that in GE15 this incremental pattern of voters will be higher by two-folded, after Parliament agreed to reduce the minimum voting age from 21 to 18 years old. (The Straits Times, 16 July 2019). Ahmad Mahadi et.al. (2016) highlighted factors that determine the voting behavior are geographical, the service delivery of the government, political party's ideology and physical development that contributed to their well-being in GE13. Political party entity in communicating with voters as well as multiethnic issues most likely to affect the election results. Propaganda and race-religious have proven to influence the voting behavior.

Mansor M. Noor et.al (2016) also focused on ethnicity, economic status and geographical development as the main determinant factors of voters' preference in GE13. Voting behavior changes from time to time whereby earlier voters preferred to vote based on party identification. The Columbia and Michigan models were the two models focused on a social deterministic approach that assumed voting behavior influenced by social elements which directly influence the voters to vote based on a political party which they believe able to represents their social group. Therefore, in Malaysia, ethnic votes tend to drive out non-ethnic votes. Similarly in case of class-based votes whereby this group of voters is attracted to issues related to economics, human rights, social democracy and environment. Meanwhile, Cassey Lee (2019) highlighted two of the main determinant factors of voters' preference during GE14 are the profile of leadership and economic factors i.e. defections of elite politicians, unemployment and inequality. Here, the economic voting model is used to investigate the determinants of electoral outcomes.

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research adopts a quantitative method by using a survey to collect primary data. The survey has been converted to Google Form Survey and distributed through social media platform through WhatsApp as well as Facebook within 48 hours and four days before GE14 nomination day (24th April 2018 until 25 April 2018). The use of online survey forms enables researchers to disseminate to the population according to the required expertise such as Facebook, LinkedIn, WhatsApp Group and other platforms (Prasad & Narayan, 2019). This online survey form also provides a visualization of data in different charts and graphs, a very easy system for graphing between different variables (Vasanth & Harinarayana, 2016). The survey received 1331 responds within the targeted timeframe. The sampling is simple random sampling technique as it is homogenous to the character of the target population including gender, socio-economic, group of ethnic, the culture and religion (Zainudin Hj Awang, 2010). The survey is divided into four sections namely voters' demography, voters' preference in making decision, voters' hopes and open-ended section for voters to write their opinion about GE14. This paper focuses on descriptive and correlation analysis to identify voters' preferences and issues. concerns.

4.0 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Demographic Analysis

Demographic analysis refers to a study of population and is used in various fields particularly politics, policy, marketing, legal and organizational studies. Demographic variables such as age, gender and geographical area hold important inklings on certain behavior patterns and preferences (Farhat Yusuf et. al. 2014). This article examines three main demographic variables which are age, sex, voting registration and voting area of the respondents. In terms of race and religion analysis, this survey unable to do a proper analysis due to low participation of Chinese and Indian respondents. The Table 2 indicates respondents demography based on age and sex where the highest number of responses came from 20 to 31 years old followed by 32 to 43 years old. It indicates that Malaysians in these age categories are the most responsive users of the survey via Facebook and WhatsApp compared to 44 to above 56 respondents. According to the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission's (MCMC) survey (2018), the percentage of internet users in 2018 increased from 76.9% in 2016 to 87.4% in 2018, affecting 28.7 million users. The analysis also shows that on average, Malaysians use the Internet

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6.6 hours a day. Social media has become a popular choice for social activities today, analysis in 2014 showed that Facebook has topped the Malaysian user chart of 12,536 unique visitors (Malaysian Digital Association, 2016) while in 2018 MCMC released data 97.3% of users use Facebook as a social site and WhatsApp is 98.1% as the most important communication platform and user choice. (MCMC, 2018).

