

THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL  
FACTORS TOWARD VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF  
MALAYSIA'S YOUNG VOTERS IN 14<sup>TH</sup> GENERAL  
ELECTION

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1MDB	1Malaysia Development Berhad
AVE	Average Variance Extracted
CA	Cronbach's Alpha
CR	Composite Reliability
ECRL	East Coast Rail Link
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GD	Government Debt
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GE	General Election
GSCA	Generalized Structured Component Analysis
GST	Goods and Services Tax
HSR	High-Speed Rail
HTMT	Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio
I	Inflation
MTMM	Multitrait-Multimethod Matrix
MXL	Mixed Logit Models
PHD	Doctor of Philosophy
PLS-SEM	Partial Least Square Structure Equation Modelling
SD	Scandals
SM	Social Media

SPLS	Smart Partial Least Square
STPM	Sijil Tinggi Persekolahan Malaysia
U	Unemployment
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
UTAR	Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman
VB	Voting Behaviour
VIF	Variance Inflation Factor
VL	Valence



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## PREFACE

On 9<sup>th</sup> May 2018, Malaysia's opposition party had won the former ruling party on the 14<sup>th</sup> General Election Malaysia (GE14). The result had been described as a shock victory because it had defeated the former ruling party which had wielded power for the past 61 years. The change of Malaysia's government had attracted the attention from the other countries such as Singapore and China.

The change of Malaysia's government party was the first time and never happened before. Young voters had occupied the major proportion in 14<sup>th</sup> General Election Malaysia. This motivates us to conduct a research to study on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters that contribute to a change of government in Malaysia. Furthermore, this research also examines how the exogenous variables (government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media) will affect the endogenous variable (voting behaviour). The targeted respondents are focused on the students, academic staff and administrative staff of the UTAR.

Last but not least, it hopes that this research project provides a clearly insight and understanding to the readers about what are the factors that drive the changes of Malaysia's government.

## ABSTRACT

In this paper, we examine the effects of the variables toward the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters who aged from 21 to 39. Based on this research, we study the theoretical and empirical effect brought by government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media on voting behaviour which ultimately influence the electoral outcomes. The reason of conducting this research is primarily driven by the interest to conduct further study on those relevant factors that led to the historic political change in Malaysia after the 14th General Election in 2018. In order to analyse the election's results and understand clearly the reasons behind this outcome, it is necessary to conduct a study on the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters who contributed the highest percentage of voters during the 14th General Election. Thus, the target respondents will be Malaysia's young voters who aged from 21 to 39 whereby Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR) population will be the potential survey respondents. In fact, there are numerous reasons that stimulate voters to voice out via democratic system which will be discussed further in this paper. In a nutshell, this paper provides a good foundation to politicians, different parties in the financial sectors and future researchers in political marketing literature and voting behaviour research.

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

The result of 14th General Election of Malaysia (GE 14) was a surprised to most Malaysians as the left-wing party had won in the election. With this surprised result, it had attracted the attention and concern from other countries especially Asia countries. The changes in voting behaviour of Malaysians especially the young voters drove the significance result of GE 14. Voting behaviour is explaining the behaviour of voters during the process of decision making and it can be influenced by many factors.

According to Johan (2018), the young voters in GE 14 has occupied a large proportion among the voters. Malaysia's young voters are dissatisfied with the performance of the post GE13's ruling party from different aspects such as economic, leadership, and government policy. However, the voters are more concerned about the issues that related to economy.

Based on the research's findings, the facts indicate there is an increasing of government debt in recent years under the economy aspects. There are four reasons that contributed to a huge increase of national debt which the ruling part does not manage the debt efficiently. Secondly, misappropriate use of government's funds. Thirdly, previous government party had an excessively spending on large-scale infrastructure projects. Lastly, the government had act as a guarantor for 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB). It indicated that the current government is responsible to pay for the debt in case 1MDB is fail to fulfil the obligation.

Therefore, in this study, it purposed to determine the factors affecting voting behaviour among the students, academic staff, and administrative staff of UTAR. This survey was carried out to investigate government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), unemployment, inflation, scandals, valence, social media and voting behaviour of young voters among UTAR.

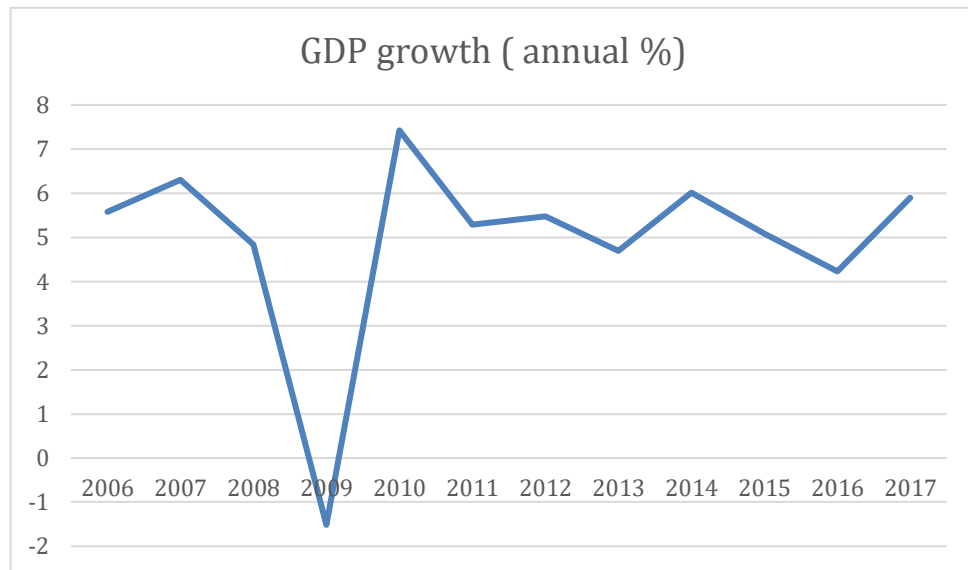
## **1.1 Research Background**

By reviewing major studies, results show that there are large empirical and theoretical literature examining the effect of elections on macroeconomic performance in a country. However, it is also found that the number of literatures which examines the impact macroeconomic performance on voting behaviour is limited. Hence, in this paper, we study and examine theoretical and empirical effect on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters holistically. A clear mind-set about voting system and political system of Malaysia is absolutely required to accomplish this task.

### **1.1.1 Malaysia's Economy**

In the financial sector of Malaysia, foreign direct investment (FDI), oil prices, inflation, and export are all popular macroeconomic factors that contribute to the country's economic development (Rahman, Majidi, Huiwaina, Harun, & Kasuma, 2017). Based on the report of Bank Negara Malaysia (2013), Malaysia is able to sustain a strong growth rate, which referred to an average growth rate of 5.8 percent annually over the last thirty years. Moreover, over the years from 1976 to 2016, the Growth Domestic Product (GDP) rate of Malaysia had been fluctuating continuously from 1976 to 2016, with great declines reported during the period from year 1984 to 1985, 1997 to 1998, 2000 to 2001 and lastly 2007 to 2009 (World Bank, 2017). (As shown in Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Malaysia's GDP from year 2006 to year 2017 (%)



Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators. (2017). GDP growth (Annual %) from 1976 to 2016 [Data file]. Retrieved from [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2016&locations=MY&st%20art=1976&view=chart&fbclid=IwAR2v2jSoNPXT95w\\_M02nPommOgKZsCQ5dFD6Zeiz5y59\\_K6XnToU1BVYcs4](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2016&locations=MY&st%20art=1976&view=chart&fbclid=IwAR2v2jSoNPXT95w_M02nPommOgKZsCQ5dFD6Zeiz5y59_K6XnToU1BVYcs4)

From the statements above, it showed that Malaysia was considered as a developing country with multisector economy backed by robust performance over past three decades since independence. However, the economic performance in Malaysia seemed to decline significantly thereafter, as reflected by GDP. According to Kana (2018), mining sector in Malaysia failed to sustain a consistent growth rate because of the unexpected supply outages; meanwhile the agriculture sector was also negatively influenced by both bad weather and constraints in production process. Since the GDP of Malaysia had been fluctuating over recent years, citizens started to worry and lost their confidence towards economic condition of Malaysia in future. Therefore, it even discourages citizens to spend and borrow money for making any economic decision and GDP of Malaysia ultimately dropped.

In addition, the plummet of the Ringgit worsened the economy of Malaysia and all imported raw materials and goods experienced cost push inflation.

The economy of Malaysia also experienced outflow of capital as foreign investors lost their confidence on the economic conditions and subsequently surrendered any investment in Malaysia. This further deteriorated the floating exchange rate. Consequently, government debt of Malaysia had reached very high level recently (Burhanudin, Muda, Nathan & Arshad, 2017). Most of the government debt comes from federal government's debt (federal government as a guarantor) which means there are huge amount of debts contracted by government-linked companies, especially 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) case. Such situation could lead to current account deficit and possibly financial crisis. The phenomenon is considered undesired by most of the citizens and they would re-evaluate performance of the party in power (government) in solving this issue.

### **1.1.2 Voting system in Malaysia**

In simple words, an election is a formal group decision-making process made by a country's population. This election is to choose individuals to hold administrative positions in public office. Therefore, every citizen is given an opportunity to voice out for electing a governing body through election. This process is typically facilitated by a system of government called "democracy". With democracy election, everyone can exercise his/her right in determining who governs them by guaranteeing certain freedom to the citizens while imposing legal limit on the government authority (Campbell, 2008).

Malaysia is a country which practices semi-democratic system in which both voting process and election are involved in parliament (Mohd Nur & Ahmad, 2013). In Malaysia, General Election (GE) is regularly held with a 5-year gap using the first-past-the-post voting system. With this voting system, voters will cast their vote independently to his or her preferred politician, and ultimately the political actor who gains the highest supports among voters obtain the governing credentials. To be a party in power, a

political party must win 112 seats or above out of 222 parliament seats offered in Malaysia.

### **1.1.3 Political change and election results**

Referring to the 12th GE results in 2008, we could consider it as the starting point for political change in Malaysia. According to Mohd Nur and Ahmad (2013), the ruling party's votes dropped drastically from 64% to 48.7% whereas these oppositions had been gaining more and more support from voters over the years. The ruling party had lost both important states of Selangor and Penang in 12th GE — 'victory in defeat'. This is because majority voters, especially for those who are young, are not only unsatisfied with the political system, but also their own financial condition. Choy (2013) emphasized that economy recession may stimulate them to change current political system as the government is incapable to control inflation. Researchers normally referred to unemployment and inflation to capture economic effects on elections and they have investigated that voters care more about their personal financial condition retrospective to their economic evaluations (Palmer & Whitten, 1999).

Thereafter, these situations above contributed to the first-time political change of Malaysia happened in 2018 where the 61-year monopoly by ruling party ended. One of oppositions won 14th General Election (14<sup>th</sup> GE) in 2018 with 113 Parliament seats (Teoh, 2018). From this, it signifies that there are increasing trend of public protest and dissatisfaction from young voters, and these stimulate them to voice out via democratic voting system for the change of existing political system. For instance, there are about 1.6 million newly registered voters in 14<sup>th</sup> GE with majority young voters (Johan, 2018). Nevertheless, political leaders' negative behaviour and attitudes also spoil the image of their political party. This is because political scandal is a natural element of democratic politics. In addition, scandals will normally be magnified by journalists, pundits and mass public (Kumlin &

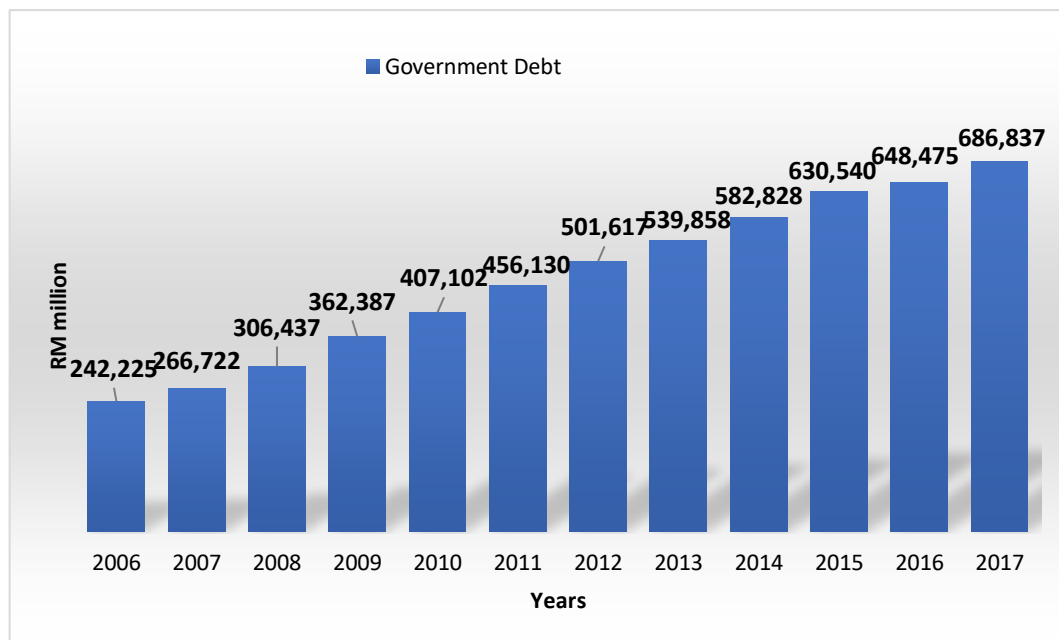


Esaiasson, 2011). In short, economy development and political stability on young voter's voting behaviour are the main focus points in this paper. In fact, political stability may also depend on economic development and vice versa. This is because inflation adjustment and quality of political leaders could improve economic development for a stabilized political system; good governance would stimulate economic development and growth for a country too (Choy, 2013). Hence, it is intriguing for us to study what are the factors contributing to new federal government (change in voting behaviour) in all aspect empirically.

## **1.2 Research Problem/ Problem Statement**

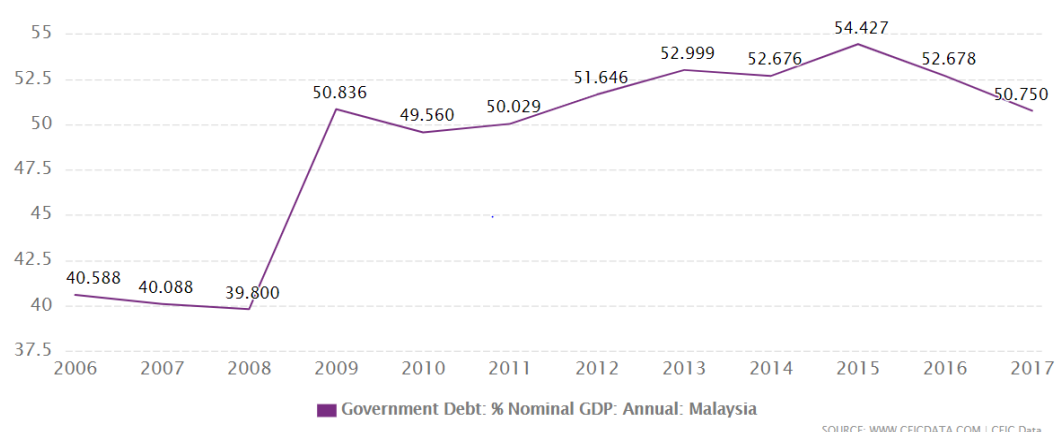
During the 14th General Election (GE14) of Malaysia, the controversial issues that have been discussed aggressively among the Malaysians include the domestic economic performance, corruption practices, government policies, and leadership personality of the governing party in Malaysia (Sharifah Syahirah, Idris, & Abd Ghani, 2018). According to Sharifah Syahirah, Fatimah Bibi, and Muhd Bazli (2018), the researchers had identified that most of the Malaysia's young voters are dissatisfied with the performance of the previous government in the aspects of economic condition, government policy, and leadership personality. Recently, the controversial topic among the Malaysians during the GE14 was the increasing of Malaysia's government debt. The Figure 1.2 shown the increasing of government debt in the recent years. On January 2018, the economist, Prof. Yeah Kim Leng, had brought up a few serious issues about the economic situation of Malaysia which suggested that the government debt of Malaysia is close to the critical level (Gomez, 2018).

**Figure 1.2: Malaysia's Government Debt in RM million from year 2006 to year 2017**



Source: Ministry of Finance (2018). Economic Data: Federal Government Debt. Retrieved from <http://www.treasury.gov.my/index.php/en/economy/economic-data.html>

**Figure 1.3: Percentage of Malaysia's Government Debt to GDP from year 2006 to year 2017**



Source: CEIC. (2018). Malaysia Public Debt: % Nominal GDP [Data & Charts]. Retrieved from <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/malaysia/government-debt-of-nominal-gdp>

Based on the Figure 1.3, the government debt in year 2017 stood at approximately 50.8% of Malaysia's GDP, which was very close to the maximum level of 80% for

developing country (Khor, 2018). The government debt in 2017 was 50.8% of the percentage of GDP indicating seriousness of the economic condition of Malaysia (Khor, 2018). If the government debt keeps increasing, there is a high possibility that the economy of Malaysia will be worsen and therefore, economic crisis might even happen in the near future given that the government debt's issue has yet to be solved. Therefore, Malaysia government should be aware of this to prevent the government debt from rising above the critical level, 80% of GDP. There are several reasons that caused the increasing of government debt in recent years.

First of all, the huge increase of government debt may be due to the inefficient management debts of government and the alleged misappropriate used of government funds (Gomez, 2018). Not only to that, the reason of the increment in government debt is due to the excessive spending on the large-scale infrastructure projects such as High-Speed Rail (HSR) and the East Coast Rail Link (ECRL) (Malhi, 2018; Surendran, 2018). Besides, another reason that can be linked to this is due to the behaviour of previous federal government during the GE13 who promised to act as the guarantor of some government-linked companies and entities (Gomez, 2018; Khor, 2018; Malhi, 2018). This action had raised the government-guarantee debt from RM187 billion to RM238 billion in just one-year time from year 2016 to 2017 (Khor, 2018). If any of the related companies is unable to repay their liabilities, government is obligated to bear the responsibilities on behalf of them to repay their loans. For instance, Malaysia's government act as guarantor for the 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB).

Apart from that, most of the Malaysians is also unsatisfied with the economic issues that arose due to the changes in government policies such as high cost of living, increment of unemployment rate, and low income. Most of the Malaysians had tried to express their disagreements and complaints about the government policy which was the imposition of Goods and Services (GST) (Sharifah Syahirah et al., 2018). Price hikes due to the imposition of GST was concerned the Malaysians especially the low income group and unemployed group. The fact is that GST will undoubtedly increase the cost of living which burdens the citizens. Moreover, Malaysians especially the young working adults are also disappointed with the low salary rate and high unemployment rate in Malaysia which make them to be considered as poor

urban category (Ismail, Abdul Khanan, Abdul Rahman, Md Din, Ismail, & Abdul Razak, 2018; Sharifah Syahirah et al., 2018).

On top of that, the young voters also lack of confidence and frustrated at immature politicians of ruling party of post GE13 that abused their power and involving in corruption activities (Pandian, 2015; Sharifah Syahirah et al., 2018). There are various scandals have been investigating by Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) (Tan, 2018). According to MACC, almost RM2.67 billion in funds had transferred from 1Malaysia Development Berhad, a strategic development enterprise operating by the government, to the bank accounts of former Prime Minister, Najib Razak. Due to this 1MDB developments, the country's political establishment over decades of its ruling, has been shaken to a great extent whereby Malaysians are started to question about the 1MDB credentials and also the government's capability in country development (Chandran, 2018). MACC also discovered some of the 1 Malaysia Negaraku projects were not implemented. They believed that a total fund of RM25 million for 1Malaysia Negaraku projects were embezzled. Based on the investigation by the U.S. Justice Department, over RM18.36 billion flowed through some complex opaque transactions and fraudulent shell companies to the personal bank accounts of some corrupted politicians, including Najib Razak (Adam, Arnold, & Ho, 2018). The voters are also unhappy with the action of past government who tried to conceal information and also provide bias information to the citizens (Sharifah Syahirah et al., 2018). Anti-fake new law has implemented by previous ruling party which tried to protect themselves by removing those "false news" which is sensitive and provide negative sentiments to them. With regards to these negative sentiments, Malaysia's young voters have strong inclination to criticize the post GE13's government.

Economy voting seems to be the most influential factor in the GE14 as Malaysians are very concerned about the economy of Malaysia (Tuah, 2018). Malaysians always complaint about the high cost of living, increasing of unemployment rate, imposition of the GST, low monthly income and other economic issues surrounding their living environment, which is extremely significance for those young adults who work hardly to support their own daily expenditures. Thus, the economic

concern of Malaysia was a key factor that affected the electoral outcomes of GE14 (Jalil, 2017; Tay, 2018). However, there are still many other factors such as government policy and leadership identity that will affect an individual's voting behaviour apart from the fore-mentioned economic issues. Therefore, this research will be carried out to investigate how government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media have impacts on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. How does the government debt impact the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters?
- ii. What are the effects brought by Goods and Services Tax (GST) on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters?
- iii. How does the inflation affect the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters?
- iv. How does the unemployment affect the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters?
- v. What are the impacts brought by scandals on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters?
- vi. How does the valence influence the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters?
- vii. What are the effects brought by social media on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters?

