



# ANTI-INCUMBENCY INDEX

Malaysia

# WHAT IS AII?

- Hypothesis:
  - Democratic Systems with negative values of AII are healthy and truly functioning.
  - The idea is to establish a single currency for anti-incumbency sentiment which echoes the maturity of the democracy in terms of effective electoral verdicts
  - Instead of the performance of the incumbent, performance and unity of opposition affects the electoral results.
  - Impact of gain/loss of vote share on the seat share, vis-à-vis opposition, its unity or fragmentation, and turnout of different support bases determines anti-incumbency sentiment.
- Aim: Giving a meaning to Anti-Incumbency Sentiment
- Methodology: Comparison of vote and seat share in last two consecutive elections
- Results: Checking the electoral health of the democracy.

# METHODOLOGY

- To quantify the All, we start with the last two election results of any FPTP system. All we need is the vote share and the seat share of ruling party and the main opposition party for the last two consecutive elections. For example we take Party A and Party B in any FPTP system.
- Democratic systems with negative values of All (Anti Incumbency Index) are the healthy and truly functioning democracies, while the systems showing a positive value of All tend to be faulty or unstable democracies.
- Components:
  - IOU: Index of opposition unity
  - Vote and Seat Swing
  - Active Swing
  - Voter Base Damage
  - Opposition Gain (Seats)
  - Active Change
  - Seat Base Damage

# CONSIDERATIONS

- Significance of Socio-Economic indicators
  - Correlation to voting and public opinion
  - All positive and indicators high= Striving or Maturity
  - All positive and indicators low= Trouble
  - All negative and indicators low= Healthy
  - All negative and indicators high= Very Healthy
- Indicators: GDP, GINI, CPI, FHR, HDI, CPL, WVR, P4P LTP
- In a healthy democracy even the re-election will come out with a negative All

# EXAMPLE: GREAT BRITAIN

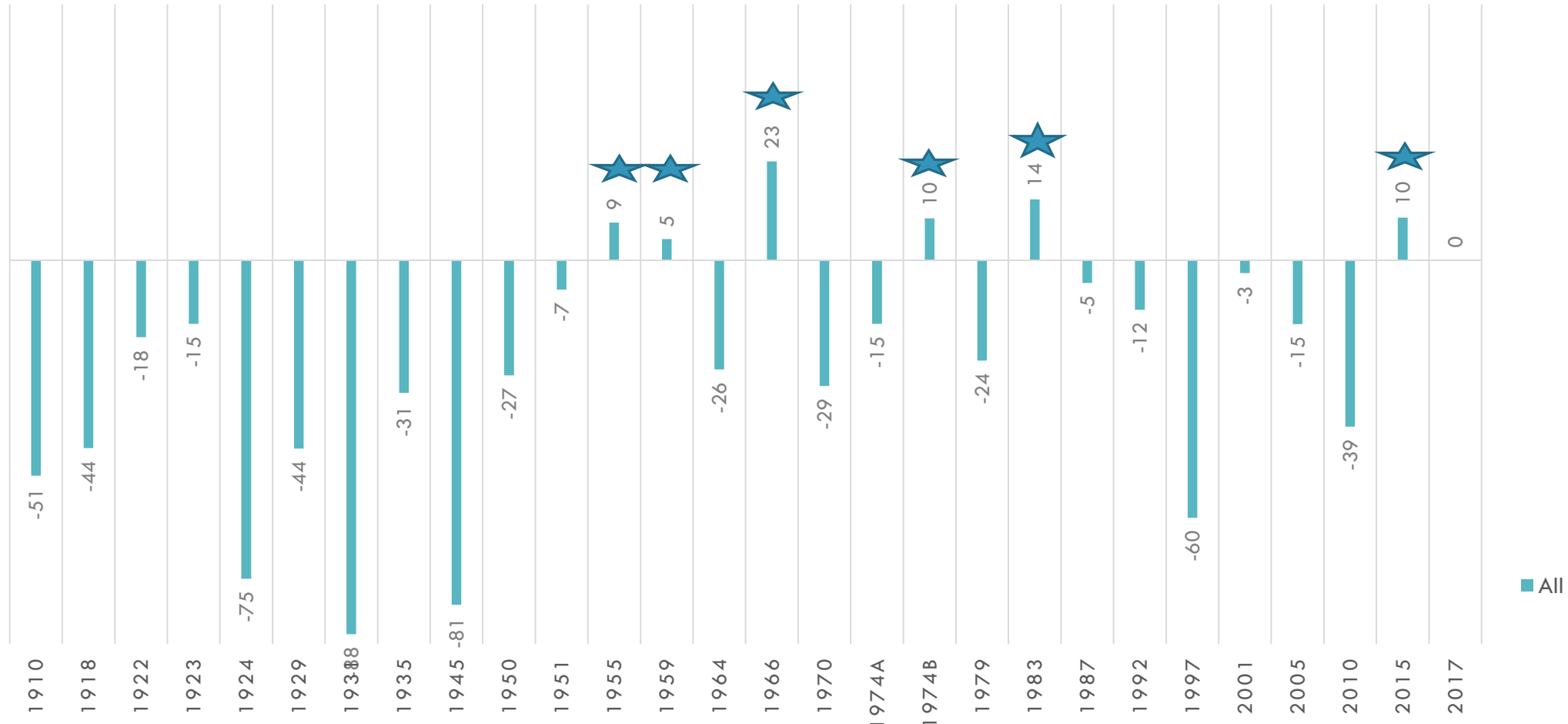
To study the All on timeline we chose UK as the first case study as this was the origin of FPTP elections based on Westminster model. The question was; if UK elections are in healthy state of affairs; then are they still giving “Pro-Incumbent” verdict? If yes; are these generic; or odd? If odd; then do we have strong logical explanations for those “odd” results?