Table 2: Cross-Tab Analysis of Respondents' Age and Sex

Sex/	Male		Female		Total of Respondents	
Age	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
20 – 31	248	18.64	333	25.02	581	43.64
32 – 43	227	17.05	254	19.08	481	36.14
44 – Above 56	173	13	96	7.21	269	20.22
Total	648	48.69	683	51.31	1331	100.00

Source: Survey (2018)

In terms of sex, Table 3 indicates balanced representation of males (48.69%) and females (51.31%) in this survey. It is interesting to see there were more male respondents compared to females for 44 to above 56. It also indicates the findings in this paper are based on both sex preference and issues. A survey conducted by MCMC shows that users over 40 are less likely to use the internet as an online community. 40-49 users using the online community channel were only 17.9% while users 50-59 were 11.6% and 60 years and above only 6.5% compared to 20 - 39-year-old 55.9% (MCMC, 2018).

Table 3: Cross-Tab Analysis of Respondents' Age and Sex

Voting Area	Urban		Rural		Overall	
Sex	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Male	412	30.95	236	17.73	648	48.69
Female	407	30.58	276	20.74	683	51.31
Total	819	61.53	512	38.47	1331	100.00

Source: Survey (2018)

Table 3 portrays 819 (61.53%) respondents are from urban areas and only 512 (38.47%) respondents were from rural areas. Therefore, the findings of this paper mostly represent the urban voters' preference and issues compared to rural areas. According to Abdul Rahman Embong (2011) about 70% of the Malaysian population already living in towns and cities and the process of urbanization is still on-going in a fast pace. Hence, this survey is reflecting reality by having more respondents from the urban area. However, urban living for the Malays and Bumiputra communities is relatively new compared to Chinese and Indian. Meanwhile, in terms of respondents' registration status as voters, Table 4 indicates 95.27% of respondents are registered voters.

Table 4: Cross-Tab Analysis of Age and Registration status

Registration Status/	No		Yes		Overall	
Age	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
20 – 31	53	3.99	528	39.67	581	43.64
32 – 43	8	0.61	473	35.54	481	36.14
44 – Above 56	2	0.16	267	20.06	269	20.22
Total	63	4.73	1268	95.27	1331	100.00

Source: Survey (2018)

There are only 63 respondents are not registered voters and 46 respondents are between 20 to 25 years old. This is merely due to the eligible voting age is 21 years old. This pattern will change in the future GE15 survey as the Minister of Youth and Sports has managed to lobbied and convince the cabinet as well as members of parliament to reduce the voting age from 21 to 18-year-old Malaysian (Business Insider, 2019). This new provision portrays the current government commitment towards a better democratic system as well as giving more Malaysians to exercise their rights as citizens as mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Article 21 and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (Scott Ferguson, 2003).

Voting Preference

In elections, voters' perception and choice have a huge impact on voting patterns and results. Here, five variables have been chosen as the most important variable on factors that influence voters' choice during the general election. These variables are chosen after referring to previous surveys such as the Merdeka Center surveys (The Star, 2018), Ilham Center surveys (2018) and National Young Women survey (2016) and literature reviews such as Hing and Pong, Ahmad Mahadi et.al (2016), Sharifah Syahirah et.al (2015,2016), Nadzi (2018) as well as media writing and debates related to voters such as Wan Hamidi (Malaysiakini, 27 April 2018), Khairul Abidin (Utusan, 21 April 2018), Noorazura Abdul Rahman (Berita Harian 16 April 2018).

Table 5: Voting Preference Prior GE14

Item	Disagree		Neutral		Agree	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Political Party	172	12.92	283	21.26	876	65.82
Gender	1010	75.88	206	15.48	115	8.64
Education level	111	8.34	326	24.49	894	67.17
Manifesto	140	10.52	306	22.99	885	66.49
Candidate's personality	70	5.26	199	14.95	1062	79.79

Source: Survey (2018)

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Table 5 depicts the candidate's personality is the most important factor that influence the voters' preference. Followed by the education level of the candidate. Dettman and Weiss (2018) analyse the personalistic linkages were used in GE14 as in previous general elections. Politicians emphasize their 'personal touch' and offer a barrage of targeted promised. It reflects deep connections between voters and politicians. This has impacted the voters' decision. The candidates' personalities in influencing voters' decision proven to be one of the most important variables in various countries and elections. Prysby and Scavo (2004), co-authored a voting behaviour Supplementary Empirical Teaching Units in Political Science (SETUPS) since 1984 explained voters' judge candidates by their characteristics such as experience, morality, compassion, competence, and leadership ability. One of the most important personal characters is perceived as honesty and trustworthiness. Years of experience and knowledge would also be the most important characteristics of competency. (SETUPS,2019)