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

### **1.4.1 General Objective**

Throughout this research, the primary goal to be achieved is to gain a comprehensive idea of what are those economic and social determinants that affect the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters. With this study, it helps us to gain a clearer mind-set on the factors behind the historical change of Malaysia's parliament control in 2018's election after 61 years of ruling by the former ruling party since Malaysia achieved independence in year 1957. Specifically, it will reveal answer of the research questions on how the government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media affect the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To obtain a clearer insight about the effect of government debt on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.
- ii. To discover the impact of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.
- iii. To identify the relationship between inflation and voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.
- iv. To observe the impact of unemployment on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.
- v. To determine how scandals affect voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.
- vi. To highlight the effect brought by the valence to the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.
- vii. To prove the effect of social media on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.

## **1.5 Significances of the study**

This research is to provide theoretical contribution in understanding the relevant factors that will affect the voting behaviour of young voters in Malaysia. Government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media are chosen as the factors and are believed to have a significant relationship with the voting behaviour.

This study will be significant to politicians as it gives a clearer picture of which variable is the strongest determinant that may affect the voting behaviour. According to Safiullah, Pathak, Singh, and Anshul (2016), politicians are able to notice which dimensions will be the most concerned by the voters to vote during election through considering all the significant factors. Thus, politicians can formulate the best political marketing strategy to influence voters' mind after comprehending the needs of the voters through studying this research. Additionally, politicians will get to know which dimensions can assist them to strengthen their relationship with voters.

This study will provide a better picture for ruling party on knowing the perceived views of the voters. (Talving, 2017). Apart from that, ruling party able to know which dimensions will cause voters to lose confidence toward ruling party through comprehending all the significant determinants in this research. With a better understanding of the factors that affect the election outcome, ruling party can implement a better policy to sustain the Malaysia's economy which able to woo voters. Furthermore, this research also significant to ruling party who intend to build up a strong reputation in the eyes of the voters.

Also, this research will be noteworthy to citizens as it provides a better overview of perceiving the governing competence of politicians and governments through observing the Malaysia's economy. With this study, citizens acquire knowledge about the importance of exercising their voting right toward the election result in

Malaysia. Therefore, citizens will use their own authority to vote wisely and also voice out their concern toward the election. Apart from that, citizens will gain knowledge about electoral issue and related important information through studying this research.

Moreover, this study specifically studies seven independent variables which are government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media in order to figure out the impact on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. Combination of these seven independent variables had never been investigated previously in a study by past researchers. So, this research can be used as a reference or guideline for those future journalists who intend to investigate in such similar topic (Tucker, 2004).

## **1.6 Conclusion**

In sum, this chapter is explained about the research background, research problems, research questions and also objectives of this research. The significance of study had explained how this report can be used as a guideline for related parties in a later time. The next chapter will further discuss about the endogenous variable and exogenous variables.



## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, the focus is on the regressand and regressors based on the past empirical studies from the journals and articles. Moreover, a new conceptual framework will be created by referring the relevant theoretical framework. Hypothesis development which evaluate the relationship between the endogenous variable and exogenous variables will be shown in chapter 2.

### **2.1 Underlying Theories**

#### **2.1.1 Economic Retrospective Voting Theory**

According to Dassonneville and Lewis-Beck (2014), economic voting theory is an ideal theory to explain the electoral voting behaviour which is derived from the economic condition. This theory highlights that the voters will judge the economic condition when the current government is managing the country hence only make the voting decision. In other words, the voters will punish the party in charge if the related party drive the economy condition decline by voting the other party. In contrast, the voters will reward them by remain unchanged the vote to the current party if there is a good economic (Lewis-Beck & Paldam, 2000). This theory can be applied in a democracy country which the citizens have the rights to vote. From the research of Nannestad and Paldam (1994), they concluded that the voters will gain more economic knowledge before the election. Economics become the vital factor which will reflect the on voting behaviour. Voters may target economic of a country in two ways which are economy growth and the policy goal (Lewis-Beck & Nadeau, 2011). Every party has their own views and ideas to construct the policy. Thus, voters

will vote to the party which has achieve policy goal and it will benefit the economy.

### **2.1.2 Spatial Theory**

Sanders, Clarke, Stewart, and Whiteley (2011) proposed that the spatial theory which emphasizes the voters' judgements about opponent parties about abilities to create an outstanding policy is crucial which will affect the voting behaviour. In other words, the voters will prefer a party which is more capable after they have judged party's performance. Preferences of voters always change and will not remain constant over the time. From the study of Chan and Suen (2008), they discovered that the voters' preference will be influenced by the social media and only make the voting decision based on spatial theory. They mentioned that the social media always provided the latest news which was related to the election to the voters. Hence, the voters able to receive more information and make a better judgement. A research which was conducted by Bourgeois-Gironde and Ferreira (2016), proved that a spatial voting voter able to change the voting decision since they may change the preference over a time based on the politician's performance.

### **2.1.3 Condorcet Paradox**

According to Guerrero (2010), voting incurred a cost for each voters such as it is consuming time, required transportation to the venue for voting and more. A voter who is rational and more emphasizes in self-interested considered as a paradox voter. In this theory, the voters assumed that every person will not impact largely on their voting behaviour (Feddersen, 2004). Besides, this theory explained that the cost spent on voting must be exceed the benefit gain in the last. In other words, a voter will feel regret after voting when realized that his or her vote does not influence the voting

decision of others. At the same time, the cost they had spent during the period was wasted and the result does not match with their expected result (Stephens, 1975). Thus, it will discourage the voters not to vote.

## **2.2 Review of Variables**

### **2.2.1 Voting Behaviour (Dependent Variable)**

In the research of Bulter (1955), the journalist mentioned that the electoral outcome can be measured by the voting behaviour in order to figure out which party will they prefer. Voting behaviour explained by a voter is switching the votes from one party to another party. The fluctuation of voting behaviour for an individual is very large and this instability will result an unexpected electoral outcome (Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc, & Pammett, 1982). This statement reflected the election of Canadian Election on year 1979. The changes of the voting behaviour towards the party which had a strong identification can be proved through the 27% change in government supporter compared to outcomes in year 1974.

Voting behaviour will be affected by many factors. From the previous studies, most of the researchers had highlighted that the government debt was one of the crucial factors that affected the voting behaviour. Different conclusion had been made among the researchers. Bartels (2014) proposed that the government debt has a positive significant impact on voting behaviour. The voters have supported for the incumbent party if the economic growth shows a positive sign and vice versa. For instance, the younger generation prefers to vote for the opposition parties if the incumbent party leads the country into a higher debt. Higher debt may result inflation, higher tax for the voters, and also higher interest payments. However, the older generations are holding a different opinion with the younger generations. They prefer to vote for incumbent party since they do

not consider and wonder how the impact of higher debt to the future generations (Fochmann, Sachs, Sadrieh & Weimann, 2018).

Moreover, Goods and Services Tax (GST) has been discussed by many researchers recently. This was a new tax system that enforced by Malaysia in year 2015, April. According to Rahman (2018), the voters have changed their voting behaviour from right-wing party to left-wing party due to the higher tax they had paid. For instance, from the research of Rahman (2018), he had concluded that the voter bears a burden due to the implementation of GST. Thus, it had led the voters not to vote for the right-wing party. Even though GST was able to grow the government revenue, it had transferred the burden to the voters at the same time (Shaari, Ali, & Ismail, 2015).

Unemployment and inflation of a country also will affect the voting behaviour (Aytac, 2018; Hernandez & Kriesi, 2015; McNown, 2008; Talving, 2017; Tucker, 2004). Impact of economy on voting behaviour will be dissimilar whether affect domestically or internationally depend on various country (Aytac, 2018). Unemployment also influenced the voting behaviour if the unemployment problem in that country is high. On the other hands, high inflation indicated that a bad economic condition and it will result a negative relationship between inflation and voting behaviour.

According to Ostwald (2017), he highlighted that the voting behaviour in Malaysia had been influenced by the party's valence and also the social media. A voter has a competence to make a judgement and select a party to vote according to the ability and integrity of a party. Furthermore, Mohd Sani (2014) has found that the voting behaviour in Malaysia has been influenced by the social media start from the Malaysia's 2008 general election. Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, who is the former Prime Minister pointed out that negligence of cyber-campaigning over the social media was the mistake that he did at that time (Gomez, 2014). It lead to the loss of important seats in the Parliament. It has a significant relationship between the social media and voting behaviour. Apart from that, the parties who are taking part in the scandals will affect the voting behaviour (Fernandez-

Vazquez, Barbera, & Rivero, 2015). From the result of voting behaviour on General Election 13 (GE13), Khoo (2013) explained that the party unable to achieve the ideal election result due to the dissension towards corruption which was happened in Malaysia. Last but not least, candidates' facial appearance is also one of the determinants which affect the voting behaviour (Laustsen, 2013). The candidates' attractiveness and voting behaviour are positively related to each other. This is because an individual appearance can indicate his or her role of traits. The voters will cast the vote to a candidate with a good impression.

### **2.2.2 Government Debt (Independent Variable)**

Government debt is one of the significant variables that used by previous researchers for determining its relationship with voting behaviour (Bartels, 2014; Fochmann et al., 2018; Mader & Schoen, 2015; Roth & Wohlfart, 2017). In recent year, government debt of Malaysia had reached a very high level and keep on increasing (Burhanudin et al., 2017). And this issue had raised concern among Malaysians. According to Roth and Wohlfart (2017), government debt arose when the government spending is higher than tax revenue. This may due to the tax revenues are not enough to cover all the government spending in which leads incumbent party to borrow extra money for overcoming capital shortage. Hence, it leads to increase the level of the government debt.

Moreover, Fochmann et al. (2018) stated that the government debt is positively impacted on the voting behaviour. The persistence increase of public debt today will lead to a higher tax and inflation rate in future in which will directly suffer those future generations (Fochmann et al., 2018). The researcher mentioned that older generations are usually voted for incumbent party than younger voters in the situation of the higher level of new debt (Fochmann et al., 2018). The reason behind this is that older generation sticks on their own advantages and does not have strong

intergenerational altruism to avoid shifting the burden of debt to future generation. The researcher also pointed out that the older generation are myopic as they do not understand that a higher level of government debt will cause an economy downturn in future (Fochmann et al., 2018).

According of the past studies, some of the researchers pointed out that there is a negative relationship between government debt and voting behaviour (Bartelys, 2014; Mader & Schoen, 2015; Roth & Wohlfart, 2017). Mader and Schoen (2015) identified that the right-wing party are strongly influenced by the voters who have preference over the government debt. Majority of the voters also concern on the indebtedness of a country because higher level of government debt will cause an economic downturn in a country. Thus, this phenomenon is undesired by most of the voters and they will vote against for incumbent party to voice out their perspective toward the accumulation of government debt (Bartels, 2014). In addition, Roth and Wohlfart (2017) mentioned that voters had used economic retrospective voting theory to punish incumbent party for running a budget deficit in a country which directly shows that the voters have raised up their concerns toward higher level of government debt. This indicates that the voting behaviour of the voters are largely depends on their preferences over the government debt in their country (Bartelys, 2014; Mader & Schoen, 2015; Roth & Wohlfart, 2017).

### **2.2.3 Goods and Services Tax (GST) (Independent Variable)**

The Goods and Services Tax (GST) is a value-added tax charged on most products and services for local consumption. Domestic consumers are bound to pay GST to the businesses providing the goods or services but is then remitted to the government as one of the country's income sources. GST has been widely discussed by previous researchers as one of the important issues that affects voting decision as it gives significant impacts on the citizens' daily expenditure and living standards (Pandian, 2014;

Pandian, 2015; Rahman, 2018; Sharifah Syahirah, Nur Ilyani & Azwa, 2018; Zaireeni, Ummu Atiyah, Mohd Azizuddin & Norehan, 2018).

According to Sharifah Syahirah et al. (2018), there are strong tendencies suggesting that huge percentage of Malaysia's youth was not satisfied and even criticized the leadership, policy and governance attributed by the post General Election (GE)'s government. The reason behind this criticism and negative sentiments is mainly due to the high cost of living suffered by some Malaysians in certain areas (Sharifah Syahirah et al., 2018, p. 187). In Malaysia context, the imposition of GST has brought significant impacts on most industries and individuals. This is because GST is paid and collected at all level of supply chain in the sense that all businesses is obligated to pay GST when buying any inputs or services for business purposes; while individuals who represent the end consumer cannot be running away from paying the ultimate GST as well (Shaari et al., 2015).

Over and above all of this, it is therefore suggested that the implementation of GST, is a significant economic issue of the country that influences the citizens' voting behaviour. Based on the opinion of Rahman (2018), economic difficulties and the increment in living costs attributed by the GST introduction are the major reasons that Malaysia's young voters to vote against the post government during GE14. Furthermore, Pandian (2014) pointed out that citizens' voting behaviour is usually sensitive towards the implementation of government policies as it might bring influential effects on the national economy and citizens' welfare. This is supported by the research's results suggesting the 'general goods price increases' as one of the five main issues that impact the voters in future election processes.

Apart from that, Rahman (2018) also suggested that the soaring costs of living due to the introduction of GST and corruption were two main issues for voting against the post government of GE13, especially among the Malay voters. Since the implementation of GST, the increased living costs and its disproportionate impacts towards Malaysia's citizens have led to the

decision of voting for the opposition in order to save themselves from the 'GST burdens'.

#### **2.2.4 Inflation (Independent Variable)**

Inflation is an indicator of the economic performance for a country which directly affects the voter's voting behaviour when making their voting decision. Economic condition is always a key determinant to help the voter make decision (Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2000). Voters will judge economic performances of the government before they make their decision. The governments get punished for bad economic policy vice versa (Dassonneville & Lewis-Beck, 2014). Roth (2011) had clarified that inflation is a key that impacts on the electoral outcomes due to the voter perception on economic voting. Thus, it is important to determine the impact of inflation on voting behaviour.

According to Hibbs (2000), the researchers had determined that the inflation will affect the voting behaviour of voters which directly alters electoral outcome. There was a significant relationship between the inflation rate and voting behaviour. McNown (2008) stated that the national economic variable, inflation has significant effect on the state's election. High inflation rates harm the voters, so it has negative impact on incumbent party's vote results. Based on Fair (1988) and Fair (2004), he had stated that high inflation caused the governing party to lose its vote share in both of his studies.

Furthermore, Letha Kannan (2009) investigated that high inflation has significant impact on voting behaviour. Voters sensitively responded to the economic performance which induced their voting behaviour (Dassonneville & Lewis-Beck, 2014). The incumbent party was penalized when there was an inflation since voters think that the incumbent government is responsible for maintaining healthy economic. Thus, there is



a higher possibility the vote against the incumbent party due to the voter's dissatisfaction to the economic condition of country (Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2000).

Veiga and Veiga (2004) had stated that the economic performance of incumbent government was a factor that influenced the voting decisions of the voters. The incumbent government are punished by the voters when inflation happened. Inflation and vote share are highly correlated (Cameron & Crosby, 2000). Thus, it is important to know the impact of inflation towards the voting behaviour of voters. The higher inflation will causes the higher probability of incumbent to lose their seat (Murillo & Visconti, 2017). Besides, Aytaç (2018) had concluded that the democracy theories strongly prove the voters are responsive to the government's performance especially economy performances.

In contrast, there are several researchers concluded that inflation is not an essential indicator of economic performance which may affect the voting behaviour. Roth (2011) had concluded that inflation is not an important consideration in their model. Moreover, the impact of the inflation is not significant since it gives different effects in different segments (Cebula, 2004). However, inflation still an important factor to be studied in this research. Hernández and Kriesi (2015) had clarified that electoral outcome was based on the voter perception towards the economy performance of the incumbent's government. The incumbent's government has been punished heavily in the great recession. Economic condition causes differences in voting patterns among countries (Hernández & Kriesi, 2015).

A great recession has strong negative economic effect on the voting behaviour. However, there is an argument proposed that the government less control on the national economy lead to the economy voting less likely to be an important factor impact the electoral outcome. Difference country have difference impact of economy on electoral outcome with the voter's perception on economic voting. Voter is voting with their economic consideration (Matsheka & Botlhomilwe, 2000).

### **2.2.5 Unemployment (Independent Variable)**

Unemployment is the crucial variable in determining its relationship with voting behaviour which is always being used by the previous researchers. Unemployment is defined as an individual who is able to work yet does not obtain a job. Recently, the unemployment issue became a growing concern for Malaysians. The number of graduate students is continue increasing while only half of the students is able to get a secure job (Shanmugam, 2017). In Malaysia, the unemployment rate for youths is three times higher than the national unemployment rate. According to the Burden and Wilchowsky (2014), unemployment rate is the most popular key indicator to be used in economic voting as it represents the macroeconomic performance.

From the previous studies, it can be concluded that unemployment and voting behaviour have a negative relationship whereby voters will vote for incumbent government (Becher & Donnelly, 2013; Dassonneville & Lewis-Beck, 2014; Elinder, 2010; Jordahl, 2006; Kavser, 2014; Lewis-Beck, Ragusa & Tarpey, 2016; Tucker & Scholar, 2004; Stegmaier, 2000; Wright, 2010). According to Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000), the voting behaviour which affects the electoral outcomes are strongly responsive to its home country unemployment level. A low unemployment among citizens indicates there more job opportunities. Voters will tend to support the present government when the job growth is increasing. In contrast, a high unemployment rate will discourage the voters to vote for them (Tucker & Scholar, 2004). This is because the high unemployment rate shows bad economic condition. At the same time, the reported crimes will increase since the citizens are facing the problem of jobless.

Apart from that, Wright (2010) highlighted that the larger vote shares of left-wing parties will be driven by the high unemployment rate. Left-wing parties were referred to the non-government parties. Same goes to Becher

and Donnelly (2013) research, they had found that there is one percentage chance of increase in unemployment rate when the economic growth is decline, it reflects a direct impact on the vote share of left-wing party positively. Elinder (2010) also had concluded that the vote share for incumbent government will increase if the unemployment rate is decline. Moreover, an unemployed individual will prefer to vote for left-wing party compared to an employed individual (Jordahl, 2006). The researchers had mentioned that the government's capability and competence can be proved by some of the macroeconomic variables such as unemployment rate. A voter who is accompanied by low political sophistication is less likely to vote for left-wing party (Ragusa & Tarpey, 2016).

Becher and Donnelly (2013) concluded that economic voting which the voters prefer to vote for an incumbent party based on the country's economic condition. Dassonneville and Lewis-Beck (2014) proved that increasing unemployment rate indicates there is a bad economic condition while decreasing unemployment rate shows economy growth. From this research, the evaluation of the economic by citizens will have a significant impact on the voting behaviour of voters. Moreover, the incumbent will gain more support if the real unemployment rate is lower than the expected rate (Ragusa & Tarpey, 2016). The support given can be considered as a reward for the government to solve the unemployment problem while the punishment will be treated if the problem is getting worst. (Wright, 2010). In the research of Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000), they had done their research in different countries which include United States, Britain, France, and also Denmark. However, the result obtained was the same whereby the unemployment rate is an indicator for economic condition affecting the decision of voters to vote incumbent government.

### **2.2.6 Scandals (Independent Variable)**

Besides, scandals are considered by most of researchers in affecting the voter's voting behaviour during the general election. This is because most of the prior research about the impacts of scandals on congressional election indicate that scandals have a negative effect on voting behaviour. For instance, citizens prefer to elect the incumbent that is not engaged in any illicit activity (Basinger, 2012; Fernandez-Vazquez et al., 2015; Pattie & Johnston, 2012; Vivyan & Wagner, 2012). Meanwhile, there are several types of scandals to be identified, for example, corruption scandal, expenses scandal, financial scandal, sex scandal, political scandal and so forth (Basinger, 2012).

According to the Kumlin and Esaiasson (2011), political scandal is considered as a natural element of democratic politics. Undoubtedly, breaking news or scandals of illegal behaviour that involve a political incumbent will definitely lead to public anger. This is because there is a mistrust on the elected incumbent by public and they will be disappointed. Nevertheless, scandals will receive much attention from journalists, pundits and mass publics to be spread widely (Kumlin & Esaiasson, 2011). Given that journalists and pundits devote so much energy to scandals, this even makes the civilians become more aware about the results of election, stimulating them to voice their opinion through voting system in such democracy. For the case in Mexico, Chong, De La O, Karlan, and Wantchekon (2015) also mentioned that corruption scandal will tend to reduce the support received by an incumbent party during an election, at the same time it changes ones' voting behaviour with decreasing voter turnout.

After a scandal emerges, support for the "corrupt" candidates will drastically drop to some extent as their voters are disappointed at large (Jeong, 2013). However, scandals related to candidates' integrity may have different impact on civilian's voting behaviour across various countries. Yet, voters may still vote for "corrupt" candidate if the candidate is closer to

voter's own political preferences. For instance, in spite of declined voter support by 14.5%, the "corrupt" candidate, Lee Myung-Bak still defeated his opponent in the 2007 Korean presidential election when the BBK scandal involving Lee emerged (Jeong, 2013). This is because voters treated the BBK scandal as one of factors for making decision. In addition, there is also a similar case with Spain with mild electoral effects on Spanish's general election in year 2011 (Fernandez-Vazquez et al., 2015). In a contrast, Basinger (2012) found that roughly 40% of incumbents did not "survive" their scandals in the case of United States (U.S. House banking scandal).