Very rarely UK elections have given “Pro-Incumbent” verdict with +ve All.

The verdicts favouring the incumbent had the following attributes:

- Post War Elections
- Delimitation
- Mid-Term Elections
- Referendums

# THE LAST 100 YEARS



# WHAT DO WE LEARN?

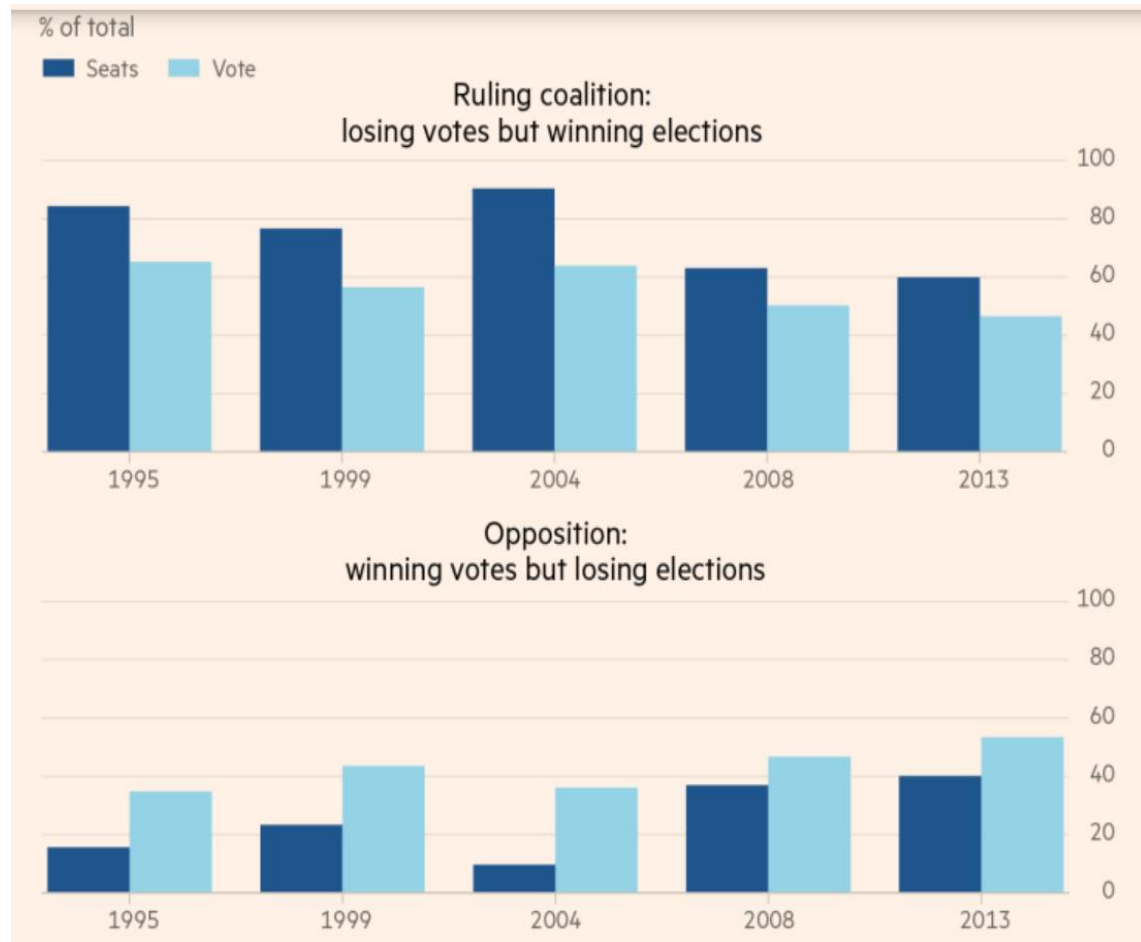
- Labour came back to power but with a negative All= Healthy Democracy
- Government losing with a negative All= Healthy Democracy
- When we see a positive All, it has to be investigated and backed up sufficient reason.
- In 2005; the All in UK was seen to be quiet high even though the Labour had bounced back to power. It duly represented the undercurrent even though the electoral surface looked still.
- Same holds true for the consecutive Tory governments.
- Further exploration pointed out that threshold of anti-incumbency sentiment where the change of government might take place was very much at the tipping point resulting in the labour defeat in subsequent elections.
- In 2015, the All resulted in a positive 10 as the SNP cut into the labour vote and seats, riding high on the historical Scottish referendum. If we calculate All for the rest of the UK excluding Scotland, it result in a “healthy” negative value.
- 2017, the All has come down to 0 due to the other historic referendum i.e. BREXIT