It turns out the manifesto and political parties are slightly the least determinant factors compare to candidate's personality and education. Although many studies such as Horowitz (1983), Abdul Rahman Embong (1998) and Francis Loh (2002) highlighted voters in Malaysia are still rely on political party and manifesto, the result of this study portrays a slight shift in this matter (Mansor et.al, 2016). Moniruzzam (2013) also discussed the major roles played by political parties in influencing voters' decisions in GE13 and previous general elections. As Horowitz (1983) observed that partisan politics works better in ethnic politics. A particular ethnic such as Malays have a strong loyalty to a particular party since the party is organized based on the ethnic issue of concerns (Mansor et.al. 2016)

This survey also discovers more than 75.88% did not vote based on the candidate's gender and 15.48% are neutral about it. It is an opposite finding compared to the patriarchal myth that voters prefer male leadership dan candidates. McElroy and Marsh (2010) concluded voters do not discriminate against women even in an electoral environment that affords them this opportunity without any cost to their partisan preference. Although one of the prior assumptions of women underrepresentation in politics was due to voter prejudice. Rashila Ramli (1999,2005) and Sharifah Syahirah (2010) concluded society's perception against women as candidates is not the main factor of the underrepresentation of women in politics, other factors such as within party patriarchal biases and leaders reluctant to nominate women candidates.

Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development (2018) expressed disappointment when all political parties in Malaysia only managed to nominate 239 women b candidate which was 10.24% from 2333 candidates. Although it is better than GE13, KPWKM expressed their concerns about women underrepresentation in legislative and reminded the future government to fulfill the at least 30% women representation in legislative as stated in the Convention of all form of discrimination against women (CEDAW). Therefore, political parties need to carefully choose candidates with good personality and education background future general elections. The Malaysian voters are not a gender bias voter since more than 91.36% answered they do not vote based on gender. Hence, all political parties' leaders have no reason not to put more women candidates in GE15.

Issues of Concern

The survey has chosen seven of the most important issues of concern within 48 hours before GE14 nomination day. These issues are also being highlighted in the manifesto of both coalitions and some of the issues have been repetitively mentioned in campaign rally such as eliminating corruption. As the most prominent leader in politics, Mahathir Mohamad managed to attract voters' attention in all his campaign rally by highlighting corruption, mismanagement of the country's wealth and high cost of living. Most of his rally speeches attended by thousands and received tens of thousands of viewers via social media platform particularly Facebook.

Table 6: Voters' Issues of Concern

No	Item	Mean	Value
C3.1	Welfare & service delivery	4.826	Agree
C3.2	Women Empowerment	4.514	Agree
C3.3	Youth Development	4.772	Agree
C3.4	Family and Children Welfare	4.796	Agree
C3.5	Issues related to Religion	4.721	Agree
C3.5	Issues related to Race	4.251	Agree
C3.6	Eliminating Corruption	4.873	Agree
C3.7	Issues related to Environment	4.681	Agree
C3.7	Cost of living and price hike	4.840	Agree

Source: Survey (2018)

Based on Table 6, all of the seven issues are people's issues of concern since the mean values are more than 4. It also shows an issue related corruption (mean = 4.873) turns out to be the first issue of concern followed by issue related to cost of living and price hike (mean = 4.840). The third issue of concern is related to the welfare and service delivery of the government (mean 4.826). During the GE14 rally, Mahathir Mohammad repetitively mentioned about corruption. In his last speech before the election's day, he said (the speech was in Malay language;

Malaysia pernah diiktiraf sebagai Asian Tiger. Sepatutnya negara ini telah dapat mencapai negara maju pada tahun 2020. Malangnya pemerintahan Perdana Menteri ke 6 telah membawa malapetaka. Daripada perjuang untuk bangsa, negara dan agama, Najib membawa kepercayaan bahawa segalanya boleh diberi dengan wang. Sekarang negara kita tidak lagi dikenali sebagai Tiger of Asia sebaliknya dunia pandang hina kepada kita dan menyenaraikan Malaysia dalam senarai sepuluh buah negara yang mengamalkan amalan rasuah yang tertinggi. Kita tidak lagi ditakrif sebagai demokrasi sebaliknya sebagai kleptocracy iainya negara yang dipimpin oleh perasuah dan pencuri.