On the other hand, it is also not surprising when corruption scandal could lead a decline for the support of challenger candidates (opposition). The opposition parties, who are not deeply involved in political system, would be jeopardized by any corruption scandals (Chong et al., 2015). In a corrupt environment, to persuade voters to vote for them, they will normally offer an optimistic prospect. In other words, they make a compelling promise to voters with better governance. This allows the voters to observe them and evaluate their capability to address corruption issue. Then, once the corruption activities reach an unreasonable high level, the voters would consider and mark them as "low quality" one (Chong et al., 2015). Hence, support for the challenger may also decline. From this, it shows that it does not necessarily have a positive impact on side of opposition politically.

In short, all researchers highlighted that scandals negatively affect the voting behaviour of civilians. However, it is uncertain and arguable whether the impact is either significant or insignificant. Moreover, voting behaviour may also differ across various countries due to different culture, politics and social environment. In other words, civilians in different countries would react to political scandals differently and so their voting behaviour would also be different too. Hence, this allows us to study the impact of scandals on voting behaviour of civilians empirically.

### **2.2.7 Valence (Independent Variable)**

Valence is one of the common variables that has been well studied on its significance on voting behaviour by previous researchers. Examples of the economic literatures are Butler and Powell (2013); Clark (2009); Clarke et al. (2011a); Clarke, Scotto, and Kornberg (2011b); Degan (2007); Ho, Clarke, Chen, and Weng (2013); Nyhuis (2016); Sanders et al., 2011).

According to Clarke and Whitten (2013), valence can be defined as the characteristics such as trustworthiness, honesty, leadership and integrity that are evaluated by all citizens based on politician's images, partisan attachments, and parties' actual and anticipated reactions towards country's issues. Moreover, valence has been distinguished into two categories, which are campaign valence and character valence respectively (Stones & Simas, 2010). A highly effective campaign which is associated with a greater media attention can improve campaign valence and positively affect candidates' incumbency status. Thus, citizens' voting behaviour might be influenced as well (Ansolabehere & Snyder, 2002; Carey et al., 2000; Cox & Katz, 1996; Erikson, 1971).

On the other hand, character valence which is referred to quality surpluses in terms of personal traits that has a positive association with voting behaviour. Furthermore, Nyhuis (2016) also suggested that voting behaviour is positively affected by the valence that is represented by the candidate's attractiveness and competence level as perceived by all potential voters. Interestingly, a simple multivariate regression model was re-analysed to include a quadratic valence term into the model. As suggested by Clark (2009), there is a non-linear relationship between valence scores of electoral parties and their vote results. To be specific, there is a "diminishing marginal returns" approach in the valence improvement and conversely, an "increasing marginal harm" in the valence declines. In other words, the greater the parties' valence scores improve, the vote gains by a lesser extent; whereas when the valence scores decline by a greater extent,

for example due to the scandal's involvement, the vote shares would decline by a greater extent, as being punished by citizens in terms of vote losses.

### **2.2.8 Social Media (Independent Variable)**

Social media is one of the significant variables that frequently used by the past researchers to investigate its relationship with voting behaviour. According to Stieglitz, Brockmann and Linh (2012), social media is the platform that enable politicians for sharing knowledge, experiences, opinions, ideas with potential supporters via participating in social networking site such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and so on. This implies that those potential voters able to receive meaningful information that deliver from the politicians through social media site in which will bring impacts to the voter's voting behaviour (Stieglitz et al., 2012).

Based on the previous studies, the scholar mentioned that the social media has a significant impact on voting behaviour (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Aronson, 2011; Biswas, Ingle & Roy, 2014; Cameron, Barrett & Stewardson, 2014; Gomez, 2014; Lappas, Triantafillidou, Yanas, Kavada, Kleftodimos & Vasileiadou, 2016; Stieglitz et al., 2012). According to Lappas et al. (2016), Facebook, Twitter and Youtube are considered as political marketing tools that used by electoral candidates to deliver messages to potential voters for interacting and influencing their thoughts and attitudes and win their votes. Additionally, politicians also can discuss or contact with voters as well as to disseminate important information for them using the social media platform (Stieglitz et al., 2012). Aronson (2011) proposed that the new social media can impact election result by providing information, shaping public opinion of candidates, boosting political participation and youth voter turnout. These studies states that the social media not only can change the way people think but also can influence the way people vote (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Biswas et al., 2014).

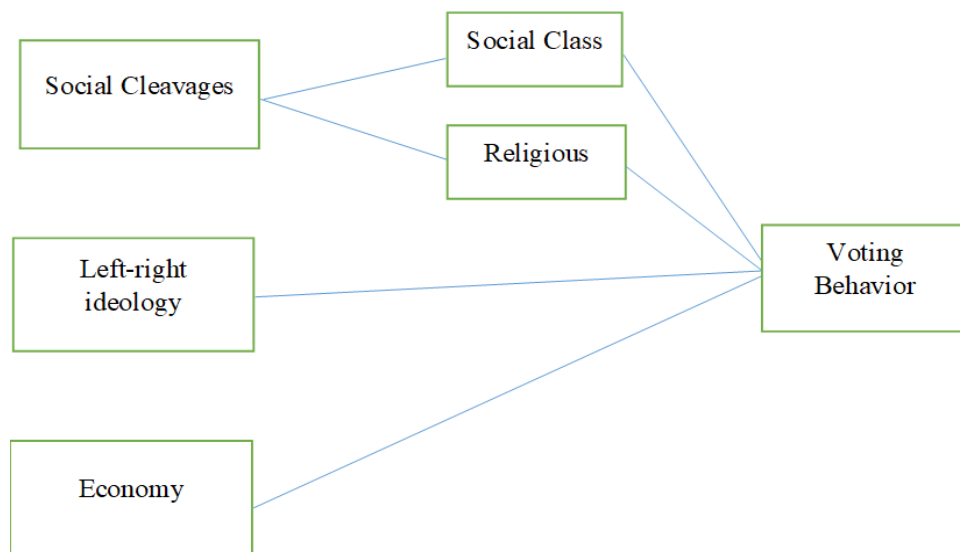
Furthermore, the previous studies highlighted that the social media has a strong positive correlation with the voting behaviour (Barclay, Chinnasamy & Pichandy, 2014; DiGrazia, McKelvey, Bollen & Rojas, 2013; Saifiullah et al., 2016). This research mentioned that the social media not only for citizens to maintain their public relations but also to use as an important tool for political parties for expressing their opinion (Saifiullah et al., 2016). With social media, political parties able to capture the favourable or unfavourable comments either from supporters or opponents as a guidance for him or her to participate in general election (DiGrazia et al., 2013). Cameron et al. (2014) highlighted that the electoral candidates have to build necessary social network to sustain their election campaign through to victory. For example, Barack Obama's use social media to influence voters which brought success to his presidential campaigns of 2008 and 2012 in United States. Below are the other successful cases of electoral campaigns which used social media as a platform for advertising during election. For example, New Zealand general election 2011, Korean election 2010 and Swedish election 2010 (Saifiullah et al., 2016). These historic election campaigns imply that how influential and powerful of social media is and reaches potential voters with election information (Cameron et al., 2014). Therefore, this shows that the electoral candidates have already changed their political strategy via studying the feedback online on social media because they think that the social media website has a considerable influence effect on deciding their fates whether to win or lose in general election (Barclay et al., 2014).



## 2.3 Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework

### 2.3.1 Review of theoretical framework

Figure 2.1: The impact of social cleavages, left-right ideology and economy on voting behaviour



Source: Nadeau, R., Lewis-Beck, M.S., & Belanger, E. (2012). Economics and Elections Revisited. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(5), 551-573.

According to Nadeau, Lewis-Beck and Belanger (2012), the theory of economic voting lean upon the standard of the reward-punishment model. This indicates that when the voters feel satisfy on the past economic conditions of the country, he or she will vote for the incumbent party. In other words, if the voters are not satisfied on the past economic conditions of the country, he or she will vote against the incumbent party.

In addition, the above Figure 2.1 shows that the social cleavages, left-right ideology and economy have a direct impact toward the voting behaviour of the voter. And social cleavages have divided into two segments which are social class and religious. Under the social class, it is categorized into five

scale of measurement which are working class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class and upper class. Nadeau et al., (2012) mentioned that the social class has a significant relationship with the voting behaviour. The higher the social class, the more the votes for the governing party, holding other variables constant. This may because those voters in the higher social class will judge rationally and vote wisely based on their knowledge in respect of the quality of political works that done by the governing party.

Furthermore, the religious variable is measured based on the frequency of attending church. The measurement divides into few times per week, weekly once, several times per year, annually once and never. This research highlighted that the religious variable has a positive significant impact to the voting behaviour of the voters. Therefore, the more religious practice experienced by the voters, the more the votes for the incumbent party.

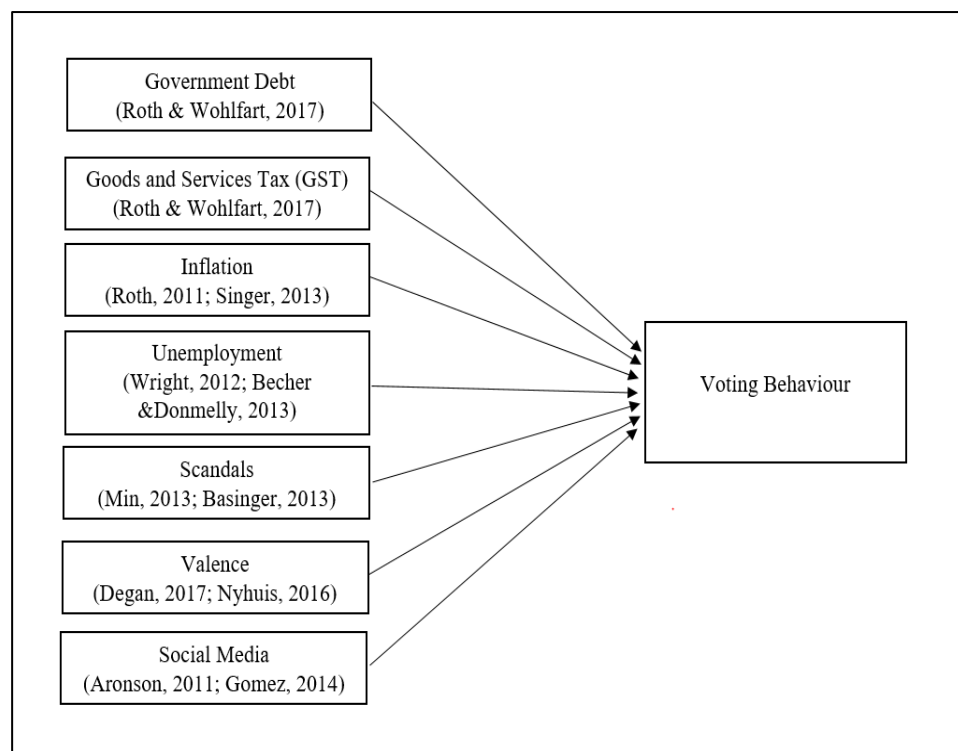
Next, the left-right ideology is statistically significant with the voting behaviour of the voters. This study points out that those voters with right ideology will prefer to vote for incumbent part whereas voters with left ideology will tend to vote against the governing party because they are more favour toward left ruling coalition (Nadeau et al., 2012).

Subsequently, the economy variable is measured based on the economic perception of the voters toward the past economic condition of a country. It includes four scale of measurement which are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied and very dissatisfied. According to Nadeau et al., (2012), the economy variable has a significant relationship with the voting behaviour of the voters. This means that the better the perception of the voters toward the country's economy, the more the voter will vote for the incumbent party. Thus, the findings indicate that the voters will reward the government for a good economic performance while punish them for a bad economic performance.

In sum, this proves that the governing party should focus on implementing what they promise during the past rather than empty plausible to the public in order to win the election.

### 2.3.2 Proposed Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.2: The relationship of the government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, social media and voting behaviour



Source: Developed in Research

In this empirical research, the proposed model is as above which include one dependent variable and seven independent variables. The relationship between the government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, social media and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour will be examined in this study (Refer to Figure 2.2).

## 2.4 Hypothesis Development

- i. *H<sub>0</sub>: There is no significant relationship between government debt and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*  
*H<sub>1</sub>: There is a significant relationship between government debt and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) suggests that the government debt does not bring significant impact on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour whereas the alternative hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) states that the government debt has a significant relationship with Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. According to the past study, Fochmann et al. (2018) found that the government debt and voting behaviour are positively related to each other. Fochmann et al. (2018) mentioned that when the country experiences a higher level of new debt which causes increment of vote shares of the incumbent party. The vote shares that attribute for the incumbent party are mostly vote by older generation voters. This is because older generation voters only stick on their own advantages and does not have a strong intergenerational altruism to secure the welfare of future generations (Fochmann et al., 2018). Another reason that they vote for right wing party is where they are myopic because they do not understand that the higher level of government debt will cause a worsen economic condition in future.

Subsequently, other researchers stated that the government debt has a negative impact on voting behaviour (Bartels, 2014; Roth & Wohlfart 2017; Mader & Schoen, 2015). Mader and Schoen (2015) highlighted that the incumbent party is strongly influenced by those voters who are concerned about the level of government debt in their country. The voters aware that the indebtedness of a country will cause worsen economic condition and this will directly affect their welfare in future. Therefore, voters tend to use economic retrospective voting theory to punish incumbent party for running a budget deficit in a country (Roth & Wohlfart, 2017). Hence, this shows

that voters have raise up their awareness toward higher level of government debt of the country via voting against the incumbent party (Bartelys, 2014).

ii. *H<sub>0</sub>: There is no significant relationship between the GST implementation and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

*H<sub>1</sub>: There is significant relationship between the GST implementation and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

The null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>) suggests that the GST implementation has no significant impact towards Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour whereas the alternative hypothesis (H<sub>1</sub>) states that the GST implementation has significant impact towards Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. Based on previous studies, majority of the researchers has proposed the significance of GST implementation on individuals' voting behaviour such as Pandian (2014); Pandian (2015); Rahman (2018); Sharifah Syahirah et al. (2018); and lastly Zaireeni, et al. (2018). These researchers suggested that the GST introduction as an important economic issue that will influence the citizens' voting behaviour.

According to Pandian (2015), young voters will usually pay more attention to the government's policy implementations and are sensitive on how these policies impact them, their families, ethnic groups and inter-ethnic relations when making their voting decision. From their perspective, the government's performance in macro-issue policy management like national economic agenda and general citizen welfare is a significant factor to be considered when deciding on whether should give continuous support to the current ruling party or vote for the opposition parties instead.

Moreover, Cham (1975) has also pointed out that the 1969 riots happened in Malaysia during election were mainly due to the economic frustrations of the deprived classes; whereas the main issue surrounded with the 2018's election was related to economic difficulties as well. This has further proven the significance of government policies' implementation such as GST in

influencing the voting behaviour of citizens as people usually give more concern on issues related to their daily survival such as costs of living. Therefore, it can be argued that an individual will usually give more alert on issues surrounding them which will affect their daily lives directly or indirectly (Zaireeni et al., 2018, p. 871).

Besides, Sharifah Syahirah et al. (2018) claimed that GST was a major issue that has been widely discussed among Malaysians who expected that this issue will be solved by abolishing it soon after GE14. The reason that it used the term 'solve' to refer the GST implementation is because majority of Malaysians is unhappy and dissatisfied with this policy as they think GST has created more burden to the citizens especially those categorized under low income and unemployed group.

Over and above all of this, it clearly portrays commotions and overwhelming negative sentiments against the government for implementing policies that bring negative impact on the citizens' welfare. Thus, it can be concluded that GST implementation has a significant effect on the citizens' voting behaviour as people are concerned about their future well-being by voting for a party who gives more concerned on the citizens' welfare.

iii. *H<sub>0</sub>: There is no significant relationship between the inflation and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

*H<sub>1</sub>: There is significant relationship between the inflation and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

The null hypothesis expects that the inflation is not significantly impacted on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. The relationship between the inflation and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour will be examined through the hypothesis testing. Reject the null hypothesis if the inflation and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour have significant relationship between each other. In this research, the inflation and the Malaysia's young

voters voting behaviour is expected to have significant relationship. This can be supported by several researchers such as Cameron and Crosby (2000), Dassonneville and Lewis-Beck (2014), Hibbs (2000), Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000), McNown (2008), Murillo and Visconti (2017), etc. They had concluded that inflation has a significant effect on voting behaviour. Economic perceptions can influence vote choice depending on economic condition such as inflation of a country.

According to Aytaç (2017), the government economy performance affected the voting behaviour of the voters since they are responsive to the economic condition such as inflation or unemployment rate of their county. Voters always punished the incumbent when inflation is increased (Veiga and Veiga, 2004). Letha Kannan (2009) said that government seem to be responsible of the economic performance of the country since economic concern of voters affected the voting decision. The incumbents penalized by the voters when high inflation happened (Fair, 1988; Fair, 2004). Besides, the reward and punishment of vote is varied to the economy performance of the government. However, there will have different effects of voters reacting to the government's economy performance among varied countries since the perception of the citizens towards inflation are not alike (Aytaç, 2017; Hernández & Kriesi, 2015).

- iv. *H<sub>0</sub>: There is no significant relationship between unemployment and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*  
*H<sub>1</sub>: There is a significant relationship between unemployment and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

The null hypothesis which is expected there is no significant relationship between unemployment and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour while alternative hypothesis expected that the unemployment will impact on the Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. In this research, it expects that the unemployment will significant affect the Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour which directly affect the electron outcomes.

According to the previous researches, majority of the scholars had highlighted that the unemployment brings significant influence on voting behaviour (Becher & Donnelly, 2013; Dassonneville & Lewis-Beck, 2014; Elinder, 2010; Jordahl, 2006; Kavser, 2014; Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2000; Ragusa & Tarpey, 2016; Tucker, 2004; Wright, 2010;). The researchers had denoted that the unemployment which is the key indicator as economic performance will reflect the election outcomes based on voter perception.

According to Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000), voting behaviour will be affected by the unemployment rate in a country. This statement becomes more reliable since this research was investigated from different countries yet only based on one country result. Unemployment rate and voting behaviour are showing a negative relationship whereby the higher unemployment, the lower the possibilities the incumbent government receive the vote from voters. Besides, the researcher had stated that an unemployed individual will prefer not to vote for incumbent government because they believed that the government does not manage the unemployment problem well (Ragusa & Tarpey, 2016). A rising of unemployment rate will lead to the vote share of incumbent government decrease whereas the left-wing party will increase. Economic voting had been mentioned by Wright (2010), which the citizens will support the right-wing party for encouraging the government to manage the unemployment problem well. However, if the country is suffering from economic performance, the citizens will not vote for the right-wing party.

- v. *H<sub>0</sub>: There is no significant relationship between scandals and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*  
*H<sub>1</sub>: There is a significant relationship between scandals and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

The null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>) states that the scandals do not significantly affect Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour whereas the alternative



hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) states that the scandals have significant impact on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. Most of prior research about the impacts of scandals on congressional election indicates that scandals have a negative effect on voting behaviour (Basinger, 2012; Chong et al., 2015; Fernández-Vázquez et al., n.d.; Hamel & Miller, 2018; Jeong 2013; Pattie & Johnston, 2012; Vivyan & Wagner, 2012). According to Fernández-Vázquez et al., (n.d), all illegal practices done by incumbent party will be punished by voters in terms of vote losses. In other words, well-performing incumbents are more likely to retain their position whereas the poorly performing incumbents (especially for those involving scandals) are more likely to be ousted (Hamel & Miller, 2018). This is because the politician's malfeasance acts are actually the reflection of his/her negative personal traits, spoiling his/her integrity or creditworthiness from civilians. That is the reason why Basinger (2012) found that incumbents, who "survive" their scandals, on average, lost 5 percent of the general election vote share.

Nevertheless, information about corruption scandal increases the voter turnout which means less voting. Chong et al. (2015) suggested perceptions of corruption scandal not only undermine voters' confidence towards corrupt incumbent or even party, but also erode the political system's legitimacy. There is a reduced confidence towards politicians, civil servants and even government's ability as civilians believe that those related authorities fail to act in their best interest for own benefits or fail to control corruption from happening. However, Bagenholm Bagenholm, Dahlbæg and Solevid (2016) argued that effects of corruption on voter turnout may be positive. When parties address issue of corruption in electoral campaigns, it will change civilians' voting behaviour by increasing the civilians' willingness to participate in elections due to increased awareness.

vi. *H<sub>0</sub>: There is no significant relationship between valence and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

*H<sub>1</sub>: There is a significant relationship between valence and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) states that the valence has no significant impact towards the Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour whereas the alternative hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) states that the valence has a significant impact towards Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. According to Clarke et al. (2011b), valence which can be referred to the party leader's image, evaluations on party performance regarding some country's important issues and party identification, is positively associated with electoral vote shares and thereby affecting the voting behaviour. With the application of mixed logit models (MXL), the analysis results suggest that the voters' perceptions towards a leader's governing competency have a significant linear effect on voting in the 2008 Canadian federal election.