# MALAYSIA

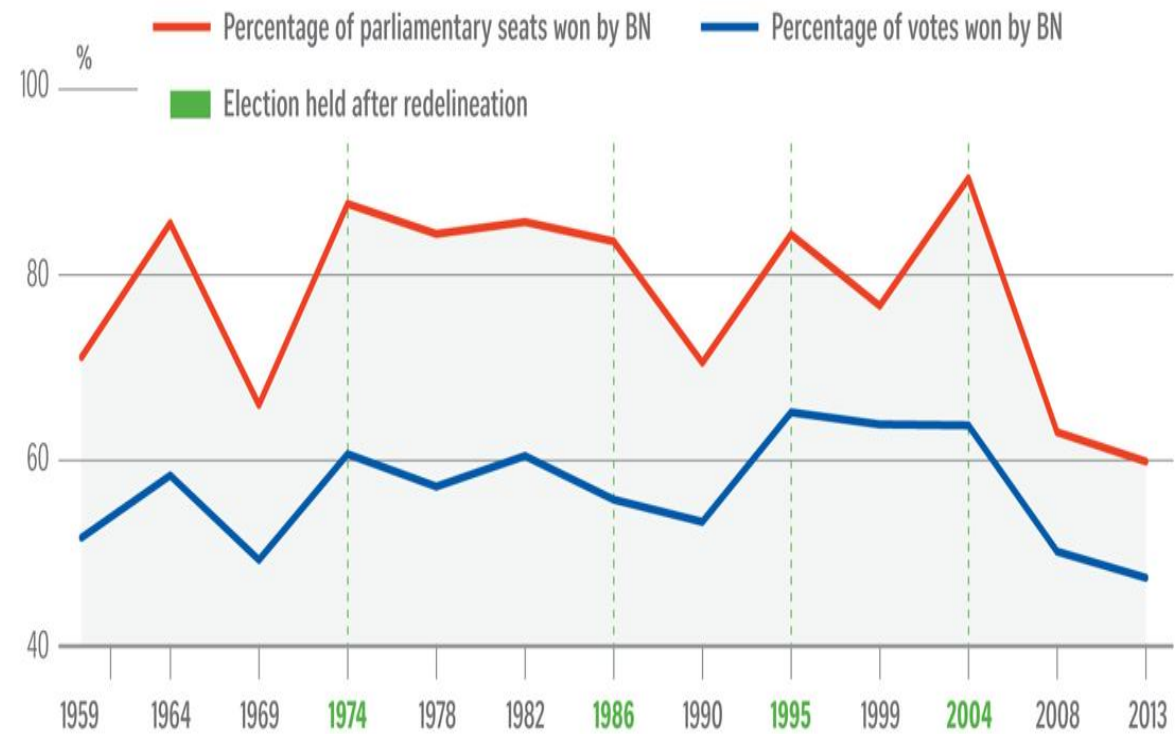
- Malaysia's predominant political party, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), held power in the coalition known as the Barisan Nasional (with other parties since Malaya's independence in 1957 until 2018. In 1973, the Barisan Nasional became a umbrella party accommodating fourteen parties. Today the Barisan Nasional coalition has three prominent members – the UMNO, MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association) and MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress).
- This is the first time since its independence that a non-UMNO/BN coalition has formed the government