(Mahathir Mohammad, Langkawi, 8 May 2018)

In his speech, Mahathir expressed his annoyance on the previous Prime Minister Najib misconduct that has changed the country's image from an economic fast-growing country, the Asian Tiger to one of the most corrupted countries in the world. He introduced a term called kleptocracy as the opposite term of democracy that refers to a country ruled by a thief and corrupted leader. This is parallel with many surveys conducted in relation to government performance and people's perception.

Junaidi et.al (2015) concluded only a political party that has a good track record will be able to maintain power as a government, especially in a mission to eliminate poverty and corruption. Since BN has been perceived as a party coalition that failed in these missions, it lost the people's votes and confidence. In National Women Survey (2016), corruption and cost of living are the two most main concern issues. Some of the respondents expressed their concerns in the open-ended section of the survey such as;

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Respondent 12: This comment is regarding the Malaysian government. People are against corruption. Please stop corruption.

Respondent 62: The authorities should control the corruption happening in our country, especially in the government itself. There should be more diversity in the political leaders. I couldn't help but notice that most of these leaders are Muslim Malay men, which I think is so wrong considering that Malaysia is known for its diversity. Political leaders should consist of both men and women from various races and religions. We need voices from all the existing major races and religions in the country. Everyone should be given the same opportunity to be leaders.

(Sharifah Syahirah et.al, 2017).

These statements indicate Malaysian young women concern about the corruption and misconduct of certain leaders. In other words, issues related to corruptions were Malaysians biggest concern years before GE14. However, it was not being rectified by the BN government before GE14. Issues related to family welfare (mean = 4.796), youth development (mean = 4.772) and religion (4.721) are equally important. Followed by issues related to environment (mean = 4.681), women empowerment (mean = 4.514) and race (mean = 4.251). According to Abdul Razaq Ahmad (2017) there are at least four categories of the idealism of struggle that are analyzed as political struggle, based on national ideas, religious-based struggle, contemporary development-based struggle and ethnic-based struggle. The findings show that voters prefer leaders who champion the ideas of nationality and are always concerned about the people's economy. While, the struggle based on a religious perspective is low.

Similar finding on welfare and service delivery, Muhammad Hazim Abdul Ghani (2016) highlighted people's agreement on the Federal Government's concern for the welfare of students, colleges and universities. They also argued that the implementation of free school fees besides the provision of book vouchers and RM100 money would help young people to continue their studies. The importance of preserving religion in a country is undeniable especially for Malaysia with a wide variety of religions and races. Thus, in the election of candidates, the people's perspective on religious and racial backgrounds is very important, Suresh Kumar N Vellymalay (2019) said that BN election victory in BN election Cameron Highland won by various factors including BN candidate Ramli Mohd Nor was a native of the Orang Asli and was able to preserve Islam.

Voting Inclination

The survey also contains a non-compulsory section about political party preference. Surprisingly, more than 50% has no qualm to answer their preference although it was not a compulsory question. Here, cross-tab analysis between party preference, gender and age has been conducted.