Moreover, researchers found that valence plays a significant role in influencing constituents' vote choice, especially in American elections and legislative politics (Butler & Powell, 2013). This is supported by the argument saying that the party valence holds politicians accountable for the party's non-ideological actions with the legislators' electoral incentives that could possibly empower their trustworthiness among voters. Party incentive to improve party valence brand is primarily driven by the positive influence of valence on the incumbents' re-election prospects by building their constituents' trust through winning the media spin battle.

Last but not least, Degan (2007) argues that party with higher valence is more preferable among voters which further proving the significance of the valence in influencing the voting behaviour. Valence variables tend to create a substantially stronger direct effect on votes than spatial variables and thus, it is usual that the valence judgements become the core terrain when dealing with general election fighting among parties. Moreover, the research done in Canada and the United States had also proven the powerful influential of valence considerations in voting behaviour in other mature democracies (Sanders et al., 2011).

vii. *H<sub>0</sub>: There is no significant relationship between social media and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

*H<sub>1</sub>: There is a significant relationship between social media and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.*

The null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>) suggests that the social media does not have significant relationship with Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour whereas the alternative hypothesis (H<sub>1</sub>) states that the social media has significant impact on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. According to the past studies, most of the researches pointed that the social media has significant impact on voting behaviour (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Aronson, 2011; Biswas et al., 2014; Cameron et al., 2014; Gomez, 2014; Lappas et al., 2016; Stieglitz et al., 2012). According to Biswas et al. (2014), the social media not only creating awareness among public but also pushing people to vote for election. Gomez (2014) highlighted that social media provides benefit in boosting the youth voter turnout in which will lead to affect the electoral outcome. This is because majority of the electoral candidates will use the social media as a communication tool for disseminating political message to public for influencing his or her thought and finally affect their voting behaviour (Lappas et al., 2016). Thus, the more the people to vote in general election, the higher the possibilities that it able to cause a change to the electoral result (Aronson, 2011).

Subsequently, other researchers proposed that the social media is significantly related to voting behaviour (Barclay et al., 2014; DiGrazia et al., 2013; Safiullah et al., 2016). According to Safiullah et al. (2016), politicians engaged earlier in social media before election campaign were because they understood the more the followers that he or she gains through the social media, the greater the influencing effect on voter's mind with time elapsing. DiGrazia et al. (2013) highlighted that the amount of attention that the political parties received from the social media which able to develop in measuring of public attitudes and public behaviour. Therefore, the electoral candidates able to use this meaningful information to construct their future political strategies that favourable to the voters (Barclay et al., 2014). This

enables political parties to win more votes as they did a good job in respect of helping public to overcome their obstacles. Hence, this will affect the voter's voting decision as voters appreciate their contributions.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

In Chapter 2, there are three theories that can be explained the relationship between Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour and the other explanatory variables. Besides, it also summarized a conclusion of past scholars for voting behaviour, government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media. This chapter also provided the proposed model to examine the impact of independent variables on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, it will explain clearly the method used in collecting data and the sources of gathering data. It also will discuss about the data analysis tool that applied along the research. Besides, it also contained the information about the result obtained from pilot test in order to test the reliability of variables.

### **3.1 Research Design**

#### **3.1.1 Qualitative Research Design**

This research will conduct Qualitative Research Design which is used to examine the effect of government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media on voting behaviour. Flick (2014) pointed that the qualitative research is mainly focused on utilizing non-standardized data, texts and images to explain the subjective meaning of certain issue or practices, instead of using statistical data like in the quantitative research. Yilmaz (2013) highlighted that the qualitative research design is always used to conduct in the field of behavioural studies as the human interaction is much more complicated to be understood and analysed.

Moreover, the first advantage of the qualitative research design is having a flexible structure which enables those researches to reconstruct it again to a better extent (Maxwell, 2012). Additionally, those complex issues can be analysed completely and appropriately via qualitative research design. Rahman (2016) mentioned that another benefit of employing qualitative

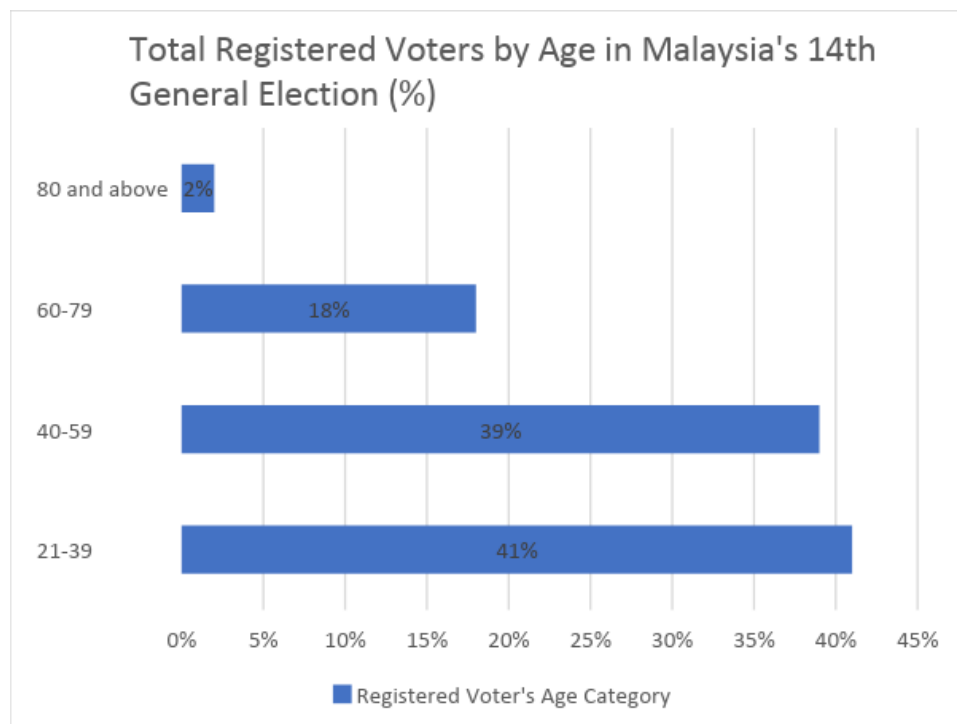
research design as it is able to generate a detailed description of those target participant's behaviour, thought, feeling and so on.

## 3.2 Sampling Design

### 3.2.1 Target Population

The target population in this study will be those voters with the age of 21 to 39 which are considered as young voters in Malaysia. Erlich (2016); Ramli (2018); and Rahman (2018) mentioned that those young voters who are eligible to vote in general election had played a crucial role in determining the election results. For instance, young voter helped President Barack Obama to achieve success in 2008 election and 2012 election (Pitman, 2015).

Figure 3.1: Total Registered Voters by Age in Malaysia's 14th General Election



Source: Chow, E. (2018, May 10). Malaysian Aged 21-39 made up majority of registered voters in GE 14. *World of Buzz*. Retrieved from

<https://www.worldofbuzz.com/malaysians-aged-21-39-made-up-majority-of-registered-voters-in-ge14/>

Figure 3.1 shows the total registered voters which are categorized by ages in Malaysia's 14th General Election. The chart above indicates that the 21-39 age category was recorded the highest total registered voters in Malaysia's 14th General Election followed by the 40-59 age category, 60-79 age category and 80 and above age category. Young voters are chosen as target respondents in this research is because they occupied the highest percentage of the total registered voters in Malaysia as compared to the other age category. According to Johan (2018), there were 1,672,622 newly registered voters for the 14th Malaysia's General Election. Additionally, majority of these newly registered voters will be the young voters. One of the reasons that lead most of the young voters to be the first time to take part in the general election may due to the high youth unemployment in Malaysia. The youth unemployment rate in Malaysia for 2017 is about 10.7 percent which is around three times of the national rate of 3.3 percent for a country (Raghu, 2018). This implies that those young voters have raise their concerns toward Malaysia's economy. Therefore, it is appropriate to choose young voters as the target population in this research for investigating the impact of the government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media on the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters.

### **3.2.2 Sampling Frame and Sampling Location**

Sampling frame is the materials' source from where the sample is collected (Turner, 2003). UTAR's undergraduates, postgraduates and academic staff between the ages of 21 to 39 will be chosen as our target respondents in this research. According to the Midterm Review Report of UTAR's 10 Year Strategic Plan, the races of total Malay and Indian has only occupied 8.49% out of UTAR population. Meanwhile, the races of Chinese have dominated

a large percentage of 90% whereas other races only occupied a small percentage of 1.51% out of UTAR population. Therefore, this research is expected to involve high percentage of Chinese respondents followed by the Malay, Indian and other races. Furthermore, UTARs which are located in Kampar and Sungai Long will be chosen as the sampling locations for this research. The reason for choosing UTAR as target population is because UTAR has a lot of young people who aged 21 and above and most importantly, they come from different states (Quacquarelli Symonds, 2019). Therefore, collecting research data from UTAR population is similar to gathering data among Malaysia's young voters from different areas such as east Malaysia and west Malaysia.

### **3.2.3 Sampling Element**

In this research, 400 questionnaires will be distributed to those young voters among UTAR population. Young voters are Malaysia's citizens who aged between 21 and 39. To be specific, only young voters who have experience(s) in participating Malaysia's general election with their vote contribution are qualified to participate in this survey. Therefore, 400 questionnaires will be answered by the target respondents in order to evaluate the effects of the government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour.

### **3.2.4 Sampling Size**

Moreover, the UTAR population which involves all students and academic faculty staff which are amounted to 21,605. The figure of 21,605 is in between the category of sample size of 20,000 and 30,000. Therefore, 379 questionnaires are needed in this research (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970). Refer



to the Figure 3.2. Meanwhile, this research will collect 400 questionnaires to avoid the issue of missing data.

**Figure 3.2: Determining Sample Size for a Given Population**

Note:  $N$  is population size;  $S$  is sample size

$N$	$S$	$N$	$S$	$N$	$S$
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	100000	384

Source: Krejcie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining sample size for research activities. *Educational and psychological measurement*, 30(3), 607-610

### 3.2.5 Sampling Technique

This research will conduct simple random sampling technique because it is impractical to study all the individual for the given population (Arnab, 2017). Besides, another reason for using sampling procedure is due to cost saving,

data collection efficiency and most importantly, ability to provide a reliable result for researchers (Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2010; Mugo, 2002). Thus, a specified sample size is collected from the country population by using this sampling method. It is considered as a fair way to select a sample size from a given population whereby every subset group has the equal chances of being selected (Sharma, 2017). This sampling technique, as according to Sharma (2017), will precisely predict and not deviate far from the original results.

### **3.3 Data Collection Method**

This research paper will use the primary data collection method. Malaysia's young voters who are a qualified voter from West Malaysia and East Malaysia will be targeted respondents for the survey questionnaire. In addition, the respondents must be a Malaysian who is legally eligible to vote with the age between 21 to 39 years old and had registered themselves to be an election voter.

#### **3.3.1 Primary data**

Original data which is collected by the scholars for the first time is known as primary data. There are four major sources of primary data such as observations, interviews, questionnaires and survey as well (Oluwatosin, 2017). Primary data will be collected through questionnaires from online survey form created through Google Form.

#### **3.3.2 Questionnaire Design**

Questionnaire is the most effective and the simplest method in data collection among the other possible methods. This is because questionnaire can be easily distributed and collected within a short period of time and

comes with low costing such as printing fees. Approximately 400 sets of survey questionnaire will be assigned randomly to qualified respondents in University Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR) which involved Sungai Long campus and also Kampar campus which its respondents fulfil the basic requirement as an election voter in Malaysia.

To enhance the data collection efficiency and effectiveness, an electronic survey questionnaire has been created via Google Form and several social media sites such as Facebook and WhatsApp became the major platforms to reach the optimum number of respondents throughout the data collection process. With the help of globally technology advancement, social media users could be easily invited into the survey participation and eventually helped in the data collection process.

Distribution of survey form through online tends to be a better alternative. This may because the online survey is more convenience which it does not require the collector to distribute the form one by one. Respondents may also fill in the form anytime whereas the collector need not wait for the respondents. Past studies from previous researchers will be referred in designing the questionnaire which is relevant to match with the main objective of this research. Hence, the questions will be developed with linkage to the independent variables that are: government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media.

### **3.3.3 Likert Scale**

Likert scale is a research instrument employ in the questionnaire. It is a type of rating scale to measure the psychological response of the survey (Barua, 2013). Two types of Likert scale are 5-point scale and 7-point scale. Respondents can express their opinion and feeling through answering the questionnaire with Likert scale. Besides, the advantage of the Likert scale is

providing high reliability to measure opinion, perception and behaviour. And, it ensures that the research instrument can be validated and interpreted via variety of meaning (Nemoto & Beglar, 2014). There are several Likert-type scale response anchors. In this empirical research, the level of agreement is used to indicate or rate on the perception or opinion of the respondents. The 5-point scale of level of agreement is as below (Vagias, 2006):

- 1 – Strongly disagree
- 2 – Disagree
- 3 – Neither agree or disagree
- 4 – Agree
- 5 – Strongly agree

### **3.3.4 Pilot Test**

Pilot test is a preliminary test before going to the actual data analysis (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2002). The pilot test aims to evaluate the acceptability, reliability, and validity of the research instrument. In this test, a small number of participants is needed to test and ensure the appropriateness of research method. Basically, researcher will use pilot test on rare and unexplored topic before data analysis. It helps to ensure that the research method or instrument can apply to explain the real-world situation. For qualitative study, the proposed questionnaire should easy to understand by the respondents. And, the question should be understood by the respondents in the same way. Pilot test able to assist the understanding of the respondents to the data collection instrument. The advantage of the test is to improve the feasibility and validity of the questionnaire. Besides, it gives warning if there are any error or inappropriate of the research method or instrument (Van Teijlingen, Rennie, Hundley & Graham, 2001). The process of the Pilot Test is as below (Peat, Mellis, Williams & Xuan, 2001):

Step 1: Design a questionnaire for the pilot test exactly the same as it needs to be examined in the main study.

Step 2: Collect feedback from the respondents to identify the ambiguous and inappropriate questions.

Step 3: Determine the reasonability with record the time taken to complete a questionnaire.

Step 4: Remove the ambiguous and difficult question from questionnaire.

Step 5: Confirm whether the range of response is adequate to the questions.

Step 6: Ensure the response can be interpreted for the required information.

Step 7: Confirm all the questions have been answered.

Step 8: Restructure or re-scale the questions that are not answered as expected.

Step 9: Revise once and if can run pilot test again.

### **3.4 Data Analysis Tool**

In this research, questionnaire will become the main method of data collection. There are several tests and analysis will be used to test the relationship between the predicted variable (voting behaviour) and explanatory variable (government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media). Smart PLS will be the main model to investigate and analyse the relationship between government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, social media and voting behaviour.

#### **3.4.1 Description Analysis**

Description Analysis helps to describe and understand the feature of the data set collected by using the questionnaire. Besides, it provides the summaries about the sample and measure of the data set. The descriptive analysis will examine both demographic profile of the respondents and central tendencies measurement of conduct. Frequency and percentage analysis will be applied

to analyse demographic profile of respondents. Central tendency and variability which include mean and standard deviation of each variable will be analysed and interpreted.

### **3.4.2 Partial Least Square-Structure Equation Modelling (PLS-SEM)**

Partial Least Square Structure Equation Modelling (PLS-SEM) is an approach to estimate complex cause-effects relationship of the multi-variables in a model. PLS-SEM can explain the casual relation between the multivariate models. Besides, it allows us to analyse model with the latent variables. Latent variables can be measured through proxies, but cannot be measured directly. The latent model usually used in several fields such as economic, social science, psychology, etc. The PLS- SEM includes two composition sub-models which are measurement model and structural model. Measurement model is used to determine the relationship between the observed data and latent variable. Besides, the structural model defines the relationship between the latent variables. The advantage of PLS-SEM is able to determine model with small sample sizes of data. Besides, it may examine relationship of the new exploration estimation model. PLS-SEM can result and use for out-sample prediction purposes.

#### **3.4.2.1 Outer Loading Analysis**

Outer loading analysis is to investigate the unidirectional predictive relationship between each latent or measured indicator variables and its particular construct. They should be highly correlated with each other. Outer loading is one of the reliability indicators. Latent variable can be defined from the nature of the indicators. In other words, changes in latent variables are due to the changes in the indicators. According to the rule of thumb, it is not surprising that the latent variable to be denoted for above 50% of each

variable's variance. Hence, if the outer loading value is higher than 0.70 which the number squared equals to 0.5, it can be considered as high satisfactory. Thus, it may remain the reflective indicator. However, for the outer loading value which is less than 0.40, it could be eliminated from the model.

#### **3.4.2.2 Reliability Test**

Reliability is one of the important features and concepts in research as it is used for evaluation of a research work and improving the accuracy of the assessment (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Reliability is also concerned with the capacity of instrument to measure consistency and it is also closely associated with its validity. In other words, an instrument is invalid when it is not reliable, but it is not necessary to be not reliable when it is invalid. This also indicates that reliability does not depend on validity of an instrument (Sharma, 2016; Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Consequently, a measurement is considered as high reliability when it produces identical results under consistent situation. For instance, the results produced are typically accurate, consistent, and reproducible from one testing occasion to another. Reliability estimates can be classified as: Test-retest reliability, inter-rater reliability, internal consistency reliability, and inter-method reliability/parallel-forms reliability (Tomasek, 1972).

##### **3.4.2.2.1 Cronbach's alpha (CA)**

In 1951, Lee Cronbach had proposed Cronbach's alpha (CA) which is generally expressed in figure from 0 to 1 to test the internal consistency of a scale (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). According to Sharma (2016), CA determines the internal consistency within a survey instrument to measure its reliability. In addition, it is one of the test reliability techniques which requires only a single test administration. In conclusion, CA is a reliability approach which applies to measure the consistency of a set of data for a

specific group at a given time (Brown, 2002). Table below shows the scale of CA and its degree of internal consistency which reflects the extent of reliability of instrument. As the value of CA increase, the instrument will tend to be more reliable and vice versa. If the scale shows poor reliability, the instrument must be re-examined and modified or completely changed as needed (Sharma, 2016).

Figure 3.3: Selection of coefficient of alpha to observe the degree of reliability of instrument

<b>Cronbach's alpha</b>	<b>Internal consistency</b>
$\alpha \geq 0.9$	Excellent
$0.9 > \alpha \geq 0.8$	Good
$0.8 > \alpha \geq 0.7$	Acceptable
$0.7 > \alpha \geq 0.6$	Questionable
$0.6 > \alpha \geq 0.5$	Poor
$0.5 > \alpha$	Unacceptable

Source: Sharma, B. (2016). A focus on reliability in development research through Cronbach's Alpha among medical, dental and paramedical professionals. *Asian Pacific Journal of Health Sciences*, 3(4), 271-278.

#### **3.4.2.2.2 Composite reliability (CR)**

**Composite reliability (CR)** is one of the popular measurements used to examine the internal consistency and reliability of the interrelationship between observed items variables (Ab Hamid, Sami, & Mohmad Sidek, 2017). The expression of CR is between the figure of 0 and 1, same with Cronbach's alpha. However, CR is also considered as less biased estimate of reliability compared to Cronbach's alpha. Nevertheless, as compared to CA, composite reliability is considerably a superior option owing to its ability to draw on the standardized regression weights and measurement correlation errors for each item. According to Ab Hamid et al. (2017), the



values of CR which is in between 0.60 to 0.70 are considered appropriate in exploratory research, while it might be 0.70 or above for more advanced stage. However, it is desirable when the values of CR exceed 0.90.

#### **3.4.2.2.3 Average Variance Extracted (AVE)**

Average Variance Extracted (AVE) is another reference to review convergent validity. Convergent validity is used for the measurement of several indicators' correlation level of the same model (Ab Hamid et al., 2017). According to Antunes, Caetano, and Cunha (2017), AVE is a stringent method advocated by Fornell and Larcker (1981). Fornell and Larcker (1981) also mentioned that AVE is more conservative than CR comparatively. This is because, when looking at the CR itself, the scholar may reach to a conclusion that the convergent validity of the construct is sufficient, even though error might lead to a variance above 50 percent (Clayton, 2015; Malhotra & Dash, 2011). Practically, AVE calculates the variance level found in a construct owing to measurement error. Its value ranges from zero to one, representing the ratio of the total variance due to the latent variable. For details, when the value of AVE is more than 0.7, then it is considered as very good; it is acceptable for the level of 0.5 and above (Ghadi, Alwi, Bakar & Talib, 2012).

#### **3.4.2.3 Discriminant Validity**

Discriminant validity is a linear discriminant analysis that is used to make evaluation between two measurements that supposed to have no relationship and are in fact, not related. In fact, this is a psychology concept established by Campbell and Fiske (1959) during their evaluation on test validity. It is extremely important to use both convergent and discriminant validation methodology during the assessment of new tests in order to prevent multicollinearity problem between two tests. According to Meirte et al. (2017), discriminant validity determines the competency to differentiate between

two groups with known differences by making comparison on these two groups.