# 2013 AND 2018: WHAT WAS DIFFERENT?

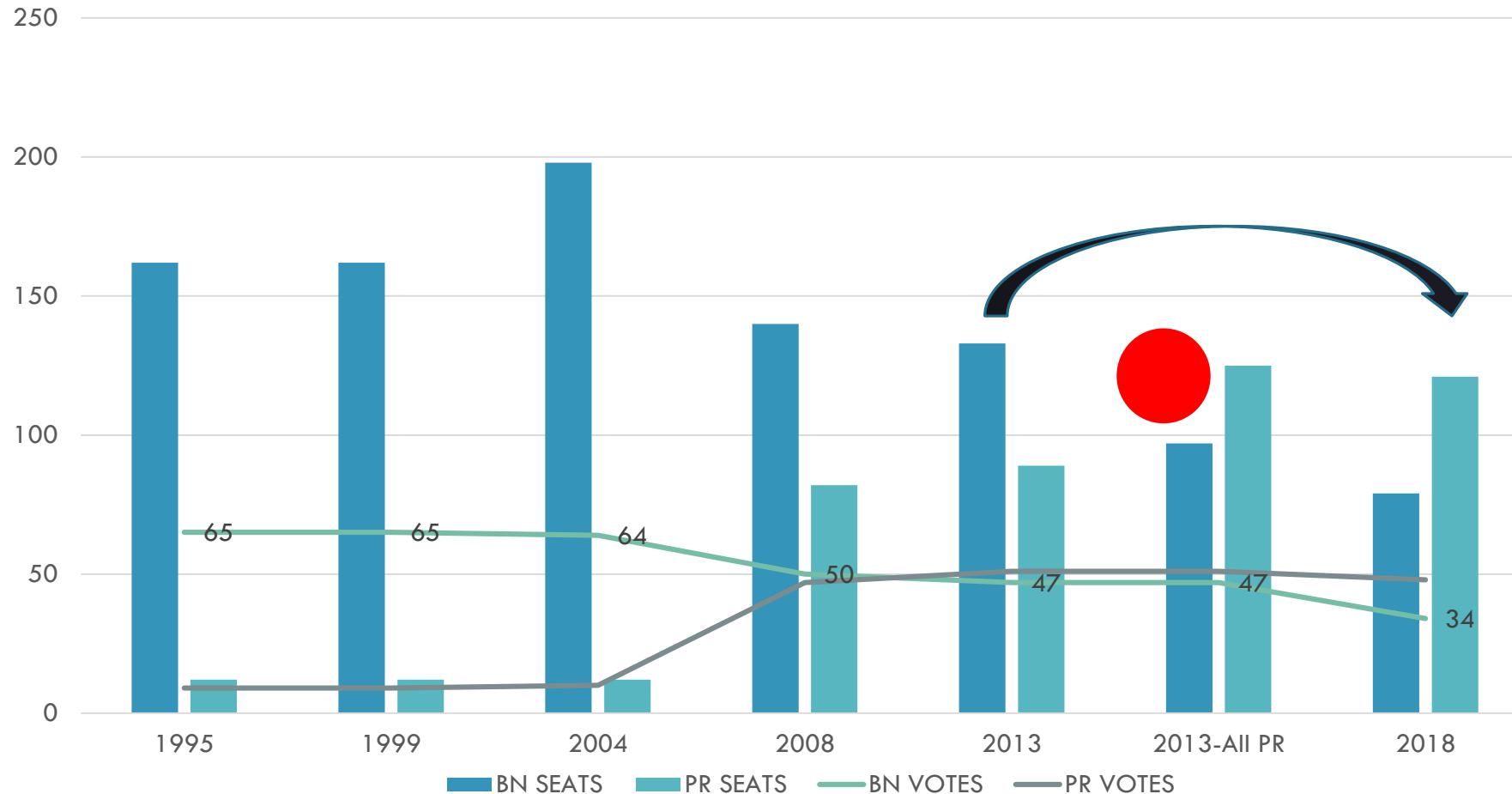


## BN election results after redelineation



Sources: BERSIH 2.0, INSTITUT DARUL EHSAN STRAITS TIMES GRAPHICS