Table 7: Cross-tab Analysis on the choice of political party and gender

Gender/	Lelaki		Wanita		Jumlah Keseluruhan	
Political Party	Jumlah	Peratus	Jumlah	Peratus	Jumlah	Peratus
BN	130	9.77	156	11.72	286	21.49
PH	209	15.70	101	7.59	310	23.29
PAS	109	8.19	51	3.83	160	12.02
Others	25	1.88	20	1.50	45	3.38
N/A	175	13.15	355	26.67	530	39.82
Jumlah	648	48.69	683	51.31	1331	100.00

Source: Survey (2018)

The table above indicates 575 respondents (43.2%) are reluctant to declare their voting inclination by answering others and N/A. Most of them also stated votes are private or in a Malay language is *undi adalah rahsia* (vote is a secret). 28.17% women respondents (N = 375) answered others and N/A. While only 200 (15.03%) male respondents were reluctant. 15.70% of male respondents (N=209) were boldly answered PH as their choice followed by 9.77% supported BN and 8.19% supported PAS. While, female respondents preferred BN 11.72%, PH 7.59% and PAS 3.83%. Due to the failure of BN to win GE14 elections, those who have not declared their party preference choose PH whereby women preferred not telling their voting inclination while men have no problem in doing so.

Table 8: Cross-Tab Analysis of Voting Inclination Based on Age

Age/ Political Party	BN	PH	PAS	Others	N/A	Total
20 – 31	104 (7.87%)	145 (10.90%)	56 (4.21%)	28 (2.10%)	248 (18.64%)	581 (43.64%)
32 – 43	105 (7.89%)	85 (6.38%)	72 (5.41%)	12 (0.91%)	207 (15.55%)	481 (36.14%)
44 – Above 56	77 (5.78%)	80 (6.01%)	32 (2.41%)	5 (0.38%)	75 (5.64%)	269 (20.22%)
Total	286 (21.49%)	310 (23.29%)	160 (12.02%)	45 (3.38%)	530 (39.82%)	1331 (100.00%)

Source: Survey (2018)

Table 7 depicts 43.64% of the respondents were from the age 20 to 31 years old and they preferred PH (10.90%) compared to BN (7.87%) and PAS (4.21%). However, most of these respondents preferred to answer others and N/A (20.74%). Meanwhile, for 32 to 43 years old preferred BN (7.89%), followed by PH (6.38%), PAS (5.41%). Similar to 20 to 31 age group, most respondents of this age group preferred to keep their voting inclination as private (16.46%) by answering others and N/A. Similarly, 20- to 31-year-old, finding for age group 44 until above 56 were PH (6.01%), BN (5.78%), PAS (2.41), others and N/A (6.02%). The result indicates a substantive shift from BN to PH for two age categories namely 20-31 years old and 44 to above 56. This finding is parallel with reports made by Ilham Center (8 Mei 2019). The reading of party inclination was totally different than the Merdeka Center surveys such as a report made by Merdeka Centre survey in April 2018 indicated BN will prevail in GE14 (The Star, 27 April 2019), then, again Merdeka Center's final poll still showed BN was winning (Malaysiakini, 8 May 2018). It is obvious that the Merdeka Center's surveys were inaccurate. Maybe because it was done through phone calls instead of online surveys.

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CONCLUSION

Analysis of voters' preference and issues of concerns indicates minimal biases against women as general election candidates. This is parallel with various studies in the previous general election in Malaysia and other countries. Therefore, there shall be no more excuses for political party leaders not to put more women candidates in the GE15. There is also a slight shift from political party influence to candidates' personality and education background. These findings portray the maturity and progressive nature of voters are able to evaluate the candidates instead of relying on the political parties' choices. Hence, it is pertinent for each party to choose the best candidates especially in terms of personality and education background. All seven issues of concerns are near to voters' hearts and emotions. For this reason, the current new elected government must ensure all leaders accused of corruption to be jailed before GE15 to show the government's strength in eliminating corruption. Without stern actions against these accused corrupters, voters might suspect the current government as weak and only give empty promises. This will affect the PH image negatively in the next election. Similarly, to the issues related to the cost of living and price hikes. To date, issues related cost of living and price hike remain unsolved even after the announcement of Budget 2020. Without proper solutions and actions on these issues, it might put the Malaysia Baru government image at stake. Last but not least, based on this survey, around 56.8% voters do not mind to declare their voting preferences. While 43.2% prefers to keep it private. Since PH won the GE14, there is a high probability that these secretive voters have voted for PH. Therefore, in the next electoral survey and prediction, election researchers might want to consider this behaviour as a high probability indication of opposition party voters.

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