Essentially, the shared variance between constructs variables and average variance extracted (AVE) should be compared so as to prove the accuracy of discriminant validity. This is because Farrell (2010) suggested that the discriminant validity will be verified given that shared valence is smaller than the AVE. Furthermore, discriminant validity is correctly and successfully evaluated given that a concept's test is low or not correlated with other tests that specially proposed to measure theoretically different concepts. As proposed by Pallant (2013), discriminant validity is the empirical test that proves if two theoretically distinctive concepts are actually unrelated to each other. In other words, a low correlation between two measurements indicate that the summated scale is totally different from other likely concepts. When it is proven that two measurements are not correlated, attenuation should be corrected in the correlation due to error caused by measurement.

Moreover, Campbell and Fiske (1959) mentioned that the reliability of x and y, which is also equivalent to the correlation between x and y can be used to identify the extent to which two scales overlapping. Generally, a correlation of more than 0.85 indicates that there is an overlapping issue between two measurements or in other words, they are probably measuring the similar stuff; whereas a correlation of less than 0.85 signifies that there is a high probability of discriminant validity existence between the two measurements. To further substantiate, two assessment of discriminant validity issues namely Fornell Larcker criterion and Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio (HTMT) will be further discussed in variance-based structural equation modelling.

#### **3.4.2.3.1 Fornell-Larcker criterion and Cross Loadings**

When assessing discriminant validity, previous researchers predominantly focus on the application of Fornell-Larcker criterion and cross loadings by using PLS-SEM. Examples of the use of PLS-SEM in previous studies were conducted by Adusei and Gyapong (2017); Marcoulides and Saunders (2006); Nitzl (2016); Richter, Cepeda, Roldán, and Ringle (2015); Sadidi, Khalilifar, Amiri, and Moradi (2018); Sarstedt, Ringle, Smith, Reams, and Hair (2014).

In order to prove the existence of discriminant validity, the correlation between dependent variable and all independent variables that are formatively measured in a structural model must be lower than the square root of AVE according to the Fornell-Larcker criterion (Ab Hamid et al., 2017). For further illustration, given that the correlation between two independent variables exceeds the square root of AVE, it indicates that there is no establishment of discriminant validity. In general, discriminant validity can be assessed by referring to the Fornell-Larcker criterion to compare between the square root of each AVE and the correlation coefficients for each variable in a variance-based structural equation modelling (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

Meanwhile, cross loading is another classical assessment method of discriminant validity that described by Asparouhov and Muthén (2014) as an application of “cross-loadings” in Bayesian structural equation models. Based on the cross-loadings method, every indicator should load highest on the construct it has been associated with, compared to other construct in the PLS path model (Wildt, Lambert, & Durand, 1982). Simply saying, high-precision should be placed on the loadings that would probably be fixed to zero rather than fixing many loadings to zero and thus, the structural model could become more flexible as the loadings are not fixed exactly to zero, but just approximate to zero.

When looking into the sensitivity results of the artificially generated data conducted by Henseler, Ringle, and Sarstedt (2014), under PLS path modelling method, it is found that the Fornell-Larcker criterion only identify in 14.59% of all cases discriminant validity problem as expected; while cross loadings in 0% of all cases. To ensure that the poor performance is not related to specific characteristics of PLS method, alternative variance-based structural equation modelling approaches like GSCA and regression with summed scale had been conducted. However, these alternative methods performed similarly poor. It is thereby concluded that the Fornell-Larcker criterion and cross loadings are both lacking of sensitivity in identifying discriminant validity issues. In conclusion, the suitability of Fornell-Larcker criterion and Cross-Loadings to evaluate discriminant validity in variance-based structural equation modelling were dismissed.

#### **3.4.2.3.2 Heterotrait-Monotrait ratio (HTMT)**

As an alternative approach to assess the discriminant validity, Heterotrait-Monotrait ratio (HTMT) has been suggested, that is the average heterotrait-heteromethod correlations relative to the average monotrait-heteromethod correlations (Henseler et al., 2014). By conducting the Monte Carlo simulation research, the HTMT of the correlations is found to be more superior as compared to the Fornell-Larcker criterion and Cross Loadings. Monte Carlo simulation study is a computational experiment that is used to compare different approaches to evaluate discriminant validity, that is, the traditional approaches versus the newly proposed HTMT criterion.

According to Ab Hamid et al. (2017), HTMT ratio of correlation is found to have greater ability in achieving higher specificity and sensitivity rates that ranged between 97% to 99% as compared to the traditional approaches such as Fornell-Larcker of 20.82% and cross-loadings criterion of only 0.00%. Based on HTMT criterion, HTMT values that near to 1 signifies an existence of discriminant validity problem between the latent constructs or in other words, the multi-collinearity issue can be found among the latent constructs

(Ab Hamid et al., 2017). This means that there are overlapping items of constructs from the respondent's viewpoint in the latent constructs. A correlation of approximately 1 has raised a controversy among previous researchers whereby author like Clark and Watson (1995) suggested a value of 0.85 while there are also authors like Gold, Malhotra, and Segars (2001) and Teo, Srivastava, and Jiang (2008) suggested a value of 0.90.

Technically, the HTMT ratio of correlation is more beneficial than classical method for establishing discriminant validity in two perspectives. Firstly, HTMT can be determined regardless of the availability of raw data whereby neither factor analysis nor the calculation of construct scores is needed to generate factor loadings (Schmitt, 1978). Moreover, as contrary to the standard MTMM method, HTMT approach applies on measures and data that are readily available instead of surveying on the same concept continuously by using different measurements. It is therefore safe from issues about data requirements and parallel measures that are surrounded with the standard MTMM approach (Schmitt & Stults, 1986).

#### **3.4.2.3.3 Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)**

According to Akinwande, Dikko and Samson (2015), variance inflation factor (VIF) is another method to estimate multi-collinearity between independent variables that assess the increment of the regressor's valence when independent variables are correlated. VIFs will be equivalent to 1 when no predictors are correlated or in other words, no multi-collinearity problem exists among the predictor variables. Meanwhile, the predictors are moderately correlated if the VIF exceeds the value of 1, whereas a VIF that ranged from 5 to 10 signifies a possibility of problematic error in the equation model due to its high correlation among the regressors. Besides, if the VIF exceeds 10, the existence of multi-collinearity problem is proven in the equation model as some or all of the regression variables are poorly estimated, and actions should be taken to solve the multi-collinearity issue.

Belsley, Kuh, and Welsch (1980) mentioned that there is no clear cut-off put to separate between high and low VIFs but this had been argued by Craney and Surles (2002) who suggested a cut-off value for large VIFs is either 5 or 10 depends on the respective correlation coefficient is whether 0.80 or 0.90. On the other hand, when dealing with the possible actions to reduce multi-collinearity issue among the independent variables, it is specifically important to look into several perspectives such as the data's sample size that would also influence the variability of regression coefficients, in the sense that elimination of one or more predictors is not the only concern to reduce collinearity issue (Murray, Nguyen, Lee, Remmenga & Smith, 2012).

#### **3.4.2.4 Bootstrapping**

Bootstrapping is a type of inferential analysis to measure the accuracy (confidence intervals, prediction error, etc) of sample estimation. Bootstrapping is a type of resampling or non-parametric statistical technique by drawing the resample from the original sample size. Besides, bootstrapping can derive the descriptive statistics such as mean, median, mode, standard deviation, variance and correlation. It also helps to determine the significance of the variables in the research. The advantage of using bootstrapping is easy and simple. Moreover, it assists to ensure the stability of the results of the research by interpreting from large observations (Rochowicz, 2010). The actual data will always not be meeting assumptions such as those are not normally distributed. Therefore, bootstrapping can be applied since here has no restriction of assumption.

##### **3.4.2.4.1 P-Value**

P-value is frequently used in statistical hypothesis testing which is to determine the significance of variables. P-value indicates the probability for a given statistical model that the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) of the research is true.

Level of significance which is alpha represented the pre-chosen probability while 0.05 is the most popular value that has been chosen (Bangdiwala, 2012). The other typical values of alpha are 0.1 and 0.01. Null hypothesis will be rejected if the p-value is smaller than the significance level chosen. Wasserstein and Lazar (2016) suggested there was a weak evidence against the null hypotheses if the range of value between 0.10 until 0.90 while below 0.02 indicates that is a strong evidence toward the null hypothesis.

#### **3.4.2.4.2 Path Coefficient**

Path coefficient can be known as the beta coefficient or beta weights in a multiple regression model. It is standardized regression weights. Path coefficient able to analyze and examined the nature of the relationship between the endogenous variables and exogenous variables which are assumed to have a causal effect linkage (Streiner, 2005). It measures the concrete contribution that exogenous variable is supposed to have an impact to endogenous variable. In other words, the value of path coefficient can be interpreted as if the exogenous variable increase or decrease by one standard deviation, endogenous variable would increase or decrease by value of path coefficient standard deviations, holding other variables constant.

Furthermore, different standardized values represent whether that is a significant influence on predicted variable. A positive significant effect on predicted variable can be proven whereas the value of path coefficient is around +1. In contrast, the value around -1 shows a negative significant impact of exogenous variable on endogenous variable.

## 3.5 Pilot Test Results

### 3.5.1 Outer Loading

Table 3.1: Outer Loading Result for Pilot Test

Variables	Items	VB	GD	GST	I	U	SD	VL	SM
Voting Behaviour	VB1	0.820							
	VB2	0.808							
	VB3	0.760							
	VB4	0.846							
	VB5	0.746							
Government Debt	GD1		0.858						
	GD2		0.792						
	GD3		0.805						
	GD4		0.827						
	GD5		0.885						
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	GST1			0.878					
	GST2			0.736					
	GST3			0.837					
	GST4			0.777					
	GST5			0.775					
Inflation	I1				0.772				
	I2				0.774				
	I3				0.862				
	I4				0.778				
	I5				0.870				
Unemployment	U1					0.781			
	U2					0.779			
	U3					0.769			
	U4					0.889			
	U5					0.788			



Scandals	SD1	0.857
	SD2	0.876
	SD3	0.726
	SD4	0.796
	SD5	0.743
Valence	VL1	0.795
	VL2	0.707
	VL3	0.917
	VL4	0.837
	VL5	0.791
Social Media	SM1	0.822
	SM2	0.911
	SM3	0.809
	SM4	0.870
	SM5	0.809

Source: Developed in Research

Outer loading is one of the indicators used to evaluate the reliability of the variables. According to the outer loading analysis, it is acceptable when the value exceeds 0.7 in which it reflects internal consistency. In a contrast, it could be eliminated from the set of data if the value falls between 0.4 and 0.7. The table above shows that all the variables fulfil the requirement of outer loading and meet a high satisfactory reliability where all the values exceeds 0.7. For evidence, the indicator VL2 has the lowest value of 0.707 in which it is still higher than 0.7. In short, all the independent variables such as government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media should be included in the model.

### 3.5.2 Cronbach's Alpha (CA)

Table 3.2: Cronbach's Alpha

Variables	Cronbach's Alpha	No of Items	Level of Reliability
Voting Behaviour	0.861	5	Good
Government Debt	0.890	5	Good
Goods and Services			
Tax (GST)	0.866	5	Good
Inflation	0.887	5	Good
Unemployment	0.866	5	Good
Scandals	0.873	5	Good
Valence	0.870	5	Good
Social Media	0.901	5	Excellent

Source: Developed in Research

Cronbach's Alpha (CA) is typically used in the pilot test to measure the internal consistency and reliability for a data set (Sharma, 2016). According to Sharma (2016), the value of CA is acceptable when it falls between 0.7 and 0.8, meanwhile, it is considered to have a good reliability when it falls between 0.8 and 0.9. Based on the results in the table above, the value of all variables obviously exceeds 0.8, indicating a good level of reliability and internal consistency.

### 3.5.3 Composite Reliability (CR)

Table 3.3: Composite Reliability

Variables	Composite Reliability
Voting Behaviour	0.899
Government Debt	0.919
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	0.900
Inflation	0.906
Unemployment	0.900
Scandals	0.900
Valence	0.906
Social Media	0.926

Source: Developed in Research

Composite reliability is used to measure reliability based on the interrelationship of the variables for internal consistency (Ab Hamid et al., 2017). The values of CR which are higher than 0.7 or above, they considerably meet the reliability for the model set. According to the results in the table above, all the values of CR exceeds 0.8 in which they are higher than benchmark of 0.7. In a nutshell, all the variables have internal consistency with high satisfaction.

### 3.5.4 Average Variance Extracted (AVE)

Table 3.4: Average Variance Extracted

Variables	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Voting Behaviour	0.640
Government Debt	0.696
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	0.643
Inflation	0.660
Unemployment	0.644
Scandals	0.643
Valence	0.660
Social Media	0.714

Source: Developed in Research

AVE is commonly used to explain the reliability of the data set in order to review convergent validity for the variables. Ghadi et al. (2012) mentioned that it is acceptable for the value of AVE which exceeds 0.5 and it is considered as very good when the value is higher than 0.7. From the results above, all the values of AVE for the variables are approximately 0.6 to 0.7 in which they are greater than 0.5. This indicates sufficient convergent validity for all variables in the model and the data set is acceptable due to reliability.

## 3.6 Conclusion

In chapter 3, it had described about the qualitative research design, sampling design, and also the data collection method. It had explained the description analysis, outer loading analysis, reliability test, bootstrapping, p-value and path coefficient. The data analysis for this research will be continued on chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

### 4.0 Introduction

The data analysis of this research is conducted in this chapter. It will provide the data collected through survey questionnaires. The data collected will be used for conducting an analysis which identify the relationship between dependent variable and independent variables.

### 4.1 Descriptive Analysis

Descriptive analysis describes the respondents' characteristics and shows the behaviour of the respondents in answering the survey. It is a method that is applied to organize and summarize data which collected from the survey. Additionally, there are 41 questions included in this survey.

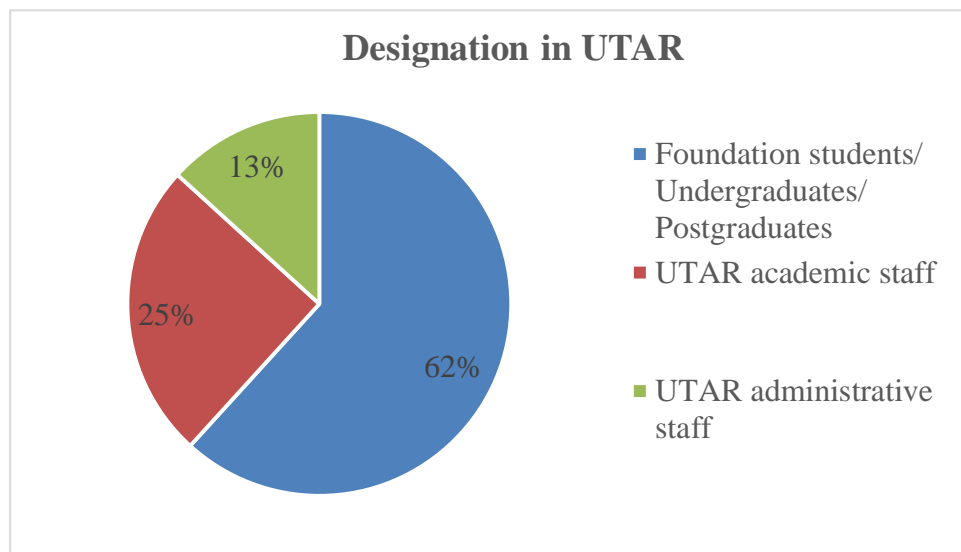
#### 4.1.1 Designation in UTAR

Table 4.1: Data of Designation in UTAR

Designation in UTAR	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Foundation students/ Undergraduates/ Postgraduates	247	62
UTAR academic staff	100	25
UTAR administrative staff	53	13

Source: Developed in research

**Figure 4.1: Data of Designation in UTAR**



Source: Developed in research

The frequency and percentage of respondent designations in UTAR present in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1. The targeted respondents in this survey are from the population of UTAR. This survey has received 400 responses from those respondents interested in this study. The above statistics shows the category of foundation students/ undergraduate's students/ postgraduates dominated the highest designation percentage of 62% with the number of 247 respondents from this category alone. The UTAR academic staff and UTAR administrative staff have contributed 25% and 13% of overall percentage which consist of 100 and 53 respondents respectively.

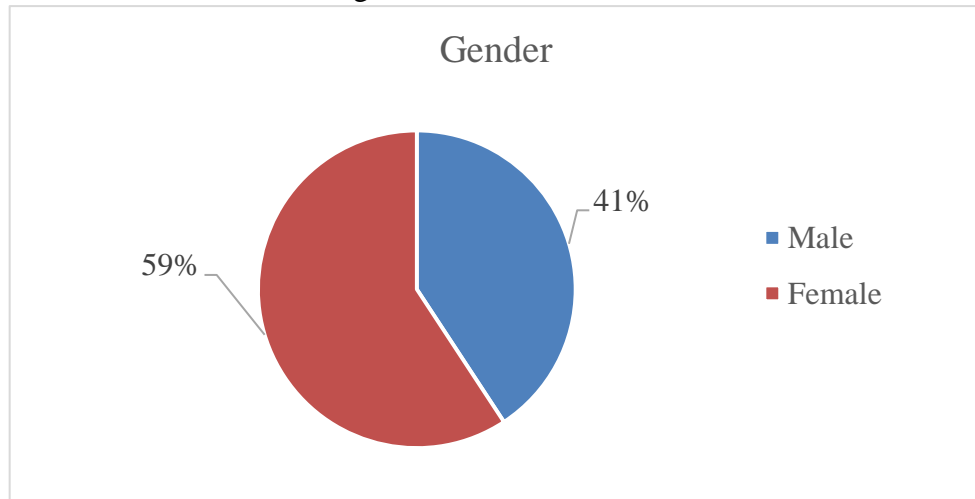
#### 4.1.2 Gender

**Table 4.2 Data of Gender**

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	163	41
Female	237	59

Source: Developed from research

Figure 4.2: Data of Gender



Source: Developed from research

Based on Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2, it is clear that there are both gender respondents in this study. In the process of collecting data, 163 male and 237 females from UTAR population had participated in the survey. There are total of 400 survey had been collected during the process of collecting data. There are 59% of female's respondents and 41% of respondents are male.

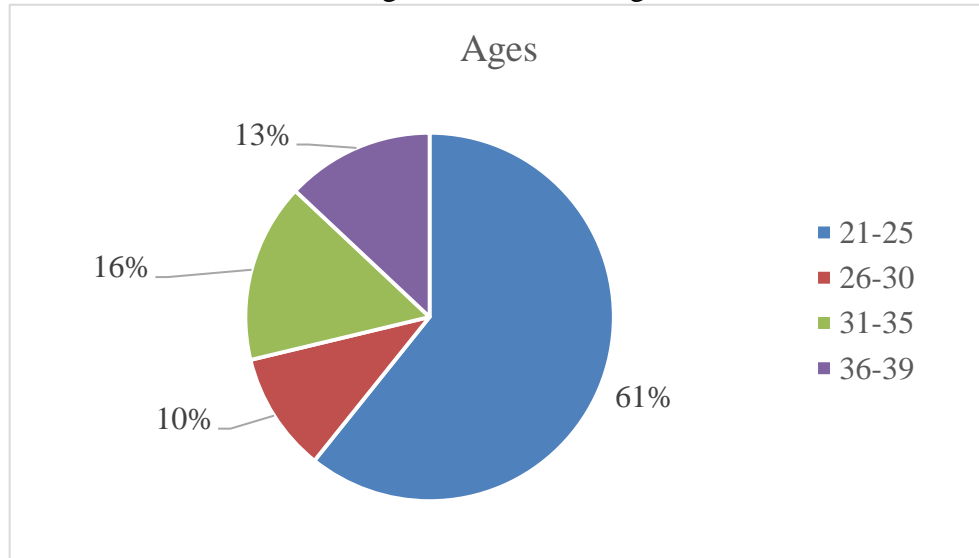
#### 4.1.3 Age

Table 4.3: Data of Age

Ages	Frequency	Percentage (%)
21-25	243	61
26-30	42	10
31-35	63	16
36-39	52	13

Source: Developed from research

**Figure 4.3: Data of Age**



Source: Developed from research

The population of UTAR has people with different range of ages. In this study, the targeted respondent group is the young from UTAR who is eligible to become Malaysia's voter and aged from 21 and 39. Most of the respondents are aged 21 to 25 which represent 61% of the total respondents. 10% of the respondents represent the people who aged from 26 to 30. Besides, there are 16% of respondents are aged from 31 to 35. There are also 13% of respondents aged from 36 to 39.