AS PER THE AII CALCULATION; AT THE 'TIPPING POINT' THE PR SEATS SHARE SHOULD HAVE BEEN 125 INSTEAD OF JUST 89 WHILE THE BN SEAT SHARE SHOULD HAVE BEEN JUST 97 INSTEAD OF 133.

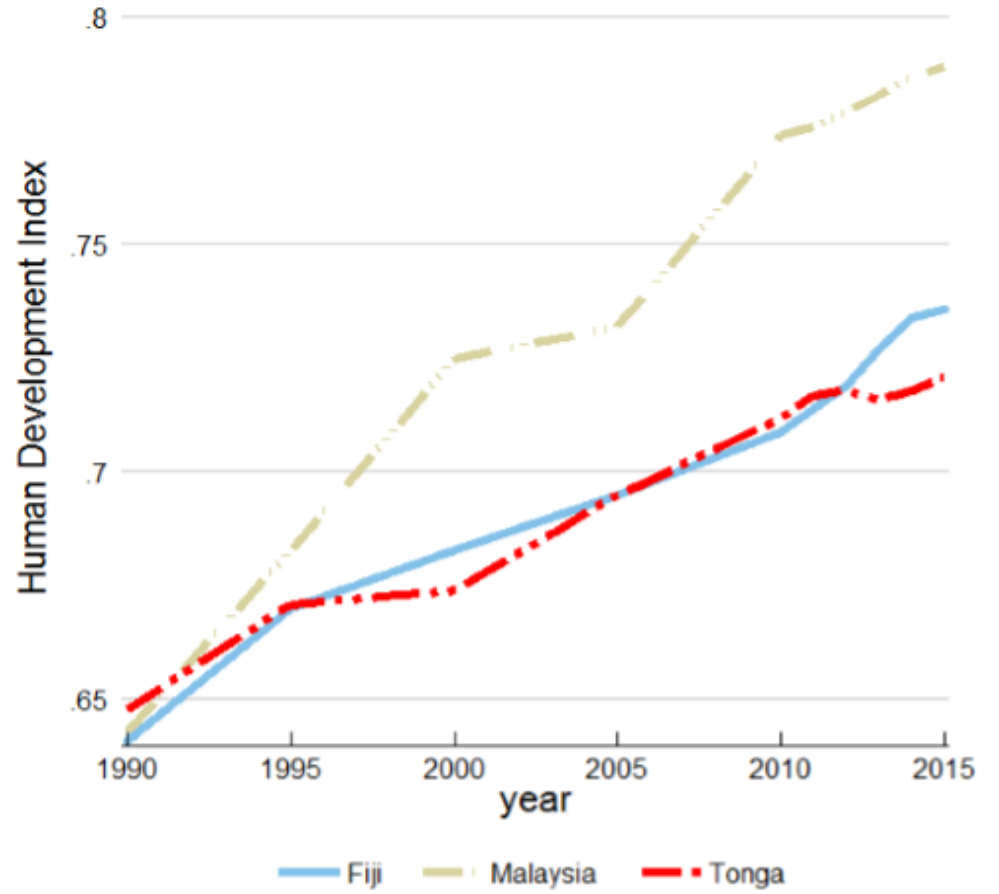
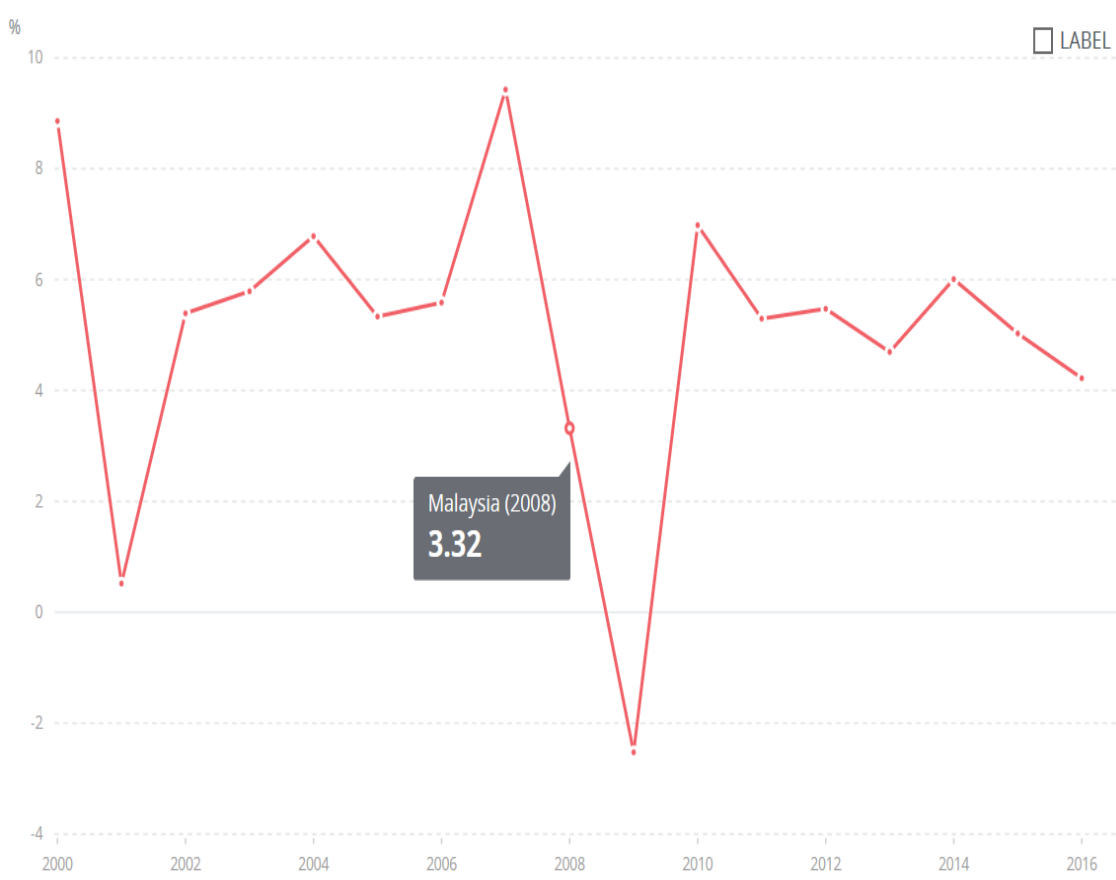