#### **4.1.4 Races**

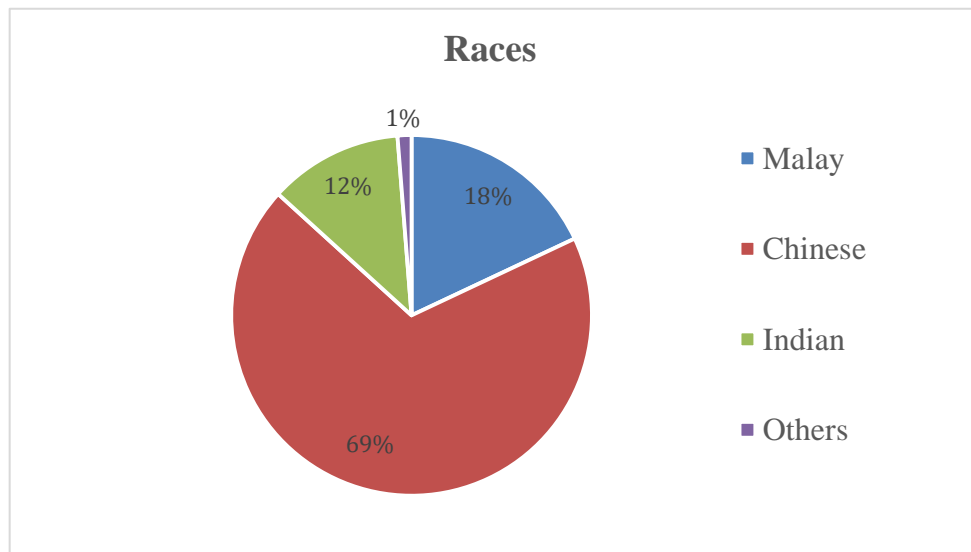
**Table 4.4: Data of Races**

Races	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Malay	72	18
Chinese	275	69
Indian	48	12
Others	5	1

Source: Developed in Research



**Figure 4.4: Data of Races**



Source: Developed in Research

Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4 provide frequency and percentage of how many respondents took their interests in answering this survey questionnaire. From the above statistics, it indicates that the Chinese has occupied the highest percentage of 69% among UTAR population which comprises of 275 respondents. The second highest involvement of race in this survey belongs to the Malay in UTAR that amounts to 18% in which consists of 72 respondents. The next higher group of respondents are from Indians which contributes to 12% of survey and there is 1% of participants from unknown group.

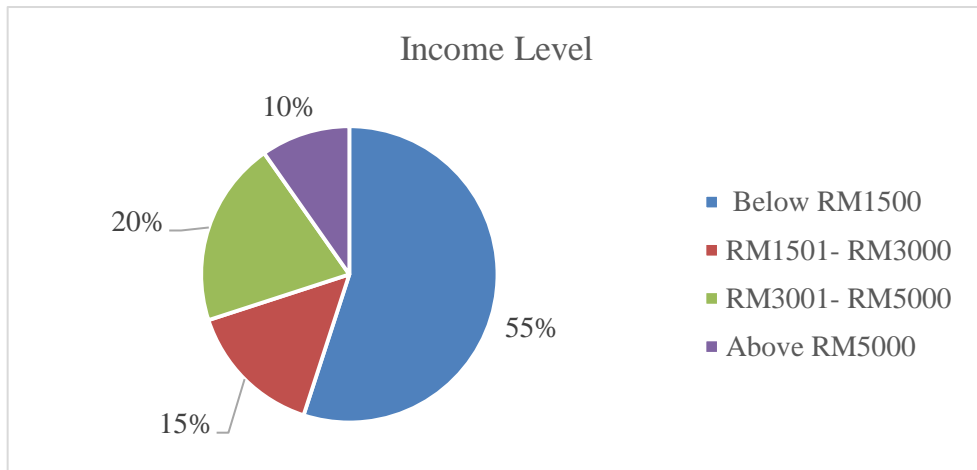
#### 4.1.5 Income Level

**Table 4.5: Data of Income Level**

Ages	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Below RM1500	220	55
RM1501- RM3000	60	15
RM3001- RM5000	81	20.
Above RM5000	39	10

Source: Developed from research

**Figure 4.5: Data of Income Level**



Source: Developed from research

The above table 4.5 and figure 4.5 show the salary or allowances below RM1500 is the most chosen income level from the respondents. It consists of 55% of respondents out of the total respondents from this group. The UTAR's young respondents who earn or get allowance from RM1501 to RM3000 are 15% of the total respondents. Besides, 20% of the respondents have income level of RM3001 to RM5000. Lastly, 10% of respondents with earning above RM5000 participated in this survey.

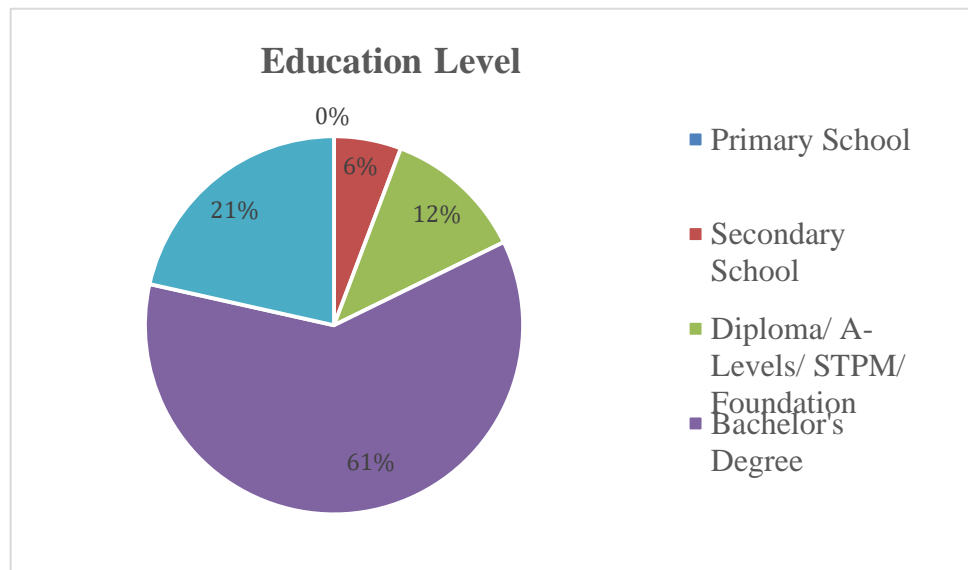
#### 4.1.6 Education Level

**Table 4.6: Data of Education Level**

Education Level	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Primary School	0	0
Secondary School	23	6
Diploma/ A-Levels/ STPM/ Foundation	48	12
Bachelor's Degree	243	61
Master/ PHD	86	21

Source: Developed in Research

**Figure 4.6: Data of Education Level**



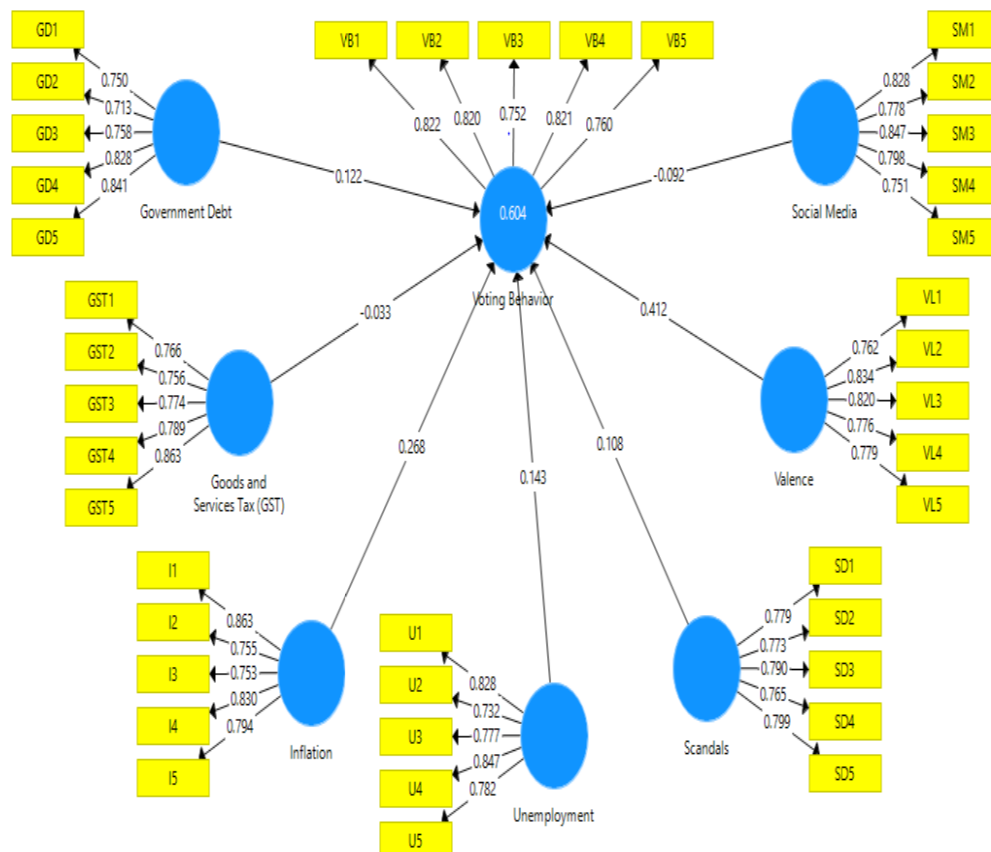
Source: Developed in Research

The above table 4.6 and Figure 4.6 provide the frequency and percentage of the education level for those respondents involving in answering this survey. The above results show that there are 243 respondents with a bachelor's degree level among other respondents and has dominated the highest percentage of 61% compared to other education levels. The second highest percentage of education level for those respondents is belonged to the group of master/ PHD which amounted to 21% and comprise only 86 respondents. By looking at the above figure, those respondents with bachelor's degree are triple against those respondents with master/PHD level. Followed by the diploma/ A-levels/ STPM/ foundation, secondary school and primary school are equivalent to 12%, 6% and 0% respectively.

## 4.2 PLS SEM

### 4.2.1 Outer Loading Analysis

Figure 4.7: PLS Result



Source: Developed from research

Table 4.7 Factor Analysis

Variables	Items	VB	GD	GST	I	U	SD	VL	SM
Voting Behaviour	VB1	0.822							
	VB2	0.820							
	VB3	0.752							
	VB4	0.821							
	VB5	0.760							
Government Debt	GD1		0.750						
	GD2		0.713						
	GD3		0.758						
	GD4		0.828						
	GD5		0.841						
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	GST1			0.766					
	GST2			0.756					
	GST3			0.774					
	GST4			0.789					
	GST5			0.863					
Inflation	I1				0.863				
	I2				0.755				
	I3				0.753				
	I4				0.830				
	I5				0.794				
Unemployment	U1					0.828			
	U2					0.732			
	U3					0.777			
	U4					0.847			
	U5					0.782			
Scandals	SD1						0.779		
	SD2						0.773		
	SD3						0.790		
	SD4						0.765		
	SD5						0.799		
Valence	VL1							0.762	
	VL2							0.834	
	VL3							0.820	
	VL4							0.776	
	VL5							0.779	
Social Media	SM1								0.828
	SM2								0.778
	SM3								0.847
	SM4								0.798
	SM5								0.751

Source: Developed in Research

According to the results shown on the table 4.7, the outer loading value for the dependent variable of voting behaviour are considered high satisfaction among other independent variables. This is because it involves three outer loading values that are above 0.800. Apart from that, other independent variables such as government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media are also considered satisfied which means they are highly contributed to the model. This may due to each item in each of the variable has a value which exceed the benchmark of 0.700.

Additionally, I1 is the highest reliability among other items to the model with the value of 0.863 whereas the indictor of GD2 is the lowest indicator with the value of 0.713. Through looking the outer loading value on table 4.4, all the indicators should remain in the model as all of them not only exceed 0.500 but also higher than the benchmark value of 0.700. In sum, this indicates that all the indicators are highly significant to the model.

## 4.2.2 Reliability Test

### 4.2.2.1 Cronbach's Alpha

Table 4.8: Cronbach's Alpha

Variables	Cronbach's Alpha	No of Items	Level of Reliability
Voting Behaviour	0.855	5	Good
Government Debt	0.838	5	Good
Goods and Services			
Tax (GST)	0.849	5	Good
Inflation	0.86	5	Good
Unemployment	0.854	5	Good
Scandals	0.842	5	Good
Valence	0.854	5	Good
Social Media	0.86	5	Good

Source: Developed in Research

The Cronbach's Alpha value for the variables of inflation and social media are similar to each other which is 0.860. This shows that the inflation and social media have a highest value and are the most reliable variables among other variables in the model. However, the lower value in the Cronbach Alpha is belong to the variable of government debt which amounted to 0.838. Although the government debt variable has a lowest value of Cronbach alpha compared to other variables, but it is still under the good reliability level. Hence, it is not necessary to remove it from the model.

According to the Cronbach's Alpha results, all the values were ranged between 0.700 and 0.900 which considered as a good reliability result. Thus, this indicates that all of these variables had a good reliability in the model as each of them has met the criteria which was set under Cronbach's Alpha.

#### 4.2.2.2 Composite Reliability (CR)

Table 4.9: Composite Reliability

Variables	Composite Reliability
Voting Behaviour	0.896
Government Debt	0.885
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	0.893
Inflation	0.899
Unemployment	0.895
Scandals	0.887
Valence	0.895
Social Media	0.899

Source: Developed in Research

The value of Composite Reliability for social media is 0.899 and is considered as the highest value among other variables. This implies that its value is approximately 0.900 and is highly reliable to the model. Followed by the voting behaviours, unemployment, valence, Goods and Services Tax (GST), scandals and government debt provide the value of 0.896, 0.895, 0.895, 0.893, 0.887 and 0.885 respectively. Even though the government debt has the lowest reliability value but it still falls under the satisfactory level which ranges between 0.700 and 0.900.

Based on the result of the composite reliability, all the variables exceeding 0.800 are deemed to be quite satisfied and significant to the model. This shows that all these variables are having a good internal consistency for the model as the variables have achieved the requirement that required by the composite reliability test.



#### 4.2.2.3 Average Variance Extracted (AVE)

Table 4.10: Average Variance Extracted

Variables	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Voting Behaviour	0.633
Government Debt	0.608
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	0.625
Inflation	0.640
Unemployment	0.631
Scandals	0.610
Valence	0.632
Social Media	0.642

Source: Developed in Research

The highest value of the AVE is 0.642 which belongs to the variable of social media. However, the government debt variable has the lowest AVE's value of 0.608 as compared to other variables. This shows that the social media variable has high level of correlation with multiple indicators while the government debt variable has low level of correlation with multiple indicators. Despite the variable of social media possesses the lowest AVE's value among other variables but it still falls above the range of 0.500 which still considered as acceptable level under AVE test.

According to the AVE's result, all variables have value higher than the acceptable level of 0.500 and this indicates that all of these variables has met the requirements of the convergent validity. Hence, all these values under the AVE's result can be concluded that there is a sufficient convergent validity under this model.

### 4.2.3 Discriminant Validity

#### 4.2.3.1 Fornell-Larcker criterion

Table 4.11: Fornell-Larcker criterion

Variables	GST	GD	I	SD	SM	U	VL	VB
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	<b>0.791</b>							
Government Debt	0.292	<b>0.780</b>						
Inflation	0.483	0.510	<b>0.800</b>					
Scandals	0.324	0.457	0.452	<b>0.781</b>				
Social Media	0.306	0.45	0.46	0.438	<b>0.801</b>			
Unemployment	0.523	0.438	0.716	0.435	0.399	<b>0.794</b>		
Valence	0.281	0.520	0.544	0.521	0.584	0.448	<b>0.795</b>	
Voting Behaviour	0.329	0.533	0.647	0.510	0.420	0.565	0.678	<b>0.796</b>

Source: Developed in Research

According to the Fornell-Larcker criterion, the correlation between dependent variable and all independent variables that are formatively measured in a structural model must be lower than the square root of AVE in order to prove the existence of discriminant validity in the model. Based on the results in Table 4.11, the square root of each AVE is higher than the correlation coefficients for each variable. The square root of AVE for voting behaviour, government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media are 0.796, 0.780, 0.791, 0.800, 0.794, 0.781, 0.795, and 0.801 respectively. Therefore, the results explained that there is sufficient discriminant validity in this research.

#### 4.2.3.2 Heterotrait-Monotrait ratio (HTMT)

Table 4.12: Heterotrait-Monotrait ratio (HTMT)

Variables	GST	GD	I	SD	SM	U	VL	VB
Goods and Services Tax (GST)								
Government Debt	0.348							
Inflation	0.565	0.599						
Scandals	0.377	0.54	0.527					
Social Media	0.357	0.526	0.536	0.516				
Unemployment	0.611	0.514	0.796	0.511	0.458			
Valence	0.331	0.611	0.64	0.609	0.678	0.513		
Voting Behaviour	0.38	0.626	0.733	0.594	0.486	0.638	0.79	

Source: Developed in Research

The Heterotrait-Monotrait ratio (HTMT) is an alternative approach to assess the discriminant validity of a research. The correlation of HTMT is found to be more superior as compared to the Fornell-Larcker criterion. Based on HTMT criterion, HTMT values close to 1 signifies an existence of discriminant validity problem or multi-collinearity problem between the latent constructs. According to table 4.12, the HTMT value of each constructs are below 0.90, which are the desired results for HTMT assessment. This indicates that there is sufficient discriminant validity between two reflective constructs in this research. In other words, there are no multi-collinearity problem between each pair of reflective constructs in this study.

#### 4.2.3.3 Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)

Table 4.13: Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)

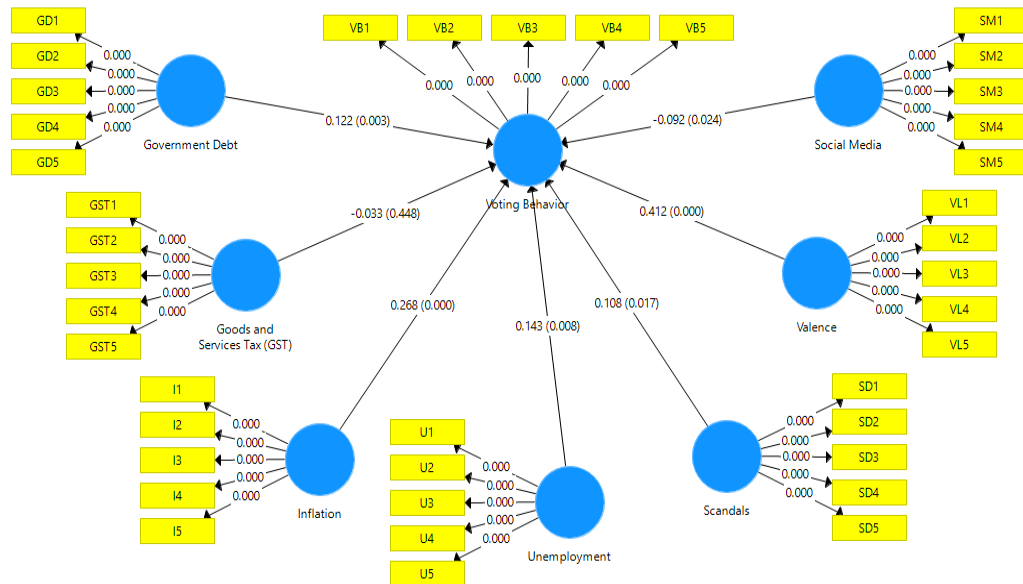
Variables	VIF
Government Debt	1.617
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	1.445
Inflation	2.533
Unemployment	2.306
Scandals	1.573
Valence	2.007
Social Media	1.665

Source: Developed in Research

Variance inflation factor (VIF) is a method used to estimate multi-collinearity between independent variables. If the VIF exceeds 10, the existence of multi-collinearity problem is proven in the equation model. VIF below 5 is an acceptable range which indicates that the independent variables are moderately correlated with each other. Moreover, VIF is equivalent to 1 when there is no correlation between the independent variables. From the results of Table 4.13, all VIFs of the variables are lower than 5 and are considered acceptable. It implies that there is no multi-collinearity problem in the model.

## 4.2.4 Bootstrapping

Figure 4.8: Bootstrapping Result



Source: Developed in Research

### 4.2.4.1 P-Value

Table 4.14: Bootstrapping Results

Constructs	P Values	Result
GD-> VB	0.003	Significant
GST-> VB	0.448	Not significant
I-> VB	0.000	Significant
U-> VB	0.008	Significant
SD -> VB	0.017	Significant
VL -> VB	0.000	Significant
SM -> VB	0.024	Significant

Source: Developed in Research

P-value is used to determine the significance of variables in statistical hypothesis testing. The pre-chosen probability is at 0.05 significant level. Null hypothesis is rejected if the p-value is smaller than the significant level.

Based on Table 4.14, the p-value government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media are 0.003, 0.448, 0.000, 0.008, 0.017, 0.000, and 0.024 respectively. The P-value of government debt, inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media are lower than the significant level of 0.5. This shows that government debt, inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media have significant relationship with Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. Above are the factors that have significant impact on the Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. In contrast, Goods and Services Tax (GST) has no significant relationship with Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour as the p-value of GST (0.448) is more than 0.05.

#### 4.2.4.2 Path Coefficient

Table 4.15: Path Coefficient

Constructs	Original Sample (O)
GD-> VB	0.122
GST-> VB	-0.033
I-> VB	0.268
U-> VB	0.143
SD -> VB	0.108
VL -> VB	0.412
SM -> VB	-0.092

Source: Developed in Research

Path coefficient is used to indicate the causal effect between the dependent variables and independent variables and explained the nature of the variables. The value of path coefficient is between -1 to +1. Higher value of path coefficient indicates the variables has greater effect compare to others latent variables. According to the Table 4.15, the path coefficient of government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media are 0.122, -0.033, 0.268, 0.143, 0.108, 0.412 and -0.092 respectively. To sum up, valence is the most important

factors since it brings the greatest impact to Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. The value of valance (0.412) is the highest compare to others. And, the impact on Malaysia's young voter voting behaviour are follow by inflation, unemployment, government debt, scandals, social media and lastly Goods and Services Tax (GST).

### **4.3 Conclusion**

In chapter 4, results of data analysis for this research are generating by Smart PLS. The collected data are using for the descriptive analysis and reliability test in order to examine the relationship between exogenous and endogenous variables.

## **CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS**

### **5.0 Introduction**

The statistical analysis for this study will describe clearly which including descriptive analysis, reliability analysis, discriminant validity, and bootstrapping in this chapter. Next, explored the findings of each independent variables. This chapter will point out what is the limitations on this research hence suggest the recommendations for the future researchers.

### **5.1 Summary of Statistical Analysis**

#### **5.1.1 Descriptive Analysis**

To begin, 400 questionnaires are distributed to different designation group of respondents in UTAR which are foundation students/ undergraduates/ postgraduates, UTAR academic staff and UTAR administrative staff where the respondents were randomly selected. Each of these groups particularly contain 247 respondents (62%), 100 respondents (25%) and 53 respondents (13%) respectively. In this research, there is a total of 400 questionnaires being distributed to 163 male respondents and 237 female respondents for the purpose of obtaining different gender's perception on voters' behaviour. So, both male respondents and female respondents have percentile of 41% and 59% respectively out of these 400 respondents.

Additionally, 400 respondents are further classified into different age categories. Based on the data that collected from the questionnaires, there are 243 respondents out of 400 respondents which represent 61% under the



age category of 21 to 25. The age category of 26 to 30 involved 42 respondents (10%) and 63 respondents (16%) involved under the age category of 31-35. Besides that, other 63 respondents fall under the category age of 31 to 35 which amount to 13% out of the total population in this study.

Moreover, the data of races distribution is done via selecting random people in UTAR. The total of 400 questionnaires are collected from three categories of races which are Malay, Chinese, Indian and others in order to capture different races of respondents' perception on voter's behaviour. And each of these group involve 72 respondents, 275 respondents, 48 respondents and 5 respondents respectively.

Furthermore, 400 respondents are further classified into four different income levels. There are 220 respondents fall under the income level of below RM1500 (55%) which occupies the highest percentage among other income levels. For the income level of RM1501 to RM3000 involves 60 respondents (15%) and for the income level of RM3001 to RM5000 involves 81 respondents (20 %) out of the total respondents. Meanwhile, other 39 respondents fall under the income level of above RM5000 which only amounts to 10%.

In this study, there are 400 questionnaires being distributed to those respondents that come from different education level for the purpose of obtaining different education backgrounds of respondents' perceptions on voters' behaviour. The education levels in this study are divided into five levels which are Primary School, Secondary School, Diploma/ A-levels, STPM/ Foundation, Bachelor's Degree and Master/ PHD. And each of these education levels respectively involve 0 respondents (0%), 23 respondents (6%), 48 respondents (12%), 243 respondents (61%) and 86 respondents (21%) respectively.

### 5.1.2 Reliability Analysis

There are numerous of reliability tests being carried out for the aim of examining the reliability of each variable in this research such as Cronbach's Alpha, Composite Reliability, and Average Variance Extracted. Under these three reliability tests, the results show that the variable of social media occupies the highest value among other variables with the values of 0.860, 0.899 and 0.642 for the test of Cronbach's Alpha, Composite Reliability and Average Variance Extracted. This implies that the social media variable is the most reliable compared to other variables in this research model via looking at its reliability test result. The second highest value of the variable in these three reliability tests is inflation variable with the values of 0.860, 0.899 and 0.640. Hence, it shows that the variable of inflation is slightly lower than the social media under the test of Average Variance Extracted. Followed by the voting behaviour, its value under these three tests are 0.855, 0.896 and 0.633.

On the other hands, valence variable come with the value of 0.854, 0.895 and 0.632 while these three particular values for unemployment variable are 0.854, 0.895 and 0.631 in Cronbach's Alpha, Composite Reliability and Average Variance Extracted respectively. Thus, this indicates that the variable of valence is more reliable than unemployment as its value of Average Variance Extracted is slightly higher than 0.001 as compared to the unemployment variable. Additionally, the GST variable is the sixth highest among other variables with the value of 0.849, 0.893 and 0.625 for each different types of reliability tests respectively. Meanwhile, the government debt variable is the lowest value in all these three tests as compared to other variables and its values are amount to 0.838, 0.885 and 0.608 which are even lower than the scandals variable's reliability test results of 0.842, 0.887 and 0.610 respectively.

According on the result of Cronbach's Alpha, all the variables' test results are higher than 0.8 which ranged between the benchmark value of 0.700 and

0.900. Therefore, this indicates that all variables are having a good reliability as each of them has fulfilled the requirement of Cronbach's Alpha. As usually, all the variables achieve a value that is higher than 0.8 under the Composite Reliability test. A value that is higher than 0.8 in Composite Reliability test means that all its variable value fall under the satisfactory level which ranged between 0.700 and 0.900. While for the Average Variance Extracted result, all variables are having a value higher than the acceptable level of 0.500 and this indicates that all variables in this research model has met the standard of convergent validity.

### **5.1.3 Discriminant Validity**

Discriminant validity is used to examine the relationship between two measurements that supposed to be not related. In others words, it is used to ensure there is no multi-collinearity between two constructs. In this research, three methods are used to examine and ensure the existence of discriminant validity. First of all, Fornell-Larcker criterion has been performed to determine the validity of the model. The square root of AVE for each variable is 0.796, 0.780, 0.791, 0.800, 0.794, 0.781, 0.795, and 0.801 respectively. The result of Fornell-Larcker criterion shows that square root of AVE for each latent variable is higher than the correlation coefficients for each construct. Therefore, it can conclude that there is sufficient discriminant validity for this study.

Moreover, Heterotrait-Monotrait ratio (HTMT) has been applied to ensure there is sufficient discriminant validity for the model in this research. The correlations of HTMT is more superior compared to the Fornell-Larcker criterion. HTMT value that near or equal to 1 represents that the model has multi-collinearity problem between the latent constructs. Based on the result of HTMT, all correlation values of latent variables are below 0.90 which indicate that there is no multi-collinearity problem between the latent

variables. In a nutshell, there is an existence of discriminant validity of model as HTMT value results a desired value which is below 0.90.

In order to confirm there is no multi-collinearity problem between the exogenous variables, Variance inflation factor (VIF) has been performed in Chapter 4. The function of Variance inflation factor (VIF) is to estimate multi-collinearity between exogenous variables. VIF is acceptable when the value is below 5. According to the VIF's result, the VIF's value of government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media are 1.617, 1.445, 2.533, 2.306, 1.573, 2.007, and 1.665 respectively. All VIFs of the exogenous variables are below 5 which are considered acceptable. In conclusion, there is no multi-collinearity between the exogenous variables in this research.

#### **5.1.4 Bootstrapping**

After ensuring the validity of this research, bootstrapping has been performed to determine the significance of independent variables on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. Bootstrapping is an inferential analysis to ensure the accuracy and stability of sample estimation by interpreting the resample drawing from large observations. The 0.05 significant level is taken, the p-value from bootstrapping are 0.003, 0.448, 0.000, 0.008, 0.017, 0.000, and 0.024 for government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media respectively. If the p-value is smaller than the significant level, the null hypothesis is rejected which mean the independent variable is significant to Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. Based on the results of Table 4.14, government debt, inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media are significant to Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour since the p-values are lower than the significant level of 0.05. And, Goods and Services Tax (GST) has no significant relationship with

Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour because the p-value of GST (0.448) is more than 0.05.

Furthermore, the path coefficient is to examine the casual effect between the dependent variables and independent variables. The significant effect of independent variable on the dependent variable can determine by path coefficient. From the bootstrapping results, the path coefficient of government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media are 0.122, -0.033, 0.268, 0.143, 0.108, 0.412 and -0.092 respectively. Valence is the most important factor that affects the Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour since the path coefficient of valence (0.412) higher than other variables. The valence (0.412) brings the greatest effect to Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour among other variables. The variables that bring smaller effect to Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour are scandals (0.108) and followed by social media (-0.092).

## 5.2 Discussion of Major Finding

### 5.2.1 Government Debt

Table 5.1 The Hypothesis Testing for Government Debt

Independent variable	Hypothesis	Reject $H_0$
Government debt	$H_0$ : There is no significant relationship between government debt and voting behaviour.	$\alpha$ : 0.05 P-value = 0.003 (< 0.05) There is a significant relationship.

Source: Developed in research

**Table 5.2: Summary of Past Studies – Government Debt**

Independent variable	Results	Past Studies	
		Significant	Not Significant
Government debt	Significant	Fochmann et al. (2018); Bartelys (2014); Roth and Wohlfart (2017); Mader and Schoen (2015)	-

Source: Developed in research

$H_0$  for government debt is rejected since its P-value (0.003) is less than 0.05. The result shows that government debt has a significant relationship between Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. This result is supported by previous studies (Bartels, 2014; Fochmann et al., 2018; Mader & Schoen, 2015; Roth & Wohlfart, 2017). According to Mader and Schoen (2015), the phenomenon of economic downturn will lead the voters to vote for left wing party. The reason why the voters behave like that is because they are trying to deliver their opinion about the rising of government debt issue. Besides, Wohlfart (2017) highlighted that the ruling party has to bear the punishment which is losing the support of voters since the party unable to control the rising of government debt effectively. Government debt has been considered as a burden for the citizens of a country. Hence, the voters always concern with the level of government debt. As the ruling party has managing well on the government debt level, the young voters are willing to vote for the ruling part, and vice versa.

## 5.2.2 Goods and Services Tax (GST)

Table 5.3 Summary of Hypothesis Testing- Goods and Services Tax (GST)

Independent variable	Hypothesis	Do not reject $H_0$
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	$H_0$ : There is no significant relationship between GST and voting behaviour.	$\alpha$ : 0.05 P-value = 0.448 ( $>0.05$ ) There is no significant relationship.

Source: Developed in research

Table 5.4: Summary of Past Studies – Goods and Services Tax (GST)

Independent variable	Results	Past Studies	
		Significant	Not Significant
Goods and Services Tax (GST)	Insignificant	Pandian (2014); Pandian (2015); Rahman (2018); Zaireeni et al. (2018); Sharifah Syahirah et al. (2018)	-

Source: Developed in research

$H_0$  for Goods and Services Tax (GST) is not rejected since its P-value (0.448) is greater than 0.05. The result shows that the relationship between Goods and Services Tax (GST) and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour is insignificant. In other words, the implementation of GST will not influence the voting behaviour of young voters in election. However, this result is not supported by the previous journalists such as Pandian (2014); Rahman (2018); Sharifah Syahirah et al. (2018); and Zaireeni et al. (2018). The journalists claimed that the GST increased the burden of the Malaysians

since the cost of GST falls on the individual who acts as an end consumer. Pandian (2014) mentioned that implementation of government policies always attracts the attention of citizens hence influences the voting behaviour. However, the researcher found that GST is not an important issue for the young voters when making their vote decision. The finding between this research and the previous studies show a difference result may due to the time zone. GST has been removed during the conduction of research. Hence, the respondents do not focus on it. Moreover, the other reason may be due to our research was conducted after GE14 which the tax policy had changed from Goods and Services Tax (GST) to Sales and Services Tax (SST) (Rahimy, 2018). Therefore, GST is not significant to the Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour as for current situation.

### 5.2.3 Inflation

Table 5.5 Summary of Hypothesis Testing- Inflation

Independent variable	Hypothesis	Reject H <sub>0</sub>
Inflation	H <sub>0</sub> : There is no significant relationship between inflation and voting behaviour.	$\alpha$ : 0.05 P-value = 0.000 (<0.05) There is a significant relationship.

Source: Developed in research

Table 5.6: Summary of Past Studies – Inflation

Independent variable	Results	Past Studies	
		Significant	Not Significant



Inflation	Significant	Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000); Hibbs (2000); McNown (2008); Fair (2004); Letha Kannan (2009); Cameron and Crosby (2000); Hernández and Kriesi (2015)	Roth (2011); Cebula, (2004)
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Source: Developed in research

$H_0$  for inflation is rejected since its P-value (0.000) is smaller than 0.05. The result shows that the relationship between inflation has significant impact on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. This is agreed by Cameron and Crosby (2000); Fair (2004); Hernández and Kriesi (2015); Hibbs (2000); Letha Kannan (2009); Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000); and McNown (2008). From the past studies, the journalists stated that inflation has been used as indicator to measure the economic performance of a country. Voters will make a voting decision based on the economic circumstance by gauging the level of inflation. The ruling party will get a high probability of losing vote share when high inflation is happening in a country, voters will not willing to vote for them. Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000) claimed that the right-wing party will be awarded by getting a vote from citizens if the inflation problem does not occur. Nevertheless, Cebula (2004) and Roth (2011) disagreed with the statements. They declared that inflation resulted a different impact on different categories.

## 5.2.4 Unemployment

**Table 5.7 Summary of Hypothesis Testing- Unemployment**

Independent variable	Hypothesis	Reject $H_0$
Unemployment	$H_0$ : There is no significant relationship between unemployment and voting behaviour.	$\alpha$ : 0.05 P-value = 0.008 (<0.05) There is a significant relationship.

Source: Developed in research

**Table 5.8: Summary of Past Studies – Unemployment**

Independent variable	Results	Past Studies	
		Significant	Not Significant
Unemployment	Significant	Wright (2010); Becher and Donnelly (2013); Jordahl (2006); Ragusa and Tarpey (2016); Leweis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000); Tucker (2004); Dassonneville and Lewis-Beck (2014); Elinder (2010), Kavser (2014)	-

Source: Developed in research

For unemployment,  $H_0$  for unemployment is rejected as P-value is less than alpha of 0.05, which is 0.008. This shows that unemployment and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour has significant relationship. This is proven by Becher and Donnelly (2013); Dassonneville and Lewis-Beck

(2014); Elinder (2010); Jordahl (2006); Kavser (2014); Leweis-Beck and Stegmaier (2000); Ragusa and Tarpey (2016); Tucker (2004); and Wright (2010). A low unemployment rate indicates that the citizens are having a job which show a good economic performance. According to Tucker (2004), the voters tend to vote for the current government if the unemployment problem can be solved. Unemployment rate of a country is one of the ways to measure the government competency and also capabilities. Voting behaviour of an unemployed individual can be observed obviously compared to an employed individual. They will prefer to vote for the non-government party due to the low economic performance.

### 5.2.5 Scandals

Table 5.9 Summary of Hypothesis Testing- Scandals

Independent variable	Hypothesis	Reject H <sub>0</sub>
Scandals	H <sub>0</sub> : There is no significant relationship between scandals and voting behaviour.	$\alpha$ : 0.05 P-value = 0.017 (<0.05) There is a significant relationship.

Source: Developed in research

Table 5.10: Summary of Past Studies – Scandals

Independent variable	Results	Past Studies	
		Significant	Not Significant
Scandals	Significant	Fernandez-Vazquez et al. (2015); Vivyan and Wagner (2012); Basinger (2012); Pattie & Johnston (2012)	

Source: Developed in research

$H_0$  for scandals (0.017) is rejected since P-value is less than 0.05. This shows that the relationship between scandals and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour is significant. The result obtained is same with the previous research. For example, Basinger (2012); Fernandebhaviz-Vazquez et al., (2015); Pattie and Johnston (2012); Vivyan and Wagner (2012). There are many types of scandals such as political scandal, financial scandal and corruption scandal. The voters will more sensitive and concerned about the electoral outcome when any scandals have been discovered. Hence, ruling party will not able to attract the vote from voters due to the negative image and reputation caused by scandals. At the same time, the non-government parties are also giving an opportunity to win in the election.

### 5.2.6 Valence

Table 5.11 Summary of Hypothesis Testing- Valence

Independent variable	Hypothesis	Reject $H_0$
Valence	$H_0$ : There is no significant relationship between valence and voting behaviour.	$\alpha$ : 0.05 P-value = 0.000 (<0.05) There is a significant relationship.

Source: Developed in research

Table 5.12: Summary of Past Studies – Valence

Independent variable	Results	Past Studies	
		Significant	Not Significant

Valence	Significant	Butler and Powell (2013); Clark (2009); Clarke et al. (2011a); Clarke et al. (2011b); Degan (2007); Ho et al. (2013); Nyhuis (2016); Sanders et al. (2011)	
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Source: Developed in research

$H_0$  for valence is rejected since P-value is less than 0.05, which is 0.000. This shows that the relationship between valence and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour is significant. This result is supported by Butler and Powell (2013); Clark (2009); Clarke et al. (2011a); Clarke et al. (2011b); Degan (2007); Ho et al. (2013); Nyhuis (2016); Sanders et al. (2011). The characteristics of a politician including honesty, integrity and leadership will be evaluated by the public can be defined as valence. According to Nyhuis (2016), the voters will judge for competency of a politician hence making a voting decision which is known as valence voting. Besides, Clarke (2009) mentioned that the voters will not vote for the politician of ruling party if the valence score decrease. Valence of a politician may be affected due to the scandals' involvement.

### 5.2.7 Social Media

Table 5.13 Summary of Hypothesis Testing- Social Media

Independent variable	Hypothesis	Reject $H_0$
Social Media	$H_0$ : There is no significant relationship between social media and voting behaviour.	$\alpha$ : 0.05 P-value = 0.024 (<0.05) There is a significant relationship.

Source: Developed in research

**Table 5.14: Summary of Past Studies – Social Media**

Independent variable	Results	Past Studies	
		Significant	Not Significant
Social media	Significant	Cameron et al. (2014); Stieglitz et al. (2012); Aronson (2011); Gomez (2014); Allcott and Gentzkow (2017); Biswas et al. (2014); Lappas et al. (2016)	

Source: Developed in research

$H_0$  for social media is rejected since its P-value (0.024) is smaller than 0.05. The result shows that the relationship between social media has significant impact on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. This is supported by Allcott and Gentzkow (2017); Aronson (2011); Biswas et al. (2014); Cameron et al. (2014); Gomez (2014); Lappas et al. (2016); and Stieglitz et al. (2012). Political marketing tool such as Facebook also used by the politicians to deliver the messages and information to the voters. Aronon (2011) highlighted that the social media has the ability to influence the thoughts of voters hence caused a different voting behaviour among citizens. Social media plays an important role for the politician in delivering the messages to the public during the election period.

### 5.3 Implication of Study

The results generated from our research are highlighting the variables that bring substantial effects to the voting behaviour of Malaysians which contribute to the historic change of government during the 14th general election. The former

coalition that had ruled Malaysia for 61 years since the country's independence in 1957, had lost its political power after the 14th general election. In a shocking upset, Malaysians had witnessed an enormous political change whereby the opposition party had achieved historic electoral victory and defeated the ruling party in 2018.

The reasons behind such a political change in Malaysia need to be evaluated and analysed at a deeper context for future democratic process and thus a better country development. However, since the unique aspects of the election are complicated, people have to firstly understand the electoral behaviours among Malaysians especially young voters aged between 21 to 39 who contribute the highest percentage of all voters during the 14th general election and the relevant factors driving their voting intention. Thus, the study of voting behaviours of Malaysia's young voters is conducted to create a better insight for politicians and is used as a basis for analysing the election results of Malaysia.

Moreover, this research is salient against previous researches in the similar industry in the sense that it examines the impacts of economic factors such as inflation, unemployment, government debt and Goods and Services Tax (GST), at the same time considering other relevant social factors like scandals, valence and social media into the study of voting behaviours of Malaysia's young voters. As such, this relatively new research generates an enormous contribution in the political marketing literature and voter behaviour research for future studies. Undoubtedly, the results generated from this research would be beneficial for future researchers who have interest in analysing voting behaviours of human by taking into consideration of both economic and social factors' effects towards one's voting decision. Based on the study's results, it is proven that Goods and Services Tax (GST) does not bring significant impact on the voting behaviour, it is therefore suggested that the future scholars not to include irrelevant variables but considering alternative economic variables in the research of voting behaviour. Lastly, since the study of voting behaviour is rather a new topic in Malaysia context, it is therefore suggested to be served as a benchmark for future investigation in the young voter behaviour literature.

Furthermore, information generated from this study regarding the electoral dimensions' knowledge and young voters' voting behaviour is as important for future researchers as for political actors in Malaysia, both ruling party and opposition parties. That is, it allows the politicians to gain a clearer mind-set on those possible factors affecting the citizens' voting decision. At such, politicians can take extra cautious in generating a favourable economic condition by knowing the importance of those economic variables in influencing ones' voting decision. Meanwhile, when politicians started to realize the importance of relevant social factors in affecting ones' voting attitude, it is most likely that they will try to avoid behaving fraudulently or involve in any kind of scandals that will negatively reflect their image and more importantly their political position in the country. To be specific, factors such as inflation, unemployment, government debt, scandals and valence are those variables proven to have a significant impact on the voting behaviour of Malaysians based on our research's results. Thus, the political actors can acknowledge the elements that drive a citizen's perception and evaluation in government's managing performance.