All Timeline in Malaysia Elections

# TAKING A CLOSER LOOK

Year	BN Seats	Opposition Seats	All
2008	140	82	-57
2013	133	47	2
2013 (All model estimates)	97	125	Should be lower than -57
2018	79	121	-67

# SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS



# OTHER INDICATORS

Indicator	Rank	Score
Corruption Perception Index	62/180	47/100
Freedom House Report	417	
GINI Coefficient	46.3	
Civil and Political Liberty	4.0	
Women Voting Rights	61 years	
Democratic Institutions Rating	5	
Last Voter Turn-out	85% (2013)	

# ALL MALAYSIA 2013

- Bad Ratings on socio-economic indicators
- GDP only indicator that was good
- All came out positive without substantial political, social or economic reasons
- Popular vote was not with Barisan Nasional

# SOCIAL-POLITICAL REASONS

- GST
- Consumption tax
- 1 MBD Scandal
- Corruption allegations
- Correlation with CPI and FHR
- The rural stronghold of the BN was dismantled by the presence of Mahathir

# ALL REASONS

- IOU higher
- Mahathir cutting out the rural vote base from the BN
- Gerrymandering did not work this time as anti-incumbency sentiment reached new highs in almost every region.
- Went past the tipping point in 2013 itself, it was long due!



# WHO'S NEXT?