After such a historic political change happened in Malaysia, this research is useful for further democratization in Malaysia as it brings significant implications for both ruling and opposition parties in two perspectives. Firstly, for newly elected ruling party, who is in its first time ever holding the governing credentials in Malaysia, by knowing the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters allows them to manage the country more efficiently and effectively. That is, based on their understanding on Malaysians' favourable and undesired attitude towards the governing method, the governing party can modify their ways of managing the country accordingly to best meet the satisfaction level of Malaysians so that their position as governing party is secured in the future elections. For instance, it is most likely that the ruling party will keep improving the economic performance of Malaysia through policies development such as fiscal and monetary policy to control inflation and unemployment rate at the optimum level; investment activities or coalition acts to maintain or reduce the government debt, as the importance of economic variables cannot be denied in influencing the citizens' voting behaviour based on our research results. Meanwhile, negative behaviour such as corruption scandals would be taken into account by the ruling party and it is assumed that they will try to avoid it so



that it helps maintaining the citizens' confidence towards them as a genuine leader of the country with high valence as perceived by Malaysians.

In contrast to that, as for current opposition parties' perspective, they will be able to generate an intense view on those possible factors that lead to them being losing their governing credentials after the 14th general election. From the survey responses gathered among Malaysia's young voters, it allows the opposition party to be more notified on the voters' assessment and perception towards the government performance. Most importantly, this research helps the current opposition parties to understand the factors contributed to the loss of their governing credentials and thus learning from their previous mistakes which had disappointed the Malaysia's voters and avoid repeating same mistakes in years to come.

On the other hand, by knowing that the economic factors such as inflation, unemployment and government debt are significantly impacted on the young voters' voting behaviour, the roles of ruling party to promote monetary and financial stability of Malaysia is further strengthening. As the financial controller of the country, the current government is responsible to maintain monetary stability while ensuring sustainable economic growth to the advantage of Malaysians' economy. Through monetary policy, the relevant party can affect the supply, demand, value and purchasing power of Malaysian Ringgit by influencing the interest rate level to achieve the final goal of maintaining a low and stable inflation rate. Since most of the Malaysia's young voters are seriously affected by their country's economic condition, it implies that they will most likely to vote for political party who works best in developing a sound and progressive financial sector for the country's future as well as for a better living environment.

In general, the research's findings proposed the criticality of economic and social elements on voting decision. Once the politicians gain a clear insight on how the young voters make their electoral choice, it is most likely that they will act according to the favourable behaviour as perceived by the general public, with the intention of strengthening the trust and confidence among voters. At the same time, politicians will try their best to ensure that the country development is in an efficient

and progressive status so that the political stability could be well-maintained throughout the entire five years as the ruling party of the country.

Based on our findings, it is proven that economic elements such as inflation, unemployment and government debt are highly influencing a young voter's decision on which party or politician to vote for. Thus, in order to build or maintain long term loyalty among voters, it is essential that the government to consistently monitor the country's economic performance by maintaining a stable level of inflation rates, low unemployment rates and government debt. This is because ones' living standard and environment is highly influenced by the economic condition of the country that they are living in. It is therefore undeniable that people will usually cast their vote for the party who is able to perform the best in safeguarding the value of currency and create a continuous economic growth prospect for the country.

Apart from that, the study on voting behaviour is also beneficial to different parties in the financial sectors such as financial institution and business owners and also the stock market in Malaysia. By knowing that scandals performed by the politician bring substantial effect on Malaysia's young voters' voting behaviour, political actors especially the ruling party will tend to avoid involving in scandals as this might result in losing supports from most of the potential voters in term of vote loss. This is especially significant in the case of Malaysia whereby one of the factors contributed to the change of government during the 14th general election is related to the scandals performed by the former Prime Minister, namely 1Malaysia Development Berhad scandal as discussed earlier in this research. Eventually, this lesson raises an alert among the political actors especially the newly appointed coalition, to be more vigilant about the negative consequences of performing scandals in Malaysia. The implication of this research is further strengthening as it allows the political parties to be acknowledged on the significance of scandals on the citizens' voting behaviour to enhance the country's future prospect.

When the political scandals have been reduced or totally removed from the country, eventually the confidence of investors and citizens towards the country will be enhanced and they are more likely to invest greater funds into the capital market of Malaysia. Furthermore, the ruling party can use this greater capital to perform

investing activities outside the country that further improve the economy condition of the country through investment profits generated in oversea investments. In a long term perspective, financial institutions and business owners will be benefited from the improved economy condition of the country in the sense that there is a higher chance for these parties to obtain a higher incentive from the government for future business developments when there is an economic improvement in the country.

Last but not least, the stock market's efficiency in Malaysia can also be further improved due to the higher confidence among investors, both inside and outside the country, as their willingness to invest in Malaysians' stock markets has increased and thus, the country's financial sector is able to generate a greater investment pool from worldwide investors which ultimately could assist the country in economic development in the future.

## **5.4 Limitation of Study**

There are several limitations found in this research. First of all, our target respondents are the population of UTAR who are being categorized under Foundation students/ Undergraduates/ Postgraduates, UTAR academic staff, and UTAR administrative staff. This study is constrained by the relatively small sample location in UTAR Kampar and Sungai Long which might not be sufficient to explain the behaviour of all the young voters in Malaysia. In addition, there is also one limitation found from this study. UTAR students and staff are exposed in a similar environment in their tertiary education and workplace respectively. Exposure to the similar environment on a daily basis tends to create a similarity in the ways of thinking and perception on certain issues. This might be the result of the similar information and knowledge obtained, at the same time being influenced by the people nearby through daily communication under the same kind of learning environment. Hence, they could be easily influenced by their surrounding events, which contributes to a similar voting behaviour. This explains the reason of why it

is hard to capture exact voting behaviour of all Malaysia's young voters who is affected by the suggested variables in this research.

Additionally, Chinese population has occupied the highest percentage among UTAR population as compared to Malay, Indian and other races. From this, it indicates that the survey questionnaire is not equally distributed among races in UTAR. It can be concluded that our results are mainly contributed by Chinese community as most of UTAR population are Chinese. Therefore, our results may not precisely represent opinions of all races in Malaysia. This is because half of total population are Malay for demographic composition in Malaysia.

Moreover, this study basically involves rational retrospective theory. In other words, this study mainly based on perceptions and opinion of young voters about past government performance. Also, it is very subjective for every voter's political evaluation and voting behaviour. There is no any empirical value added in this study which means void of empirical relevance. Hence, such survey data suffers problem of rationalization and so they are viewed sceptically.

Last but not least, another limitation for this research is about the variables used in this research model are specifically design for Malaysia. This is due to the fact that all the independent variables involved in this research such as government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media are all significant issues concerning most of Malaysians which might not be the case of any other countries' citizens in the world. Hence, the implication of this study are especially beneficial for different parties in Malaysia such as government, voters, policymakers, parties in the financial sector and so on. Generally, this research is only applicable for Malaysia's government to take action in developing favourable policy to enhance the economic situation as fulfil the voters' preferences instead of other countries. This is because different country might provide different result for the research of voting behaviour as ones' voting behaviour will be affected by both internal factors and external factors a pertaining to the environment in a particular country. Apart from that, another reason of why this research model is not suitable as a main reference for other country's government might be because that this study focuses only on Malaysia's young

voters' voting behaviours. If the policymakers of other countries persist to use this research as their research reference, it might show little bias in their study which would possibly generate an inaccurate result in the end of findings.

## **5.5 Recommendation of Study**

For future researches on voting behaviour, researcher can examine the effects of regional differences on voting behaviour to capture a more accurate pattern of Malaysians' voting behaviour. Mohd Noor, Abdullah, and Ismail (2016) had mentioned about the importance of studying the voting behaviour of voters across different geographical locations as it provides strong impact on the electoral outcomes. The respondents from rural and urban area may have different mind-set toward political agenda. Thus, the future researcher also can examine the discrepancy of voting behaviour between two specific groups such as rural and urban to further explore the Malaysian's voting behaviour.

Age category of target respondents should be equally distributed to further indication on Malaysian's voting behaviour. The future scholars should concern widely on all groups of age that eligible to vote. Different age will have different level of understanding and opinion towards the country's voting system, political system and economic condition. For example, older generation voters will only stick on their own advantages and does not cares about a country's future economy whereas the young generation voters are more concerned on how well of a country's economy will be in the future (Fochmann et al., 2018). Therefore, this implies that target on one specific age category are difficult to capture the accurate pattern of Malaysian's voter behaviour. Thus, to make the results to be more accurate and less bias, it is necessary for future researchers to target on all age category of respondents instead of targeting on a specific age category only.

Furthermore, the future researchers can composite the target respondents equally among the races. The scholars can take samples from different races in Malaysia based on proportion of voters for each race. From this, it could clearly reflect

opinions of Malaysia citizens and able to capture their voting behaviour more accurately. This is because races have a strong impact on voting behaviour of citizens as they are closely linked to parties. For example, the political parties react differently on race-linked issues such as crime, affirmative action, and welfare (Hansen, 2016). In addition, different races will have different level of satisfaction on government's overall performance. And, different races will have different culture and belief that will affect their perceive view on voting behaviour. Each race and ethnicity share common language and traditions. Hence, there may be have discrepancy of opinion and understanding on voting behaviour.

Apart from that, the future researcher can use both qualitative and quantitative method to study the research on voting behaviour. In this research, we had implemented qualitative approach to analyse the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters. The voters' perceived view of economic variables on voting behaviour had been investigated by using a survey questionnaire. It is recommended that future researchers to replace the qualitative approach with the quantitative technique evaluate the impact of economic variables on the voting behaviour. The researchers can evaluate the relationship of economic variables and voting behaviour by collecting—statistical data. Quantitative approach provides more specific and relevant result with consistency. The result of quantitative approach also can be expanded to make prediction about the future pattern of voting behaviour. Moreover, devising a competency model which combines both of theoretical survey data and statistical macroeconomic data can overcome the void of empirical relevance in our research. However, none of researcher has figured out how to implement the combination approach empirically and it poses another great challenge to future researchers.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

The objective of this research is to indicate the voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters. There are seven independent variables, including government debt, Goods and Services Tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and

social media. The 400 sets of survey questionnaires have been collected among the students, academic staff, and administrative staff of UTAR. This research is using the version 3 of Smart PLS to analyse the data. The analysis including descriptive analysis, outer loading analysis, Cronbach's alpha, Composite reliability, Average Variance Extracted (AVE), Fornell-Larcker Criterion, Heterotrait-Monotrait ratio (HTMT), Variance Inflation Factor (VIF), bootstrapping, and path coefficient.

In this study, it is found out that government debt, inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence and social media have significant impact on Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. However, there is no significant relationship between Goods and Services Tax (GST) and Malaysia's young voters voting behaviour. From the result and finding of this study, the politician of ruling party and opposition parties could have a deeper understanding of voting behaviour of citizens. Hence, the politician may create a suitable strategy which lead to the victory in electoral outcomes. They may consider the factors which are attract the attention of voters and achieved the voters' expectation. Moreover, this research had including the macroeconomic factors and also the psychological factors. The future researchers could refer to this research to carry out their studies.

Nevertheless, there are some limitations when conducting this research. For instance, the targeted respondents in this research only occupied a small proportion of population compared to the nation population. Apart from that, the data collected was only focused on UTAR. Due to the similar lifestyle and surrounding among the respondents, the result obtained could not representing the voters on cities who has different lifestyle. In additional, this research model could not be the reference of other countries' government since every country has different external factors and internal factors that affected voters voting behaviour. In future research, the future researchers have been suggested for selected the targeted respondent from different areas such as rural and urban area. Not only from that, researchers are recommended to expand the range of age and also races of target audiences.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire Permission Letter

 **UNIVERSITI TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN**  
Wholly Owned by UTAR Education Foundation (Company No. 578227-M)

21<sup>st</sup> August 2018

To Whom It May Concern

Dear Sir/Madam,

**Permission to Conduct Survey**

This is to confirm that the following students are currently pursuing their *Bachelor Of Finance (Hons)* program at the Faculty of Business and Finance, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR) Perak Campus.

I would be most grateful if you could assist them by allowing them to conduct their research at your institution. All information collected will be kept confidential and used only for academic purposes.

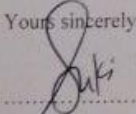
The students are as follows:

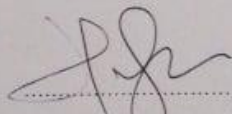
<u>Name of Student</u>	<u>Student ID</u>
Jamie Tan Yik Ki	15ABB05714
Lau Hooi Yee	15ABB04382
Lee Yee Yen	15ABB06257
Tan Jia Yi	15ABB05023
Teh Suet Yee	15ABB04416

If you need further verification, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

  
Mr Kuah Yoke Chin  
Head of Department  
Faculty of Business and Finance  
Email: kuahyc@utar.edu.my

  
Cik Hartini Binti Ab Aziz  
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## Appendix 1.2: Survey Questionnaire Sample



UNIVERSITI TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

FACULTY OF BUSINESS AND FINANCE

FINAL YEAR PROJECT (FYP)

BACHELOR OF FINANCE (HONS)

### Survey Questionnaire

#### TOPIC:

**A research on voting behaviour of Malaysia's young voters that contribute to a change of government in Malaysia**

We are undergraduate students pursuing a Bachelor of Finance (Hons) at Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR Perak Campus). The purpose of this study is to evaluate Malaysian's voting behaviour which affected by the government debt, Goods and services tax (GST), inflation, unemployment, scandals, valence, and social media. In this research, UTAR population will represent the Malaysian voters aged from 21 to 39 who occupied the highest percentage of Malaysian voters during Malaysia's 14th General Election.

Please be informed that all information obtained is strictly **PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL** and will be used solely for **ACADEMIC PURPOSE**. Your data privacy is important to us. Personal data collected will be protected in accordance to Personal Data Protection Act 2010. We deeply appreciate your help in participating in this survey.

**Name of Supervisor:** Puan Hartini Binti Ab Aziz

#### Students Details:

	Name	Student ID
1	Jamie Tan Yik Ki	15ABB05714
2	Lau Hooi Yee	15ABB04382
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**Personal Data Protection Statement**

Please be informed that in accordance with Personal Data Protection Act 2010 ("PDPA") which came into force on 15 November 2013, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman ("UTAR") is hereby bound to make notice and require consent in relation to collection, recording, storage, usage and retention of personal information.

**Notice:**

1. The purposes for which your personal data may be used are inclusive but not limited to:
  - For assessment of any application to UTAR
  - For processing any benefits and services
  - For communication purposes
  - For advertorial and news
  - For general administration and record purposes
  - For enhancing the value of education
  - For educational and related purposes consequential to UTAR
  - For the purpose of our corporate governance
  - For consideration as a guarantor for UTAR staff/ student applying for his/her scholarship/ study loan
2. Your personal data may be transferred and/or disclosed to third party and/or UTAR collaborative partners including but not limited to the respective and appointed outsourcing agents for purpose of fulfilling our obligations to you in respect of the purposes and all such other purposes that are related to the purposes and also in providing integrated services, maintaining and storing records. Your data may be shared when required by laws and when disclosure is necessary to comply with applicable laws.
3. Any personal information retained by UTAR shall be destroyed and/or deleted in accordance with our retention policy applicable for us in the event such information is no longer required.
4. UTAR is committed in ensuring the confidentiality, protection, security and accuracy of your personal information made available to us and it has been our ongoing strict policy to ensure that your personal information is accurate, complete, not misleading and updated. UTAR would also ensure that your personal data shall not be used for political and commercial purposes.



**Consent:**

1. By submitting this form you hereby authorise and consent to us processing (including disclosing) your personal data and any updates of your information, for the purposes and/or for any other purposes related to the purpose.
2. If you do not consent or subsequently withdraw your consent to the processing and disclosure of your personal data, UTAR will not be able to fulfill our obligations or to contact you or to assist you in respect of the purposes and/or for any other purposes related to the purpose.
3. You may access and update your personal data by writing to us at [dmr@utar.edu.my](mailto:dmr@utar.edu.my).

**Acknowledgement of Notice**

☐ I acknowledge consent of Data Protection Act 2010, and fully understood and agreed the Notice of Privacy Practices by UTAR.

☐ I disagree and do not wish my personal data to be processed.

**Instruction:**

This questionnaire consists of two parts:

- Part A is about the demographic details of the respondent
- Part B is the factors that affects Malaysian's voting behaviour.

Kindly answer ALL the questions.

Thank you.

**Section A: Demographic information**

Please tick ☒ the answer from the option below:

1. Designation in UTAR: ☐ Foundation students/ Undergraduates/ Postgraduate  
☐ UTAR academic staff  
☐ UTAR administrative staff
  
2. Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female
  
3. Age: ☐ 21-25 years old  
☐ 26-30 years old  
☐ 31-35 years old  
☐ 36-39 years old
  
4. Races: ☐ Malay  
☐ Chinese  
☐ Indian  
☐ Others: \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. Income level: ☐ Below RM1500  
☐ RM1501- RM3000  
☐ RM3001- RM5000  
☐ Above RM5000
  
6. Education Level: ☐ Primary School  
☐ Secondary School  
☐ Diploma / A-Levels / STPM / Foundation  
☐ Bachelor's Degree  
☐ Master/ PhD

**Section B:**

Please rate the level of agreement of each statement by circle only one respond.

Scale represents as below:

1 = Strongly Disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neither Disagree or Agree 4 = Agree  
5 = Strongly Agree

**Voting Behaviour**

Definition: Voting behaviour is a form of electoral behaviour which explains why and how the decision is made by the voters during an election.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I have responsibility to register as a voter.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	I will vote on election day no matter how busy I am.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I will vote for a good candidate regardless of his/her represented party.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I know well about the background of every candidate before voting.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I will do some relevant researches before making a voting decision.	1	2	3	4	5

### Government Debt

Definition: Government debt represents the debt that owed by a country and it arises when the country is facing a budget deficit.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I think that the government debt in Malaysia is increasing.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	The continuous increase of government debt will cause an economic downturn in future.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	High level of government debt will reduce welfare of citizens.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	High level of government debt will burden the next generation.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I think that the government should manage the government debt more efficiently.	1	2	3	4	5

### Goods and Services Taxes (GST)

Definition: The Goods and Services Tax (GST) is an indirect federal sales tax charged on goods and services for local consumption. GST is paid by consumers to the businesses providing the goods or services but is then remitted to the government as one of the income sources.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	The implementation of GST will affect my voting decision during election.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	The implementation of GST is an important factor that	1	2	3	4	5

	increases the price of domestic goods and services.					
3.	I think that GST will cause burdens to the local consumers and suppliers.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I think that GST will reduce the purchasing power of Malaysia's citizen.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	The implementation of GST will affect my satisfaction towards the government.	1	2	3	4	5

### Inflation

Definition: Definition: Inflation is an economic indicator to measure the average price level of good and services' increment in term of rate over a period of time.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I think that the inflation rate in Malaysia is increasing.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	High inflation rate reflects the inefficiency of government in performing fiscal policy.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Inflation rate is an important factor when making my voting decision.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Government have responsibility to control over inflation.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	My confidence towards the governing party increases when country's inflation rate is well-controlled.	1	2	3	4	5

### Unemployment

Definition: Unemployment is defined as a circumstance of a person who had reach the working age yet is still unable to secure a full time job.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I think that the unemployment rate in Malaysia is increasing.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	High unemployment rate reflects the inefficiency of government in performing fiscal policy.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Unemployment rate is an important indicator to judge the government's economic performance.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Unemployment rate is an important factor to be considered when making my voting decision.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	My confidence towards the governing party increases when country's unemployment rate is well-controlled.	1	2	3	4	5

### Scandals

Definition: Political scandal is comprised of corruption scandal, expenses scandal, and financial scandal and so on. It is believed to have impacts on electoral outcomes by most researchers as it is considered as a natural element of democratic politics.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I think that political scandal does exist.	1	2	3	4	5

2.	I think that the political scandal have an impact on voting behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I think that the impact of political scandal is not temporary.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I always have discussions on political scandal with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I always do research when I heard about the news of political scandal.	1	2	3	4	5

### Valence

Definition: Valence can be defined as the characteristics such as trustworthiness, honesty, leadership and integrity that are evaluated by all citizens based upon politician's images, partisan attachments, and parties' actual and anticipated reactions towards country's issues.

Valence is the powerfulness, competency and controlling influence that possessed by a politician or a party.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I will take into account of the politician's competency in managing country when making my voting decision.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Politician's images is an important factor when making my voting decision.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I think that a politician's achievements is a deciding factor when making my vote decision.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I will vote for a politician who can perform his/her jobs efficiently within the specified duration.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I think that a party's ability to fulfill its promises will	1	2	3	4	5

determine my voting decision.					
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### Social Media

Definition: Social media is a political marketing tools that used by politicians to deliver messages to potential voters for interacting while influencing their thoughts and attitudes in order to win their vote in finally. This implies that the social media does not only can change the way of how people think but can even influence ones' voting behaviour.

No.	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I use social media frequently to track current political news.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	I think that the news published via social media is not reliable.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I will recommend feedback to politicians through social media.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I think that the announcement made by the politicians through social media will influence the voting decision of citizens.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I think that the social media will become more important for politician as communication tool in future.	1	2	3	4	5